HISTORY OF INDIA

2nd. edn.

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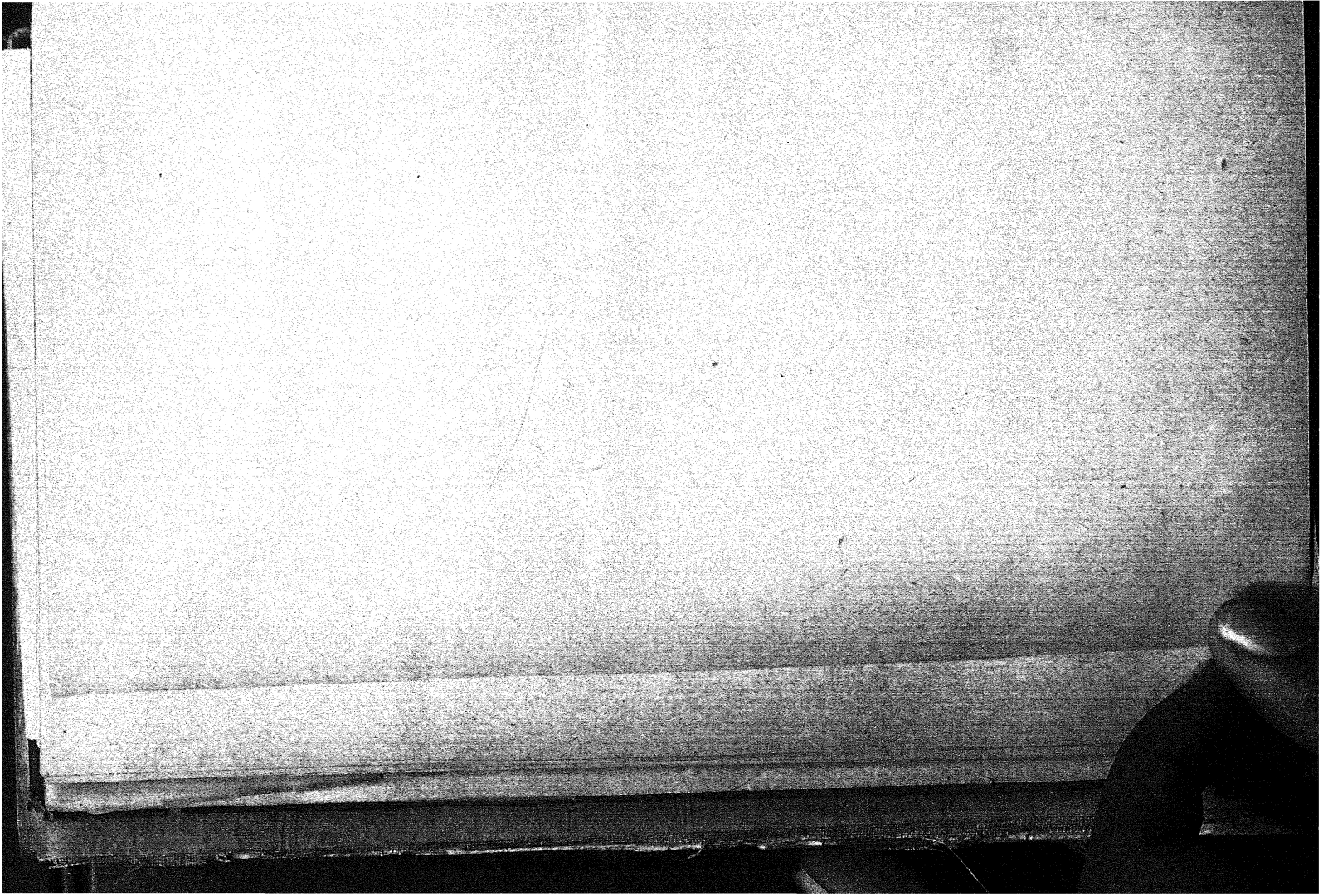


HISTORY OF INDIA

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTORY

SECTION I

GEOGRAPHICAL FACTORS IN THE EVOLUTION OF INDIAN HISTORY AND CULTURE

"Geography and chronology", it has been said, "are the Sunne and the Moone, the right eye and the left eye of all history". The evolution of Indian history and culture cannot be properly understood without a proper appreciation of the geographical factors involved.

BOUNDARIES, GEOGRAPHICAL AND HISTORICAL

Geographically, India is bounded on the north, north-west, and north-east by mountain ranges, and elsewhere by the sea. Neither Burma nor Ceylon is geographically a part of India, although the latter is 'geologically a fragment detached from the peninsula in relatively recent times'.

The historical boundaries of the country have not, however, always coincided with the geographical boundaries. Afghanistan and Baluchistan, which are, geographically, portions of the great Iranian plateau, have for many centuries been closely associated with India from the historical and political points of view. The Maurya Emperors ruled over some portions of these two countries. The Bactrian Greeks, the Parthians, the Sakas, and the Kushans united some portions of north-western India with several districts of Afghanistan. Under Sultan Mahmud, Muhammad Ghuri, and the Mughals, India again came into close political relations with Afghanistan. Under the Mughals Afghanistan was a part of the Indian Empire ; under Ahmad Shah Abdali and his successors the Punjab, Sind, and Kashmir became political dependencies of Afghanistan. Even now certain portions of Baluchistan which lie beyond the proper geographical limits of India and form an integral part of the Iranian plateau are controlled by the Government of India.

Turning to the north-east, we find almost inaccessible ranges of hills separating Burma from Assam and Bengal. Burma, indebted in many ways to Indian culture, remained outside the political jurisdiction of Indian Powers till the termination of the First Anglo-Burmese War (1826), when the Burmese territories annexed by the East India Company came under the control of the Government of Bengal. Burma remained an Indian province till 1937. This long political association makes it necessary for the historian of modern India to include the story of Burma in his narrative.

The islands in the neighbouring seas—the Andaman and Nicobar islands, Ceylon, the Laccadives and the Maldives—have on different occasions come within the administrative control of different Indian Powers. The Chola Kings of Southern India established their authority in some of these islands. Ceylon was ruled by an adventurous Indian coloniser named Bijay Singh, whom tradition represents as a native of Bengal. The British Government established its control over Ceylon and the Andaman and Nicobar islands after the foundation of the British Empire in India. The Andaman and Nicobar islands still form a part of the Indian Empire, but Ceylon never had any administrative connection with India.

NAVAL TRADITIONS

India has a very long coast line, extending over more than 3,000 miles ; yet the number of natural harbours on the Indian coast is small, for the coast line is comparatively straight and, consequently, unfavourable to the growth of convenient harbours. The Indian people never earned the reputation of being a maritime nation ; it is, on the whole, true to say that their attention was always attracted towards the north-west and the north-east—to Western Asia, Persia, Central Asia, China, and Tibet—rather than to the lands beyond the seas. But it would be a mistake to think that the mystery of the sea never allured the Indian mind. The Dravidians of the prehistoric times navigated the seas in pursuit of trade and commerce. The evidence about the maritime activities of the Aryans is not quite clear, but the well-known work entitled the *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea* gives a detailed account of the maritime trade

of India in the first century A.D. and refers to numerous Indian ports. Commercial enterprise and the spirit of adventure led thousands of Indians across the eastern seas to Burma, Malay Peninsula, Sumatra, Java, and the neighbouring islands. Tamralipti (modern Tamluk, Midnapore district) in Bengal was a flourishing port, where the famous Chinese traveller Fa-hien embarked in his return journey to China. The Cholas extended their authority to many 'ancient islands in the sea'. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the Marathas built up a respectable naval power. The Muslim rulers of India, some of whom were very powerful on land, never cared for the sea. Vincent Smith observes that the neglect of the sea power was one of the causes responsible for the downfall of the Mughal Empire.

Towards the beginning of the sixteenth century the Portuguese established their supremacy in the Indian Ocean. Albuquerque consolidated this supremacy by establishing fortresses and bases at strategic points and also by concluding alliances with rulers of coastal areas of strategic importance. Although unable to challenge Portuguese naval power, the Dutch occupied Java, Malacca, Colombo and Cochin in the seventeenth century; still they had but little share in the shaping of policy in the Indian Ocean. They were followed by the English and the French, whose rivalry in the eighteenth century was finally decided in favour of the former by their naval superiority. After Suffren's failure to establish French supremacy in the Indian Ocean (1782-84) British authority in the Indian seas was never again questioned till the fall of Singapore. For more than a century and a half the Indian Ocean remained a British lake.

CONTACT WITH THE OUTSIDE WORLD

When we speak of the natural boundaries of India—the mountains and the seas separating her from the rest of the world—we are tempted to exaggerate her isolation. Indian civilisation can no longer be regarded as a plant growing in the shade, far away from the tempests of the outside world. The imposing mountain ranges on the north, north-west, and north-east could never keep India immune from the political

and cultural influence of other countries. In the north-west there are well-known passes (Khaibar, Gomal, and Bolan) which, in spite of many natural obstacles, provided passage to the successive invaders of India, from the Aryans to Ahmad Shah Abdali. In the north there are roads from Tibet to Nepal that have carried for ages not merely peaceful missionaries of culture and religion, but formidable hosts of soldiers as well. In the north-east there are considerable gaps in the chain of mountains separating Assam from Burma, through which the Tibeto-Burmans, the Ahoms, and the Burmese entered into Assam. "The natural frontiers of India thus gave security, but not immunity, from invasion, and while they ensured definite individuality to her people by separating them from the rest of Asia by well-marked boundary lines, they never isolated them from the rest of the world".

GEOGRAPHICAL DIVISIONS WITHIN INDIA

India is divided into three so-called 'territorial compartments': (1) the Indo-Gangetic plain; (2) the Deccan plateau, lying to the south of the Vindhyas, and to the north of the Krishna and Tungabhadra rivers; and (3) the Far South. The Indo-Gangetic plain is, historically, the most important part of India, for it has always been 'the seat of the principal empires and the scene of the events most interesting to the outer world'. This feature of Indian history can be easily explained with reference to clearly noticeable geographical factors. The vast plain of Northern India is divided into two unequal portions by the desert of Rajputana and the Aravalli mountains. The plain on the west of the desert is watered by the Indus, and that on the east by the Ganges and its tributaries. These rivers fertilised the soil and provided easy means of communication. Naturally the Indo-Gangetic plain became the seat of a flourishing, and ever-growing, population. Secondly, except in the case of the British, Indian history has always been dominated by invaders who came from the north-west. These invaders naturally followed the Ganges, and extended their power to the whole of Northern India, before they crossed the Vindhyas and appeared in the Deccan plateau. The history of the Aryan and the Muslim invasions illustrates this point. Delhi stands at the

mouth of the Gangetic plain, and all invaders from the north-west had to pass through Delhi or its neighbourhood in order to gain entrance into the heart of Northern India. That is why five decisive battles[1] of Indian history took place in the neighbourhood of Delhi.

The two 'territorial compartments' lying to the south of the Vindhyas are somewhat isolated due to their geographical position. The Vindhyas cut them off from Northern India, but many centuries ago the Aryan invaders of India proved that this high and extensive range of hills is no insurmountable barrier. The political and cultural contact begun by them became more and more intimate with the progress of time, and for historical purposes *Dakshināpatha* is as much an integral part of India as *Aryāvarta*. But for certain obvious reasons the historian of India is concerned primarily with the North ; he can give only a subordinate place to the story of the Deccan plateau and the Far South. In the first place, the early history of trans-Vindhyan India is primarily the history of the Dravidians, but unfortunately we are not yet in possession of adequate materials to do full justice to this subject. Secondly, as Smith points out, "No southern power ever could attempt to master the north, but the more ambitious rulers of Aryavarta or Hindostan often have extended their sway far beyond the dividing line of the Narbada". The historian of India must concentrate his attention upon large States and Empires, seeking to give some sort of unity to the complicated story of the vast country he has to deal with ; naturally he is able to give only a secondary place to kingdoms which never attained more than local importance.

The Deccan plateau is sub-divided into three distinct regions by the Eastern Ghats and the Western Ghats. The Coromandel coast stands between the Eastern Ghats and the Bay of Bengal ; the Konkan and Malabar lie between the Western Ghats and the Arabian Sea. Between the two mountain ranges, on the east and the west, lies the main plateau of the Deccan. Historically, however, these three well-marked geographical divisions are not of much importance, for the mountains never

[1] Two battles of Tarain and three battles of Panipat.

stood in the way of political unity or cultural contact. The Marathas live on both sides of the Western Ghats, but they speak the same language and observe the same social customs. The Konkan often came under the political control of the Power which ruled Maharashtra proper.

The Far South, or the territory lying beyond the Krishna and Tungabhadra rivers, is not cut off from the Deccan plateau by any prominent natural boundaries, but it had a historical individuality which was affected only on very important occasions by the political fortunes of the trans-Krishna region. It was in the Far South that the cultural accomplishments and political genius of the Dravidians found a true home, where they could develop naturally, without being hampered by the triumphant North. No Hindu Empire-builder of the North ever succeeded in bringing the whole of the Far South under his control.

HISTORICAL IMPORTANCE OF RIVERS

The rivers of Northern India played an important part in the evolution of Indian history. It was in the valley of the Indus that the earliest civilisation known to Indian history—the civilisation of Mahenjodaro and Harappa—flourished. The rivers of the Punjab as well as the Ganges determined the nature and course of Aryan colonisation in India. Smith says, "The success of the English (against the French in building up an Empire in India) was dependent on their acquisition of rich Bengal and their command of the Gangetic waterway. In a later stage of the British advance the conquest of the Punjab was conditioned by the control of the Indus navigation, previously secured by the rather unscrupulous proceedings of Lords Auckland and Ellenborough". The peculiar geographical features of the South Indian rivers do not offer similar facilities for penetration into the interior. Historically those rivers served merely as convenient political boundaries.

In connection with the Indian rivers and their historical influence, it is necessary to remember that many of them changed their courses in the past, and some are changing their courses even at present. When they are in full flood, they easily cut and carve the soft alluvial plains. Smith says, "Old beds

of the Sutlej can be traced across a space eighty-five mile wide. . . . Who can tell where the Indus flowed in the days of Alexander the Great?. . . . The rivers of the (Vedic) Rishis were not the rivers of to-day. . . . Ever since the early Muhammadan invasions the changes in the rivers have been enormous, and the contemporary histories of the foreign conquerors cannot be understood unless the reality and extent of those changes can be borne constantly in mind". Naturally the changes in the courses of the rivers affected the position of the cities built on their banks. Pataliputra originally stood at the confluence of the Ganges and the Son, but at present its site is about twelve miles below the confluence. Had Pataliputra remained in existence to this day, it would have lost its strategic importance due simply to a change in the course of the Son. A city built on the bank of a river may be altogether ruined by a change in its course. Speaking of the Hakra, which once flowed through the Punjab towards Rajputana, Smith observes, "Scores of mounds, silent witnesses to the existence of numberless forgotten and often nameless towns, bear testimony to the desolation wrought when the waters of life desert their channels".

Similar results may be brought about by changes in the coast-line and the level of the land. The ancient port of Tamluk is now far away from the sea. The famous commercial city of Kayal on the Tinnevelly coast is now miles from the sea and buried under sand dunes. In some cases the sea, instead of receding, has advanced. "The careful investigator of ancient history needs to be continually on his guard against the insidious deceptions of the modern map."

SECTION II

RACIAL FACTORS IN THE EVOLUTION OF INDIAN HISTORY AND CULTURE

MINGLING OF RACES

From time immemorial India has been receiving colonisers belonging to different races. Nothing definite can be said about the racial origin of the neolithic and paleolithic men who inhabited this country in the remote past, nor are we certain

about the racial affinity of the Dravidians whose blood still flows in the veins of a large mass of Indian population. The tall and fair Aryans then came to India, and although at first they kept themselves sharply separated from the non-Aryan dark-skinned early inhabitants of the country, there is no doubt that a considerable inter-mixture of blood took place later on. No definite information is available about any influx of foreigners which may have taken place during many centuries after the Aryan immigration, but it is permissible to suppose that the north-western gates were not altogether closed. Nor do we know anything definite and detailed about the immigrations which certainly took place into the Brahmaputra valley through the north-eastern passes, till the Ahom invasion in the thirteenth century diverts our attention to that neglected corner of India.

In historical times the Greeks, who accompanied and followed Alexander the Great, were the first well-known foreign settlers in north-western India. Then came the Sakas, who ruled in north-western and western India for a considerable period and eventually merged themselves in the Indian population. "The term Saka was used by the Indians in a vague way to denote all foreigners from the other side of the passes, without nice distinctions of race or tribe. It may have included both ugly, narrow-eyed Mongols, and handsome races like the Turks, who resemble the Aryans in physique". After the Sakas came the Kushans, a branch of the great Yueh-chi race, who were probably fair-complexioned, and akin to the Iranians. During the fifth and sixth centuries A.D. north-western and central India was almost overwhelmed by the Huns, who must have introduced a large amount of foreign blood into the Indian population. In ancient Indian literature and epigraphy the term 'Huna' was sometimes used, like the term 'Saka', to cover a mass of various tribes who swooped down on the declining Gupta Empire. Of these tribes the Gurjaras deserve special mention. Many modern scholars hold the view that some of the Rajput clans, as well as the Jats, Gujars, and allied castes, are descended either from the Huns or from allied tribes which arrived simultaneously in this country.

From the seventh century onwards India became the hunting ground of Muslim travellers and invaders, most of

whom eventually settled here. They belonged to various Asiatic races—Arabs, Turks, Persians, Afghans, Mongols; occasionally they included Africans, specially Abyssinians. The extensive settlement of the Muslims in India began in the eleventh century, when Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna annexed the Punjab, for India proper had remained substantially unaffected by the Arab conquest of, and settlement in, Sind.

Lastly, the coming of the European merchants has created a considerable population of mixed Indo-European blood, derived from unions of Portuguese, English, and other Europeans with Indian women of various tribes and castes.

SEVEN RACIAL GROUPS

These facts substantially justify Smith's conclusion: "The modern population of India almost everywhere is far too mixed to admit of the disentangling of distinct races, each of a well-marked physical type". But anthropologists believe that useful inferences may be drawn from anthropometric measurements. According to them the modern population of India may be divided into seven broad racial groups.

(1) The Turko-Iranian group, consisting of the population of Baluchistan, North-Western Frontier Province, and those districts of the Punjab which are situated to the west of the Indus. The people are tall and fair, with black eyes and long noses.

(2) The Indo-Aryan group, consisting of the Rajput, Khatri, and Jat population of the Punjab, Kashmir, and Rajputana. The people are tall and fair, with long heads and raised noses.

(3) The Scythian-Dravidian group, consisting of the population of Sind, Gujarat, and Maharashtra. The people are not tall, but they have long heads and flat faces.

(4) The Aryan-Dravidian or Hindustani group, consisting of the population of the eastern districts of the Punjab, the United Provinces, and Bihar. The higher castes generally belong to the Aryan type, while Dravidian characteristics are usually clear in the case of the lower castes.

(5) The Mongoloid-Dravidian or Bengal group, consisting of the population of Bengal and Orissa. The people are

generally dark-complexioned, with medium height and broad noses.

(6) The Mongoloid group, consisting of the population of the Himalayan *terai*, Nepal, Bhutan, Sikim, Assam, and Burma. The people are yellow-coloured, beardless, of small height, and with flat faces.

(7) The Dravidian group, consisting of the population of a considerable portion of Southern India and Ceylon. The people are dark-complexioned, of small height, and with broad noses.

This classification serves very little historical purpose.

SECTION III

FUNDAMENTAL UNITY OF INDIA

A LAND OF VARIETIES

India is pre-eminently a land of varieties ; she has been aptly described as "the epitome of the world". From the physical point of view, there are varieties of temperature and climate, of moisture and rainfall, of flora and fauna. The temperature varies from the dry and bracing cold of the Himalayas to the humid, tropical heat of the Konkan and Coromandel coast. India offers all the three types of climate—the Arctic or Polar, the Temperate, and the Tropical. As regards rainfall, she offers an equally wide range, from the world's highest record of 480 inches at Cherapunji (in Assam) to less than 3 inches per annum in parts of Sind and Rajputana. Of flora and fauna India contains most of the types known to natural science.

Scarcely less interesting than this physical variety is the human variety which India presents with her teeming millions. Smith rightly calls India "an ethnological museum". As we have seen above, there are in India no less than seven main physical types of races. There are also no less than 14 separate peoples with their own languages. Each of these peoples has its own literature. The languages and dialects used in India exceed 200 in number.

India also presents the largest diversity in the religious aspect. Here are to be found all the world-religions—Hinduism, Islam, Buddhism, Christianity,—and local religions like Jainism, Sikhism, etc. India is verily a museum of cults and customs, creeds and cultures, faiths and tongues, racial types and social systems.

POLITICAL DISUNITY

This manifold variety, no less than the large extent of the country, accounts for the fact that political unity is not the normal characteristic of ancient and medieval Indian history. In all ages this vast sub-continent was divided into numerous principalities, which were from time to time brought under subjection and integrated into a vast political organisation by powerful individuals and dynasties. When internal weakness, or foreign invasion, or both, broke up such Empires, India relapsed once again into political disunity.

IDEAL OF UNITY

Although the practical union of the whole country is the work of the Mughals and the British, yet, so far as the *idea* of a pan-Indian Empire is concerned, Indian unity is not the creation of her foreign rulers. That great *idea* is not a recent growth or discovery ; it has a history running back to remote antiquity. The great founders of Indian civilisation were themselves fully conscious of the geographical unity of their vast mother country and sought in various ways to impress it on the popular consciousness.

The first expression given to this feeling of unity was their description of the entire country by the single name of *Bhāratavarsha*. This term has also a political import, for it was generally associated with the idea of universal monarchy. The conception of a *Chakravartī Rājā* or suzerain receiving the tribute and allegiance of subordinate Kings in all parts of India —from the Himalayas to the sea—was very familiar to the ancient Hindus. Thus, the terms *Adhirāja, Rājādhirāja, Samrāt, Ekarāt* etc., and the performance of such sacrifices as the *Rājasuya* and the *Vājapeya,* show that the idea of universal

conquest was not unknown to the ancients. Mahapadma Nanda was the first historical Emperor of India, and the tradition established by him was given a practical shape by the Mauryas and the Guptas.

POLITICAL UNITY

Later on the Mughals created an imperial system which stamped upon the Indian people 'oneness of rule and sameness of political experience'. As Sir Jadunath Sarkar observes: "Mere autocratic dictation, the mere drawing of the administrative road roller over the rough surface of the people's heads, cannot grind them into true uniformity; at least such uniformity is not natural and does not last long. Historical unity comes best from the people themselves working the same type of administration and sharing the success and failure of it because it is the product of their own efforts. Such administrative unity was given to most part of India by the Mughal Empire. . . . ." A centralised administrative system, uniformity of laws and customs, a common coinage, one official language (Persian)—these were some of the political bonds which the resourceful Mughals employed for unifying India. To a large extent the British adopted the Mughal system, and, working under more favourable modern conditions, gave India such political unity as she had never known before.

CULTURAL UNITY

The most essential aspect of Indian unity is the fact that the diverse peoples of India have developed a peculiar type of culture or civilisation utterly different from any other type in the world. "During the two thousand years of Hindu and Buddhistic rule in India, in spite of political disunion and differences of languages and customs, a uniform Sanskritic stamp was printed upon the literature and thought of all the provinces of this vast country. There was throughout India in the Hindu age—as there is among the Hindu population throughout India to-day—a basic unity of religion, philosophy, literary ideas and conventions, and outlook upon life".

PHYSICAL UNIFORMITY

Sir Jadunath Sarkar points out that, inspite of frequent intermixture of races in India, "there has been achieved some approximation also in physical type and mode of life among the various foreign races that have lived long enough in India, fed on the same crops, drunk of the same streams, basked under the same sun and submitted to the same rule in their daily lives. Even the immigrant Indian Muslims have in the course of centuries received the imprint of this country and now differ in many essential points from their brethren living in other parts of Asia, like Arabia and Persia". Sir Herbert Risley rightly observes, "Beneath the manifold diversity of physical and social type, language, custom, and religion, which strikes the observer in India, there can still be discerned a certain underlying uniformity of life from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin. There is in fact an Indian character, a general Indian personality, which we cannot resolve into its component elements".

FOR FURTHER STUDY

Imperial Gazetteer of India, Vol. I.
Cambridge History of India, Vol. I, Chapter I.
Risley, *Peoples of India.*
Panikkar, *India and the Indian Ocean.*
R. K. Mookerjee, *Fundamental Unity of India.*
Sir J. N. Sarkar, "Unity of India", *Modern Review,* November, 1942.

CHAPTER II

SOURCES OF INDIAN HISTORY

SECTION I

SOURCES OF ANCIENT INDIAN HISTORY

ABSENCE OF HISTORICAL LITERATURE

Al-Biruni, a famous Muslim scholar who came to India in the eleventh century, says, "The Hindus do not pay much attention to the historical order of things ; they are very careless in relating the chronological succession of their Kings, and when they are pressed for information and are at a loss, not knowing what to say, they invariably take to tale-telling". The following observations of Fleet almost echo Al-Biruni's words: "It is very questionable whether the ancient Hindus ever possessed the true historical sense, in the shape of the faculty of putting together genuine history on broad and critical lines . . . . they could write short historical compositions, concise and to the point, but limited in extent. But no evidence of the possession by them of the faculty of dealing with history on general lines has survived to us in the shape of any genuine historical work, deliberately written by them as such, and also accurate and reliable".

RELIGIOUS AND SECULAR LITERATURE

Scholars interested in ancient Indian history must, therefore, collect their materials from a variety of sources. So far as the earliest period, for which no epigraphic records are available, is concerned, they must depend mainly on religious literature. The Vedic literature supplies valuable information regarding the political, social, and economic organisation of the Aryans. The religious works of the Buddhists and the Jains contain important references to historical persons and incidents. Even works on Astronomy (like the *Gārgī-Samhitā*) and Grammar (like Panini's *Astādhyāyī* and Patanjali's *Mahā-*

bhāsya) and purely literary compositions (like the works of Kalidasa and Bhasa) occasionally provide interesting and useful information. But it is quite obvious that no adequate picture of the past can be drawn from these scattered and casual references in literature.

HISTORICAL LITERATURE

In ancient times there was no lack of genuine materials from which histories of the most valuable kind might have been compiled. The preservation of pedigrees is a very old Indian custom. It is well-known that *Vamsāvalīs* (or lists of the lineal successions of Kings) were compiled and kept from very early times. Many lists of this type were probably incorporated in the 'Epics' (the *Rāmāyana* and the *Mahābhārata*) and the Puranas. The traditional subject-matter of the Puranas consists of *Sarga* (primary creation), *Pratisarga* (recreation after the periodical dissolution of the world), *Vamsa* (genealogies of gods and *Rishis*), *Manvantara* (groups of different ages of history), and *Vamsānucharita* (dynastic history of the old Kings). Although the 'Epics' and the Puranas contain information relating to very early times, they received their present shape probably after the birth of Christ ; some of the Puranas are undoubtedly later compositions. In the course of their evolution they naturally incorporated materials of little historical value and their chronology became confused. So it would be unsafe to place absolute reliance on the Puranas, although they yield valuable information to the careful and discriminating student of ancient Indian history.

In addition to the *Vamsāvalīs* there were official records as well as dynastic archives and chronicles, which, however, were not properly utilised for the composition of historical works. The *Rājatarangiṇī* of Kalhana, a dynastic chronicle of the Kings of Kashmir written in the twelfth century, is probably based on official records and older chronicles. Kalhana is fairly correct for his own time, and for the preceding century or so ; but critical examination reveals the unreliability of his work so far as earlier periods are concerned. A few other important works are available ; they are 'historical romances' rather than chronicles. Bana's *Harshacharita*,

Bilhana's *Vikramānkadevacharita*, Sandhyakaranandi's *Rāmacharita*, and Padmagupta's *Navasāhasānkacharita* are written in Sanskrit and aim at being historical chronicles. "But they do not present the plain straightforward language of sober common sense. They imitate the classical poems, with all their elaboration of diction, metaphor, and imagery". Vakpati's *Gaudavāho* and Hemchandra's *Kumārapālacharita*, composed in Prakrit, belong to this class of 'historical romances'.

FOREIGN WRITINGS

Students of ancient Indian history must devote serious attention to the accounts of foreign—Greek, Roman, Chinese, Tibetan, Muslim—writers and travellers, whose information about India was based either on hearsay or on actual travel or residence in this country. Herodotus, who never came to India, refers to the Persian conquest of north-western India. Our information regarding Alexander's invasion is derived solely from the accounts left by Greek and Roman writers like Quintus Curtius, Diodorus, Arrian, Plutarch, and others. There is absolutely no reference to this important incident in Indian literature and epigraphy. The *Indika* of Megasthenes, which has survived in the form of quotations by later authors, such as Arrian, Strabo, Justin, and others, throws valuable light on the political and social institutions of the Maurya period. *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea* by an unknown author and Ptolemy's Geography provide information of great historical and geographical interest.

Chinese chronicles are indispensable for the reconstruction of the post-Maurya period of Indian history ; without their aid we cannot follow the movements of the Sakas, the Parthians, and the Kushans. Chinese travellers, like Fa-hien and Hiuen-Tsang, have left for us valuable accounts of this country. No complete history of Buddhism can be constructed without utilising Chinese and Tibetan historical materials. Taranath, a well-known Tibetan historian, furnishes useful information on this subject.

The gradual conquest of Northern India by the Muslims is described in detail in Muslim historical chronicles, and Muslim travellers, like Al-Biruni, help us to reconstruct the

geography of India as well as the society and religion of the Hindus in the period of decadence. Among the early Muslim chroniclers Al Biladuri, Sulaiman, Al Masudi, Hasan Nizami and Ibn-ul-Athir deserve special mention.

INSCRIPTIONS[1]

Fleet says, ". . . . it is almost entirely from a patient examination of the inscriptions . . . . that our knowledge of the ancient political history of India has been derived. But we are also ultimately dependent on the inscriptions in every other line of Indian research. Hardly any definite dates and identifications can be established except from them. And they regulate every thing that we can learn from tradition, literature, coins, art, architecture, or any other source".

The materials utilised for recording inscriptions are numerous: iron, gold, silver, brass, bronze, copper, clay, earthenware, bricks, stones, crystals, etc. Sometimes inscriptions contain plain statements of events (*e.g.*, the Hathigumpha inscription of Kharavela, the Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudra Gupta, etc.). These records illustrate 'how well the ancient Hindus could put together brief historical narratives, concise and to the point, but limited in scope'. Most of the inscriptions are, however, records of religious endowments or of secular donations. Generally they give us valuable genealogical information, and patient scrutiny may extract from them valuable incidental references to political, social, religious, and economic conditions. The languages used in inscriptions are almost as numerous as the materials on which they have been inscribed: Sanskrit, Pali, Prakrit, Tamil, Telegu, Malayalam, Kanarese, etc. The Brahmi script (written from left to right) was generally used; but the use of the Kharosthi script (written from right to left) was not very infrequent. Some of the Sanskrit inscriptions (*e.g.*, the Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudra Gupta) possess considerable literary value.

Sometimes inscriptions in countries beyond India refer to incidents of Indian history. For instance, inscriptions found at Boghaz-Koi (in Asia Minor) probably refer to the movements of the Aryans before their arrival in India, and thus indirectly

[1] See *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. II, Chap. I.

help us in the reconstruction of the history of the Vedic period. Inscriptions discovered at Persepolis and Naksh-i-Rustam (in Iran) contain valuable references to political contact between ancient India and Iran. Epigraphy is the most important source of information regarding the colonial activities of the ancient Hindus in the Far East.

COINS

Coins constitute another important source of information regarding ancient Indian history. They are primarily useful for testing the accuracy of the information supplied by literature, but occasionally they offer facts of independent value. Coins containing dates are of very great assistance in the construction of chronology. Even those coins which do not contain dates sometimes give us names of Princes and indirectly reflect the religious and economic conditions of the time when they were issued. The provenance of the coins of a particular King is often a valuable indication of the extent of his dominions. The history of the Bactrian and Scythian Princes of India has been recovered almost solely from a careful study of numismatic evidence.

MONUMENTS

Monuments hardly possess any value for the students of purely political history, but they constitute one of the most important sources of information regarding the cultural history of ancient India. They illustrate the development of art and religion (for most of them are structures devoted to religion) ; indirectly they also reflect the economic conditions of the time. The stratification of buildings may sometimes offer us valuable clues to chronological puzzles.

SECTION II

SOURCES OF MEDIEVAL INDIAN HISTORY

A student of Indian history can approach the Muhammadan period with some relief, for sources of medieval Indian history are fuller and more abundant than sources of ancient Indian history. Inscriptions, traditions, coins and fragments of literary evidence

need not be laboriously pieced together to build up the skeleton of history. There are numerous contemporary and semi-contemporary chronicles dealing with different Muslim dynasties which give us detailed topography and accurate chronology. State papers and official or private documents possessed by individuals supply in all countries a mass of reliable information to historians. We know that the Mughals at least had a very efficient record department, but the principal cities of Northern India being the scene of devastating inroads, very few of these records have survived to guide us. Of the choice manuscripts, "written by great men", numbering 24,000, that formed the valuable library of Akbar, none has survived. We blame the climate of India, but much more than climate is the vandalism of man responsible for this loss to History.

CHRONICLES

In the absence of contemporary State papers we have to depend upon the chronicles. Some of them are general histories of the Muslim world in which Indian history occupies a small space, but there are also many chronicles that deal only with the history of India.[1]

Minhaj-ud-din's *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri* is a general history of the Muslim world, but it discusses the history of the Slave Sultans of Delhi in details up to 1267. It has been translated into English by Raverty. The story is then taken up by Zia-ud-din Barani, whose *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi* goes up to the first six years of the reign of Firuz Shah Tughluq. Firuz Shah's own composition, *Futuhat-i-Firuz Shahi,* gives a record of the administrative achievements of that monarch. There is no contemporary chronicle of the Afghan dynasties and we have to rely on books written under Akbar or Jahangir. Babur's deservedly famous *Memoirs* has authoritative Persian and English translations. Humayun's personal attendant, Jauhar, wrote an interesting work called *Tazkirat-ul-wakiat* which has been

[1] Sir Henry Elliot and Professor John Dowson have made available to us in the eight volumes of *History of India as told by its own Historians* valuable extracts and summaries from Persian chronicles that give us a general idea of their character and contents. But advanced students of Indian history have found serious mistakes and gaps in these volumes. Some of these have been corrected by Mr. Hodivala in his *Studies in Indo-Muslim History.*

translated into English by Stewart. Gulbadan Begam's *Humayun-nama,* which gives an insight into the royal harem, has been translated into English by Mrs. Beveridge. The *Ain-i-Akbari* and the *Akbarnama,* the two most important works dealing with the reign of Akbar, have been translated into English, the former by Blochmann and Jarrett, the latter by H. Beveridge. Another important contemporary history, *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh* by Badauni, has been translated into English by Rankin, Lowe and Wolseley Haig. The *Memoirs* of Jahangir, an excellent source of history, has been translated into English by H. Beveridge. The official annals—the *Padishahnama,* in three sections by three writers, and the *Alamgirnama*—cover the reign of Shah Jahan and the early years of Aurangzeb's reign. For the last forty years of Aurangzeb's reign there is the *Masir-i-Alamgiri* compiled from official records after his death. Khafi Khan's *Muntakhab-ul-lubab* supplies us with many facts suppressed in the Court annals.

FOREIGN TRAVELLERS

The best known of all the travellers who visited India during the pre-Mughal period was Ibn Batutah who lived in India for some years. His account bears the stamp of authenticity. Nicolo Conti, Abdur Razzaq and Athanasius Nikitin have left us interesting information relating to Southern India. From the sixteenth century onwards the European travellers who came to India left for our use a vast mass of information. The works of the Jesuit missionaries contain much interesting information and European travellers like Fitch, Purchas, Terry, Roe, Tavernier, Bernier, Careri and Manucci have described in some detail the condition of the people, the state of trade and industry and the magnificence of the court and the camp. Regarding the political history of India, however, apart from references to a few events, they merely reproduce the bazar rumours.

NEWS-LETTERS

Besides Court chronicles, memoirs, private histories and traveller's accounts, we have fortunately many manuscript

news-letters for the reigns of Aurangzeb and his successors. They have been preserved at Jaipur and in the Royal Asiatic Society's library in London.

COINS AND MONUMENTS

We must also recognise the importance of coins and monuments as sources of history for the Sultanate as also the Mughal period. Regarding coins it has been observed: "In places where men did not print, these stamped moneys obtruding into every bazar constituted the most effective manifestos and proclamations human ingenuity could have devised". Catalogues of coins in the British Museum, the Indian Museum, and the Punjab Museum,—all prepared by British scholars,—offer us evidence of special value. Monuments testify to the growth of material prosperity and the development of culture. They do not help us much in reconstructing political history.

MARATHAS, RAJPUTS AND SIKHS

For Maratha history in the Mughal period there are several chronicles, of which the most important is the *Sabhāsad Bakhar* written by a contemporary of Shivaji, translated into English by Dr. S. N. Sen. The British factory records dealing with the seventeenth and the early years of the eighteenth century supply extremely valuable contemporary evidence. The records left by the Portuguese are also of great value. The Rajput bardic chronicles are useful as a source of Rajput history, but they should be treated with caution and we should try to find out the kernel of truth from a confused assemblage of fact and fiction. Tod's classic work, *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, is based on the bardic ballads and poems ; it should not be used as a source book without due caution. For the history of the Sikh Gurus and the doctrines of Sikhism we have several works, including the *Granth Sahib*, which have been summarised from the orthodox Sikh point of view in Macauliffe's *The Sikh Religion*. In studying this subject it is necessary to discriminate between fact and fiction, reliable contemporary evidence and later myths.

LITERATURE

Sometimes contemporary literature contains useful information regarding social and political history. We find, for example, valuable historical material in the writings of the famous Indo-Persian poet, Amir Khusrau. One of his works, the *Khazain-ul-Futuh*, is a very important source of information about the reign of Ala-ud-din Khalji.

SECTION III

SOURCES OF MODERN INDIAN HISTORY

OFFICIAL RECORDS

The French traveller Jacquemont who came to India in 1831 gathered the impression that India was governed by stationery. It is an undoubted fact that the State papers of the Government of India are very elaborate. The Government of India was from the beginning a government by writing. In 1719 the Court of Directors directed that every member should have the liberty to dissent from the resolutions of the Council and give his reasons in writing. When the East India Company turned to political business the writing of members of Council naturally began to grow in volume. Sir John Malcolm, one of the greatest of the civil servants of the East India Company and a historian of no mean repute, said, "Verbosity and expansion are the sins that most easily beset our ingenious countrymen in the east". The mass of State papers is almost infinite. The Imperial Record Department in New Delhi and the Record Offices in Madras, Bengal, Bombay, Poona and Lahore contain an enormous quantity of State records that have not yet been printed or calendared. Besides these, there are the records in the India Office, London. The Portuguese archives at Lisbon and Nova Goa contain many documents concerning Indo-European relations. The French records at Pondichery are invaluable for a proper study of the eighteenth century. Records in private custody are yet to be tapped. Even the records printed by the different Record Offices, apart from their manuscript collections, are so overwhelming in their mass that it is very difficult to read and digest them all.

PERSIAN AND MARATHI SOURCES

For the British period Persian chronicles are not as valuable as they are for the medieval period. An exception must, however, be made in favour of the *Siyar-ul-Mutakharin,* which is indispensable for a proper study of the history of India in the eighteenth century. Fortunately it is available in English translation. Most of the Maratha records relating to the history of India in the eighteenth century have been published in the series entitled *Selections from the Peshwa Daftar* edited by Sardesai. Many valuable Maratha records are also found in the works edited by Rajwade, Khare, and others. The Tamil diary of Ananda Ranga Pillai, the *Dubash* of Dupleix, runs into several volumes in its English translation. It is an indispensable source of information relating to Anglo-French rivalry in southern India. An abundant mass of contemporary or semi-contemporary accounts written by Englishmen who played an important part in Indian history, as also the mass of published memoirs and letters, must give a student of history his fill.

EARLY BRITISH WRITERS

Some historical works relating to the rise of the British power in India that were written at the beginning of the nineteenth century are even now valuable for reference. There is in them no conscious spirit of propaganda which spoils the value of some later histories relating to the British period. Three such books, inspite of their obvious defects, deserve special mention—James Mill's *History of British India,* Wilks' *History of Mysore* and Grant Duff's *History of the Mahrattas.* Cunningham's justly celebrated *History of the Sikhs,* written in 1849, also belongs to the category of works which are old, yet not out of date, and which have at the same time the flavour of contemporary or semi-contemporary writing.

CHAPTER III

PRE-ARYAN INDIA

SECTION I

PRE-HISTORIC RACES

The coming of the Aryans can no longer be regarded as the beginning of Indian history. India was certainly inhabited by various races before the arrival of the Aryans, and the contributions of these pre-Aryan or non-Aryan races to the development of the so-called Aryan civilisation are by no means negligible. Unfortunately we know very little about these races. No literary evidence is available, except some vague statements in the Vedas and in early Tamil literature, and we must rely solely on archaeological discoveries.

PALAEOLITHIC AGE

The earliest inhabitants of India were the palaeolithic men, whose rude tools of chipped stone are found in large numbers in many parts of the country, more especially in the districts along the eastern coast. They did not know the use of metals, nor could they cultivate land or make a fire. They did not construct tombs ; so their skulls and bones are not available for anthropological study.

NEOLITHIC AGE

The Palaeolithic Age was followed by the Neolithic Age. Although the use of rough stone implements was not altogether given up, yet most of the implements used by the neolithic men were 'ground, grooved and polished', and thus turned into beautiful objects serving different purposes. They buried the dead and constructed tombs. They were undoubtedly in a state of civilization far above that of palaeolithic men. They cultivated land, domesticated animals, made pottery and produced fire by friction of bamboos or pieces of wood. They could construct boats and weave cloth. It is difficult to say whether the palaeolithic and neolithic men belonged to the same race.

AGE OF METALS

Gold was probably the first metal used by the descendants of neolithic men, but it was used for ornaments only. As regards implements and weapons used for the ordinary purposes of life, they were made of iron in South India. In North India they were at first made of copper, which was some time later replaced by iron. Hoards of copper implements have been discovered in different parts of India. The earliest copper tools may be as old as 2000 B.C., and probably they were in use when the hymns of the Rig Veda were composed. Iron may have been introduced in North India as early as 1000 B.C. ; it is mentioned in the Atharva Veda. In South India the use of iron was probably introduced much later and quite independently. In India, except in Sind, no Bronze Age intervened between the Neolithic and the Iron Ages.

THE DRAVIDIANS

The Dravidians were one of the earliest civilised races of India. Their language is now represented by the principal languages (except Marathi) spoken in South India—Tamil, Telegu, Kanarese, Malayalam, etc. Some scholars have traced Dravidian characteristics in Vedic and Classical Sanskrit as well. The ancient Dravidian alphabet, called Vatteluttu, may be of Semitic origin. Some scholars hold the view that the Dravidians were the descendants of the primitive inhabitants of India, and that the Dravidian culture represents the gradual progress of pre-Dravidian culture. Other scholars rely on the similarity between Sumerian and Dravidian ethnic types and argue that the Dravidians invaded India through Baluchistan from Western Asia. In discussing the question of the origin of the Dravidians some importance must be attached to the fact that a Baluchi tribe, called the Brahui, speaks a language closely allied to the modern representatives of the original Dravidian language. Those scholars, who regard the Dravidians as the descendants of the primitive inhabitants of India, believe that there was a Dravidian over-flow from India into Baluchistan, leading to the foundation of a Dravidian colony in the latter country. Those who represent the Dravidians as immigrants from Western Asia argue that the Brahui people

are the descendants of a group of immigrants who lingered in Baluchistan on their way to India. No definite conclusion can be arrived at on this important question until the discovery of further evidence.

There is no doubt that the Dravidians were a fairly civilised people. They were conversant with the use of metals. Their artistic sense is revealed by their highly finished pottery. They constructed buildings and forts. There are many references in Vedic literature to towns and forts (*pura* and *durga*) built by the *Dasyus*, who are usually identified with the Dravidians. In ancient Tamil literature there are many references to wealthy cities where many of the refinements and luxuries of life were familiar. Agriculture flourished in the Dravidian land, and dams were built across rivers for irrigation purposes. The Dravidians were not afraid of crossing the seas in pursuit of trade and commerce.

The civilisation of the Dravidians was in many respects different from that of the Aryans. The Dravidian society was partly matriarchal, and therefore it was fundamentally dissimilar to the Aryan society which was wholly patriarchal. The religion of the Dravidians has been described by European writers as 'dark and repulsive'. They worshipped the Mother Goddess and various demons, and human sacrifice was an important feature of their worship. Caste was unknown. These differences were gradually obliterated after the expansion of the Aryans across the Vindhyas. The Dravidians, submerged beneath the tide of Aryan invasion, accepted the religion and culture of the conquerors, but in course of time many elements of Dravidian religion, culture, and language were, consciously or unconsciously, borrowed by the Aryans. Smith says that the 'demons' originally worshipped by the Dravidians were 'adopted by the Brahmans, given new names, and identified with orthodox Hindu gods and goddesses'. The incorporation of Dravidian elements in the Sanskrit language has been referred to above. Smith rightly observed many years ago, "Early Indian history, as a whole, cannot be viewed in true perspective until the non-Aryan institutions of the south receive adequate treatment."

SECTION II

INDUS CIVILISATION

MAHENJODARO AND HARAPPA

The excavations at Mahenjodaro (Larkana district, Sind) and Harappa (Montgomery district, Punjab)[1] have opened up a hitherto unknown chapter in the long history of India. That history is no longer taken to begin with the coming of the Aryans (*circa* 2000 B.C.). A rich and well-developed civilisation flourished in the Indus valley as early as 3000 B.C. As iron is not directly mentioned in the Rig Veda, the civilisation of the early Vedic age is generally regarded as a product of the Chalcolithic period. The Indus civilisation also belongs to this period. Our information about the various aspects of this civilisation is still very meagre, for archaeologists have not yet been able to decipher the words engraved on the seals discovered at Mahenjodaro and Harappa. It is almost certain that the language indicated on those seals is neither Vedic Sanskrit nor connected with it. Some scholars think that the language used by the Indians of the pre-historic Indus valley was similar to the language used by the Dravidians and agglutinative in character.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL DATA

As the civilisation of ancient Egypt grew up in the valley of the Nile, as the civilisation of Babylonia and Assyria grew up in the valley of the Tigris and the Euphrates, so also the civilisation of pre-Aryan India grew up in the valley of the Indus. It was an urban civilisation. At Mahenjodaro archaeologists have found the ruins of a large and beautiful city, which seems to have been designed by skilful engineers aiming at the

[1] In the Sindhi language the word Mahenjodaro means 'mound of the dead.' In 1922 a Buddhist mound attracted the attention of the late Mr. Rakhaldas Banerjee, who was at that time Superintendent of the Western Circle under the Archaeological Survey of India. He began to excavate the site with the hope of discovering some ruins connected with Buddhism, but within a short time he came upon pre-historic remains. In the same year Rai Bahadur Dayaram Sahni discovered similar ruins at Harappa. Extensive excavations were then undertaken at the two sites under the direction of Sir John Marshall, Director-General of the Archaeological Survey of India.

comfort and convenience of all citizens. There were many broad and narrow streets separating the houses from one another. Apart from the dwelling houses there were some spacious buildings which were probably palaces or temples or municipal halls. Brick was used for the construction of buildings. Curiously enough, neither brick nor wood contains any decoration. There were excellent doors and windows. The construction of regular arches was unknown, but some corbelled arches have been discovered. Water was drawn from wells constructed with burnt bricks. There were excellent drains and comfortable bath rooms. One of the bath rooms contains an area of 11,440 square feet. Within this room there was a large swimming pool, 39 feet long, 23 feet broad, and 8 feet deep.

So far as food is concerned, the people of Mahenjodaro used wheat, barley, milk, and fruits like dates. They were meat-eaters too, and fish was probably in extensive use. Probably the chief victims were sheep, boars and cocks. Among domesticated animals we find traces of humped bulls, cows, buffaloes, sheep, elephants, camels, boars, goats and cocks. Dogs were probably known, but the case of horses is doubtful. Among wild animals there were deer, wild cows, tigers, bears and hares.

The people of Mahenjodaro knew the use of gold, silver, copper, tin, lead and bronze. Iron was unknown. Gold was not locally procurable. Some writers believe that it was brought to the Indus valley from south Indian mines. Naturally the quantity was small. Copper and bronze were used for the construction of instruments of war as well as utensils for domestic use. Even stone was rare, for it had to be brought from Kathiawad and Rajputana. Many varieties of stone were used for the construction of knives, seals, idols, small pots and ornaments. The women were probably very fond of ornaments, which were made of gold, silver, ivory, copper and precious stones.

The pottery discovered at Mahenjodaro and Harappa is generally very smooth in the surface and occasionally decorated. The artistic taste of the people is evident from their pottery, utensils and ornaments. There were good sculptors too. The representations of animals carved on the seals and a few stone images found at Harappa testify to the progress of fine arts.

It is difficult to say anything definite about the religion practised by the people of Mahenjodaro. Probably there was no temple or church, for none of the houses so far excavated can be positively described as a house of worship. Tentative conclusions have, however, been drawn from the pictures found on the seals and small images of clay and metal. The worship of a mother goddess was probably widely practised. This feature of religious life connects Mahenjodaro with Western Asia, where the worship of this goddess probably originated, rather than with Vedic India, where male deities enjoyed a decided preponderance. Mahenjodaro also worshipped a male god, who may be identified with Siva. Phallus worship was practised. Here also we find a contrast with Vedic India, for the Rig Veda clearly denounces the phallus-worshippers. Animism also was prevalent: trees, beasts and snakes received their share of worship. Closely connected with religion is the practice of disposing of dead bodies. Three different methods were known to the pre-historic inhabitants of the Indus valley: complete burial, fractional burial, and post-cremation burial.

CHRONOLOGY

The remains discovered at Mahenjodaro have been classified as products of three different periods: early period, intermediate period, late period. The history of these three periods probably covered not more than five centuries. But the history of pre-historic Indus civilisation began long before the foundation of the city of Mahenjodaro and continued to flourish even after the fall of that city. The city probably existed during the period 3250-2750 B.C.

RACES

The inhabitants of Mahenjodaro probably belonged to three races: the Mediterranean race, the Caucasian race, and a race of unknown origin, whose descendants are now inhabiting the area from Armenia to the north of Kashmir. A Mongoloid skeleton has also been discovered. It is clear, therefore, that the civilisation of the Indus valley was not created by any particular race; it was rather the creation of different races living and working together in a particular environment. Some

writers, however, believe that the people of Mahenjodaro belonged to the Dravidian race.

Attempts have been made to connect the people of the Indus valley with the Vedic Aryans, but there are very few valid arguments in support of this view. The Rig Veda is the product of a rural civilisation, while the civilisation of the Indus valley was definitely urban in character. The horse, probably unknown at Mahenjodaro, was in frequent use by the Vedic warriors. In the Vedas the cow enjoys a place of honour, but at Mahenjodaro the bull occupied a more important position. The worship of idols, a common practice at Mahenjodaro, was unknown to the Vedic Aryans. While in the Vedas male deities are predominant, at Mahenjodaro the mother goddess is decidedly superior to Siva. It is difficult to resist the conclusion that the civilisation of the Vedic Aryans is posterior to, and different in character from, the Indus civilisation.

THE INDUS VALLEY AND WESTERN ASIA

There are good reasons to believe that the pre-historic civilisation of the Indus valley was closely connected with the contemporary civilisation of Western Asia. Numerous Indian seals, some of them containing the Mahenjodaro script, have been discovered at Ur, Tel Asmer (near Bagdad) and other places in Western Asia. The construction of corbelled arches and of niches in walls, the worship of a mother goddess, the pictures of certain common animals on the seals—these establish a clearly discernible link between Mahenjodaro and Mesopotamia. It has been assumed that the civilisations of these two distant areas owe their origin to a common civilisation, the differences being due to local conditions and racial peculiarities. It may be hoped that further excavations will throw more light on this very interesting and important problem.

FOR FURTHER STUDY

Risley, *Peoples of India.*

Mackay, *The Indus Civilisation.*

Marshall, *Mahenjodaro and the Indus Civilisation.*

CHAPTER IV

THE COMING OF THE ARYANS

SECTION I

ARYAN SETTLEMENTS IN INDIA

ORIGINAL HOME OF THE ARYANS

Although there are writers who believe that India was the original home of the Aryans,[1] the generally accepted view is that they came to this country either from Central Asia or from some European country. In the present imperfect stage of our knowledge we may tentatively accept the theory that the primitive habitat of the Aryans lay in the region which we now call Hungary, Austria, and Czecho-Slovakia. This theory seems to satisfy most of the conditions of life associated by ethnologists and linguists with the primitive Aryans.

DATE OF ARYAN IMMIGRATION INTO INDIA

It is difficult to ascertain, even roughly, the period when the migrations of the Aryans began. Probably the natural increase of population compelled them to leave their homeland, a small area encircled by mountains, and to seek food and shelter in distant lands. They must have had many hard struggles with the peoples of the countries they wanted to occupy, and centuries may well have passed away in this process. The famous Boghaz-Koi inscriptions, discovered some years ago by German archaeologists in Cappadocia, seem to show that about 1400 B.C. the Aryans had succeeded in imposing some of their deities over a people (known as the Mitanni) living in that region. This evidence, however, does not preclude the possibility of Aryan migration into India before 1400 B.C.

[1] Sanskrit *Ārya—Airya* in *Avesta—Ariya* in Old Persian. The original meaning of the word is "the faithful ones", "the people of the same race". In the Vedic hymns this epithet is applied by the composers 'to distinguish their own stock from that of their enemies, the earlier inhabitants of India, whom they call *Dāsas* or *Dasyus*.'

It is generally recognised that the Aryans who settled in India were racially akin to the ancient Iranians. This conclusion is based primarily on the evidence of language. The dialect spoken by the Aryan immigrants in the Punjab was closely related to the ancient Iranian and Avestic. Winternitz points out that "the difference between the language of the Vedas and this primitive Indo-Iranian language seems to be less, perhaps, than that between . . . Sanskrit and Pali." The differentiation between the Indo-Aryan and Iranian dialects seems to have begun after the date of the Boghaz-Koi inscriptions (*circa* 1400 B.C.).

In order to determine the date of the arrival of the Aryans in India we must find out the age of the Rig Veda. "Unfortunately", says Winternitz, "the opinions of the best scholars differ, not to the extent of centuries, but to the extent of thousands of years, with regard to the age of the Rig Veda. Some lay down the year 1000 B.C. as the earliest limit for the Rig Vedic hymns, while others consider them to have originated between 3000 and 2500 B.C." This remark of Winternitz still holds good. Probably we shall not be far wrong if we date the beginning of Vedic literature about 2000 or 2500 B.C. The most decisive evidence in calculating the age of this literature is the fact that Jainism and Buddhism pre-suppose its existence. If the earlier hymns of the Rig Veda were composed about 2000 or 2500 B.C., the principal Upanishads, which were certainly known to the Jains and the Buddhists, must be at least as old as 500 B.C.

EARLY ARYAN SETTLEMENTS IN INDIA

We conclude, therefore, that the Aryans appeared in north-western India not later than 2000 B.C. Most of the hymns of the Rig Veda were probably composed in the country round the famous river Sarasvati, south of modern Ambala. The Aryan occupation of Afghanistan and the Punjab is proved by the mention in the Rig Veda of the rivers Kabul, Swat, Kurram, Gumal, Indus, Jhelum, Chenab, Ravi, Beas and Sutlej. There are a few references to the Jumna and the Ganges. There is no mention of the Narbada. Of mountains, the Himalayas were well known, but the Vindhyas were unknown. These

geographical references show that in the Rig Vedic age the settlements of the Aryans were confined to eastern Afghanistan, the Punjab and the western portion of the United Provinces. The major part of this area was known as *Sapta Sindhu* (or the land of the seven rivers).

EXPANSION OF THE ARYANS IN THE LATER VEDIC PERIOD

The Rig Veda is full of references to continuous fighting against the *Dāsas* or *Dasyus* (*i.e.* non-Aryans). We can almost visualise the Aryans pressing forward towards the east. In the Brahmanas the Punjab gradually loses its importance, and there is more and more frequent mention of the eastern lands. In that age the principal centre of Aryan culture was the *Madhyadesa* extending from the Sarasvati to the Gangetic Doab. We have frequent references to Kurukshetra, Kosala (modern Oudh), Kasi (Benares), Videha (North Bihar), Magadha (South Bihar) and Anga (East Bihar). The Kurus and the Panchalas were the leading Aryan tribes of this period. Contact seems to have been established with the South ; there are references to the Andhras of the Godavari valley and the Pulindas and Savaras of the Vindhyan forests. These tribes were not yet fully Aryanised, for they are described as outcasts. Aryan civilisation was just peeping through the Vindhyas.

SECTION II

VEDIC LITERATURE AND RELIGION

AUTHORSHIP OF THE VEDAS

According to the tentative conclusion adopted in this book, the entire Vedic literature was composed during the period *circa* 2500—500 B.C. Orthodox Hindus believe that the Vedas were not composed by men ; they were either taught by God to the ancient sages or they revealed themselves to the seers. Whatever their origin may be, there is no doubt that the Vedas are the earliest literary records of the Aryans.

IMPORTANCE OF THE VEDAS

For many generations the Vedas were handed down from mouth to mouth. They are, therefore, known as *Sruti* (that

which is heard). The veneration in which the Vedas have ever been held by the Hindus made it possible for them to transmit through centuries so large a body of literature without putting it into writing and with little or no interpolation at all. A modern Indian philosopher thus estimates the place of the Vedas in the Hindu mind: "The religious history of India had suffered considerable changes in the later periods, since the time of the Vedic civilization, but such was the reverence paid to the Vedas that they have ever remained as the highest religious authority for all sections of the Hindus at all times. Even at this day all the obligatory duties of the Hindus at birth, marriage, death, etc., are performed according to the old Vedic ritual. The prayers which a Brahmin now says three times a day are the same selections of Vedic verses as were used as prayer verses two or three thousand years ago. . . . Most of the Sanskrit literatures that flourished after the Vedas base upon them their own validity, and appeal to them as their authority. Systems of Hindu philosophy not only own their allegiance to the Vedas, but the adherents of each one of them would often quarrel with others and maintain its superiority by trying to prove that it and it alone was the faithful follower of the Vedas and represented correctly their views. The laws which regulate the social, legal, domestic and religious customs and rites of the Hindus even to the present day are said to be mere systematized memories of old Vedic teachings, and are held to be obligatory on their authority. Even under British administration, in the inheritance of property, adoption, and in such other legal transactions, Hindu Law is followed, and this claims to draw its authority from the Vedas."[1]

CLASSIFICATION OF VEDIC LITERATURE

The Vedic literature consists of four different classes of works:

I. The *Samhitās* or collections of hymns, prayers, incantations, benedictions, sacrificial formulas and litanies.

There are four *Samhitās*, of which the Rig Veda Samhita is undoubtedly the oldest and most important. Its present text consists of 1,028 *suktas* or hymns, which are divided into 10

[1] S. N. Das Gupta, *A History of Indian Philosophy*, Vol. I, pp. 10-11.

mandalas or books. Some of these hymns were from the first intended for sacrificial songs and litanies, but there are others which arose independently of all sacrificial ritual and "in them the breath of genuine primeval religious poetry is felt."

The Atharva Veda Samhita, in its present version, consists of 731 hymns, which are divided into 20 books. Some of these hymns have been literally taken from the Rig Veda Samhita. As a whole, the Atharva Veda Samhita is undoubtedly later than the Rig Veda Sahmita. The great importance of the former lies in the fact that "it is an invaluable source of knowledge of the real popular belief as yet uninfluenced by the priestly religion, of the faith in numberless spirits, imps, ghosts, and demons of every kind, and of the witchcraft, so eminently important for ethnology and for the history of religion."

The Sama Veda Samhita, in its present version, consists of 1,549 hymns, of which all but 75 are found in the Rig Veda Samhita. These 75 hymns are found in other works. All these hymns were used for singing in connection with sacrifices.

The Yajur Veda Samhita consists partly of hymns and partly of prose sentences (*yajus*) some of which are 'occasionally rhythmical and here and there even rise to poetical flight.' Most of the hymns occur also in the Rig Veda Samhita.

II. *The Brāhmanas,* or prose texts containing observations on various sacrificial rites and ceremonies. "They reflect the spirit of an age in which all intellectual activity is concentrated on the sacrifice, describing its ceremonies, discussing its value, speculating on its origin and significance." The following are among the most important of the early *Brāhmanas :* Aitareya Brahmana and Kausitaki Brahmana belonging to the Rig Veda ; Tandya Maha Brahmana and Jaiminiya Brahmana belonging to the Sama Veda ; Taittiriya Brahmana and Satapatha Brahmana belonging to the Yajur Veda. The *Brāhmanas* of the Atharva Veda, of which the Gopatha Brahmana is very prominent, are of comparatively late origin.

III. *The Āranyakas,* or forest texts. "These works were probably composed for old men who had retired into the forest and were thus unable to perform elaborate sacrifices requiring a multitude of accessories and articles which could not be procured in forests. In these . . . meditations gradually began

to supplant the sacrifices as being of a superior order. It is here that we find that amongst a certain section of intelligent people the ritualistic ideas began to give way, and philosophic speculations about the nature of truth became gradually substituted in their place." The *Āranyakas* form component parts of the *Brāhmanas*. Thus, the Aitareya Āranyaka is a continuation of the Aitareya Brāhmana.

IV. *The Upanishads*, or treatises containing secret instructions imparted at private sittings by the preceptors to the pupils. The oldest *Upanishads* are partly included in the *Āranyakas* and partly appended to them ; in fact, it is often difficult to draw the line between the *Āranyakas* and the *Upanishads*. The *Upanishads* marked a reaction against sacrificial religion and revealed the ultimate truth and reality, a knowledge of which was considered indispensable for the emancipation of man. They are written generally in prose, but a few are written entirely or for the most part in verse. At present more than 100 *Upanishads* are available. Among the most important we may mention Isa, Kena, Katha, Prasna, Mundaka, Māndukya, Taittiriya, Aitareya, Chhāndogya, Brihadāranyaka, Svetāsvatara, Kausitaki, etc.

RELIGION OF THE VEDAS

The Vedic literature enables us to draw a picture, however unsatisfactory, of the religious life in Vedic India. "The Rig Veda does not present us with any naive outpouring of the primitive religious consciousness, but with a state of belief which must have been the product of much priestly effort, and the outcome of wholesale syncretism". The religion of the Vedic Indians was a continuation of the primitive faith of the Aryan race. Their pantheon included some gods worshipped by the Aryans before their arrival in this country. Some of the deities, again, like the river deity Sarasvati, were conceived after their appearance in India. Most of these deities are very close to nature. We may mention Dyaus, Agni and Parjanya. There is no doubt that the beauty and grandeur of natural phenomena excited the imagination and inspired the devotion of the Vedic sages. The number of the deities known

to the Vedic literature is indefinite. Sometimes they are classified into three groups according to their abode—gods of the sky (*e.g.*, Mitra and Varuna), gods of mid-air (*e.g.*, Indra and Maruts), and gods of the earth (*e.g.*, Agni and Soma). The predominance of the male element is a remarkable characteristic of the Vedic pantheon. There is no definite hierarchy, no supreme God ; each deity 'shrinks into insignificance or shines supreme according as it is the object of adoration or not.' This stage has, therefore, been rightly described as neither polytheistic nor monotheistic, 'but one which had a tendency towards them both, although it was not sufficiently developed to be identified with either of them.'

The growth of ritual naturally eclipsed the importance of the deities as arbiters of human destiny. Early Vedic ritual was quite simple ; the gods were worshipped with humble offerings of milk, grain and *ghee*. The motive was the desire to secure earthly happiness—to get children and cattle or to get one's enemy out of the way. Complications began to accumulate in the age of the *Brāhmanas*. The offerings became richer, the ritual more elaborate. Numerous priests were required for the proper performance of a sacrifice: the *Hotri* who recited the hymns, the *Adhvaryu* who performed the manual activities and muttered prayers, the *Udgātrī* who sang the Sama chants, and several assistants. A fundamental change came over the very spirit with which offerings were made. The gods were no longer to be conciliated ; they were to be compelled by the sacrifice to grant to the sacrificer what he wanted. Thus the sacrifice was exalted above the gods. The logical consequence of this development was their total denial later in the *Purva-mimāmsā* system of philosophy.

We have already remarked that the beginnings of philosophic thought, of a search after truth and reality, may be traced in the *Āranyakas*. In the *Upanishads* this search reached its logical conclusion. These treatises occupy a very important place in the history of Indian philosophy. The fundamental idea which runs through them is that underlying the visible world of change there is an unchangeable reality (*Brahman*) which is identical with that which underlies the essence in man (*Ātman*).

SECTION III

POLITICAL, SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC ORGANISATION OF THE RIG VEDIC ARYANS

NON-ARYANS IN THE VEDIC PERIOD

Our information about the political history of the early Vedic period is, unfortunately, very meagre. There are many references to continuous fighting against the so-called *Dāsas* or *Dasyus,* the earlier inhabitants of this country, but systematic details are lacking. The main distinctions between the Aryans and their non-Aryan enemies were clearly those of physical appearance, speech and religion. The non-Aryans are described as black and 'noseless' (*anāsah*) ; their speech is derided and they are often reproached for their failure to offer sacrifices to the Aryan gods. Although the struggle must have been long and bitter, the triumphant Aryans do not seem to have made any attempt to exterminate the vanquished non-Aryan population. Many non-Aryans found shelter in mountains and forests, while others were enslaved. There are many references to male and female slaves in the Vedic and early post-Vedic literature ; they were most probably non-Aryans. But the non-Aryans were not barbarous or uncivilised. They possessed large herds of cattle. They constructed towns, or, at least, well-built stockades (*pura*). There are instances in which *Dāsas* were able to establish friendly relations with Aryans.

POLITICAL DISUNITY OF THE ARYANS

There was no unity in the camp of the conquerors. An Aryan King named Divodasa waged war against the Turvasa, Yadu and Puru tribes. His son or grandson, Sudas, was the leader of a great contest between the Bharatas, an Aryan tribe settled in Brahmavarta (the land lying between the rivers Sarasvati and Drishadvati), and the Aryan tribes of the north-west. Of the Aryan tribes of the early Vedic period the most important were the Bharatas, the Purus (who lived round the river Sarasvati), the Kurus (who lived near the Indus and the Chenab) and the Srinjayas, who were neighbours of the Bharatas.

POLITICAL ORGANISATION OF THE ARYANS

Monarchy was probably the prevailing system of political organisation known to the Vedic Aryans, although there are references to the republican form of government. Monarchy was normally hereditary, although there are some doubtful references to election by the people. The King's primary duties were to protect his subjects and to maintain priests for the performance of sacrifices. He derived his income from the tribute paid by the conquered tribes and the gifts offered by his subjects. Whether these gifts were compulsory fixed payments or occasional voluntary offerings, we do not know. Among officials we find references to the *senānī* (leader of the army) and the *grāmanī* (village chief). The *purohita* (priest) occupied a very important position, and it is very probable that his authority was not limited to religious matters alone. "The Vedic Purohita was the forerunner of the Brahman statesmen who from time to time in India have shown conspicuous ability in the management of affairs ; and there is no reason to doubt that a Visvamitra or Vasishtha was a most important element of the government of the early Vedic realm."

The popular part of the political organisation consisted of the *samiti* and the *sabhā*. The precise nature and functions of these popular assemblies cannot be determined ; but "there seems no reason to doubt that on great occasions the whole of the men of the tribe gathered there to deliberate, or at least to decide, on the courses laid before them by the great men of the tribe." Although the King participated in the proceedings of these assemblies, his authority was probably to some extent curbed by their very existence. Whether he was allowed to frame laws or to administer justice, we do not know. Our information about the administration of justice and the civil and criminal laws is extremely fragmentary. Probably war, as usual, magnified the executive authority enjoyed by the King. He not only led his troops in war, but personally fought from chariots.

EARLY ARYAN SOCIETY

About the social organisation of the Vedic Aryans we are able to form a clearer conception. The patrilineal family was

the basis of social as well as political life. Monogamy was the prevalent form of marriage, but polygamy was not unknown. There is no reference to polyandry. The status of women was high. They normally controlled the household. Some of them were apparently educated and cultured, for the *Samhitās* contain hymns composed by women. Child marriage was unknown. Whether remarriage was allowed in the case of widows, we cannot definitely ascertain. The standard of female morality was high, although there are references to transgressions and prostitution.

Did the caste system exist in Aryan society during the early Vedic period? Indologists have proposed different solutions for this interesting and important problem. Those who deny the existence of the caste system in the age of the Rig Veda point out that the four castes—Brahmana, Kshatriya, Vaisya and Sudra—are mentioned only in a late hymn[1] of the Rig Veda. "Certainly there were warriors and priests, but of an exclusive warrior caste there is in the Rig Veda as little mention as of one or several lower castes of farmers, cattle-traders, merchants, artisans, and labourers". Those who disagree with this view point out that priesthood was normally hereditary in the age of the Rig Veda, and that the mention of the word *Rājanya* seems to indicate the existence of a class of nobles. Indeed, there are unmistakable traces of the division of early Vedic society into the holy power (*Brahman*), the royal power (*Kshatra*) and the commonalty (*Vis*). It is possible to reconcile these divergent views by saying that in the hymns of the Rig Veda we can trace the caste system only in a nebulous form: there were no rigid restrictions with regard to occupation, inter-marriage and inter-dining.

ECONOMIC LIFE OF THE ARYANS

Our data about the economic life of the early Vedic Aryans must be collected from stray references in the literature of the period. They were pre-eminently a rural people; we find no

[1] The famous *Purusha Sukta* of the Rig Veda (X. 90.12), which declares that Brahmanas, Kshatriyas, Vaisyas, and Sudras originated respectively from the mouth, arms, thighs, and feet of the Creator.

reference to cities or even to small towns[1]. Naturally the people lived a pastoral life. The chief source of income was cattle-rearing ; "the stress laid by the poets on the possession of cows is almost pathetic". The horse also was greatly valued. Other domesticated animals were sheep, goats, asses and dogs, but the cat had not yet been domesticated. Agriculture was the most important of occupations. A crude system of irrigation is referred to. Hunting served a very useful economic purpose ; usually the victims were lions, boars, buffaloes, antelopes and birds. Whether fishing was known, we cannot definitely say.

Specialisation in industry played a considerable part in Vedic economy. The tanner worked up the skin of the oxen into leather bottles, strings of bows and straps. The wood-worker was at once carpenter, cabinet-maker and chariot-builder. There were metal-workers too. Shipping was in its infancy. Probably fairly large boats served for the navigation of the rivers. The sea was certainly not unknown, but it is very doubtful whether there was an extensive maritime trade. An extensive inland trade was carried on, in which oxen and gold ornaments took the place of money. Although there are frequent references to slavery, competent scholars believe that Vedic economy was not dependent on slave labour. No stigma was then attached to any profession ; even tanners were not regarded as inferior members of the community.

The usual dress consisted either of three or of two garments, which were generally woven by women from the wool of sheep. Ornaments, usually made of gold, were worn by both sexes. The chief food consisted of butter, vegetables and fruits. Meat was probably used only at great feasts and family gatherings. Cows and bullocks were slaughtered at the sacrifices and for the entertainment of guests. Drinking played an important part in Vedic society. There are frequent references to *soma,* a sacrificial drink, and *surā,* a popular drink, probably distilled from grain.

The chariot race was probably the most exciting amusement. Dicing, dancing and music are frequently referred to. Of musical instruments the drum, the lute and the flute were

[1] During the *Brāhmana* period we find clear references to the capital cities called Asandivat, Kausambi, and Kasi.

very familiar. "The hymns themselves prove that singing was highly esteemed".

"We need not", says Winternitz, "imagine the people of the Rig Veda either as an innocent shepherd people, or as a horde of rough savages, nor, on the other hand, as a people of ultra-refined culture. The picture of culture which is unfolded in these songs . . . shows us the Aryan Indians as an active, joyful and warlike people, of simple, and still partly savage habits . . . As yet we do not find in the songs of the Rig Veda that effeminate, ascetic and pessimistic trait of the Indian character which we shall meet again and again in later Indian literature."

SECTION IV

LATER VEDIC LITERATURE : POLITICAL AND SOCIAL CHANGES

LATER VEDIC LITERATURE

The *Upanishads* are collectively known as the *Vedānta* (concluding portion of the Vedas). In addition, we have six *Vedāngas* (sciences supplementary to the Vedas)—phonetics (*sikshā*), ritual (*kalpa*), grammar (*vyākarana*), etymology (*nirukta*), metrics (*chhandah*) and astronomy (*jyotisa*). The beginnings of these works may be sought in the *Brāhmanas* and *Āranyakas*. They are composed in the form of *sutras* (threads, *i.e.*, short rules intended for memorisation).

Of the six *Vedāngas*, ritual was the first to receive systematic treatment in works known as the *Kalpasutras*. Those *Kalpasutras* which deal with important sacrifices are called *Srautasutras*, while those which deal with domestic ceremonies and sacrifices of daily life are called *Grihyasutras*. These works supply valuable information to the historian of religion as well as to the ethnologist. Directly connected with the *Grihyasutras* are the *Dharmasutras*, works on secular as well as religious law. The *Sulvasutras* attached to the *Srautasutras* deal with the measurement of altars and places of sacrifice. They are the oldest Indian works on geometry.

While the *Kalpasutras* supplement the *Brāhmanas*, the *sutras* relating to phonetics supplement the *Samhitās*. The

earliest works on this subject are the *Pratisākhyas*, which contain instructions upon the proper manner of reciting the *Samhitās*.

The only work on Vedic etymology which we possess now is the *Nirukta* of Yaska. Old works on metrics, astronomy and grammar have been lost. The oldest of available grammars, that of Panini, deals primarily with classical Sanskrit and only casually refers to the Vedic language.

CASTE IN THE SUTRAS

As the *Kalpasutras* deal with religious and social ceremonies, they naturally afford us valuable information about the evolution of the caste system. We have seen that this system existed in the age of the Rig Veda only in a nebulous form. In the age of the *Brāhmanas* it began slowly to crystallize into a form familiar to us. The priesthood and the nobility became hereditary, and the Vaisyas and the Sudras began to be subdivided into 'an ever-increasing number of endogamous hereditary groups practising one occupation or at least restricted to a small number of occupations'. The rules relating to inter-caste marriage began to be rigid. How far change of caste was possible, we cannot definitely say. The position of the Sudras was partially improved. They ceased to be mere slaves and became humbler freemen, for the gradual expansion of Aryan rule over different parts of India made it impossible for the leaders of Aryan society to condemn millions of non-Aryans to slavery. In the *Sutras* the Sudras are sometimes allowed to participate in domestic rites. A retrograde step is, however, marked by 'the beginning of that formal theory of defilement which results in a pure man of the upper castes being defiled by the shadow of an impure man, and in the taboo of all contact with the impure'.

POLITICAL CHANGES IN LATER VEDIC PERIOD

Some information about the evolution of the political and social organisation of the Aryans in the Indian environment is available from the *Brāhmanas*, the *Upanishads*, and the *Sutra* literature. The political subdivisions of the age of the Rig Veda were gradually giving place to territorial units of considerable

extent, and the growing ideal of political unity found concrete expression in religio-political ceremonies like the *Vājapeya*, *Rājasuya*, and *Asvamedha* sacrifices, which were performed by those Kings who had become somewhat successful in realising their imperial ambitions. The creation of comparatively large states naturally led to the growth of royal power and also to the rise of large cities. There are references in later Vedic literature to Kampila (the capital of the Panchalas), Asandivat (the capital of the Kurus), Kausambi (the capital of Vatsa), and Kasi (the capital of the Kingdom of Kasi). Some tribes who had enjoyed pre-eminence in the age of the Rig Veda, like the Bharatas, lost their political importance ; their place was now taken by other tribes, like the Kurus and the Panchalas. It is hardly possible to construct even an outline of the political history of these tribes from the scattered references to their Kings in literature.

SOCIAL CHANGES IN LATER VEDIC PERIOD

Society was gradually assuming a new complexion, for the caste system was about to crystallize into a definite shape. The process of the formation of hereditary occupational groups may be clearly traced, although we can only form conjectures about the political, social and economic causes underlying this process. Those who specialised in the study of the Vedas and took charge of religious ceremonies were called Brahmanas. Those who devoted themselves to political and military activities were called Kshatriyas. The general mass of the Aryan people came to be known as Vaisyas ; trade and agriculture were their principal occupations. It is clear, however, that the caste system was still very elastic ; inter-marriage was not yet prohibited, and some Kshatriyas studied the sacred lore and officiated in sacrifices. The Sudras constituted a distinct order in society, but their position was one of great humiliation. The Aitareya Brahmana describes the Sudra as 'the servant of another, to be expelled at will, and to be slain at will.'

Some information regarding the social position of women may be culled from literature. Education was open to them, and some of them (Gargi and Maitreyi, for instance) distinguished themselves in this sphere. But the birth of a

daughter was even in those early days regarded as 'a source of misery.' Polygamy was probably widely practised by the Kings and the richer classes. Women could not own or inherit property.

SECTION V

THE 'EPICS' AND THE 'DHARMASASTRAS'

ORIGIN AND AGE OF THE 'EPICS'

The beginnings of 'epic' poetry may be traced in the Vedic literature, and its connection with the *Sutra* literature is tolerably clear. We find frequent references to *Itihāsa Purāna* and *Gāthā Nārāsamsī* ("songs in praise of men"). Western scholars believe that the Mahabharata and the Ramayana[1] have grown out of those peculiar compositions. "But," says Winternitz, "what we know as the popular epics of the Indians, the Mahabharata and the Ramayana, are not the old heroic songs as those court-singers and travelling minstrels of ancient India sang them, compiled into unified poems by great poets or at least by clever collectors, but accumulations of very diverse poems of unequal value, which have arisen in the course of centuries owing to continual interpolations and additions." The Mahabharata, according to him, is 'not one poetic production at all, but rather a *whole literature*'.

The oldest references in the Vedic literature relate to the central story of the Mahabharata rather than to that of the Ramayana. In that sense the former is older than the latter. An old heroic poem dealing with the Bharatas, a tribe well known to the Rig Veda, probably forms the nucleus of the Mahabharata, but so many additions and interpolations have transformed it in the course of centuries that the nucleus is now altogether unrecognisable. The great sage Vyasa, to whom Indian tradition ascribes the authorship of the whole book, cannot be regarded even as the compiler of the 'Epic' in its present form. Scholars hold different opinions about the age

[1] Although Western scholars describe the Mahabharata and the Ramayana as 'epics', these composite works do not satisfy the requirements of the literary type known to Hindu rhetoric as *mahākāvya*.

of the Mahabharata. We may say that *in its present form* this 'Epic' is probably not older than the fourth century B.C. and not later than the fourth century A.D. Obviously different parts of the present version were composed at different periods.

The Ramayana, though a composite work, has much greater uniformity than the Mahabharata. Winternitz thinks that the original Ramayana (*i.e.*, the nucleus which has grown to its present volume due to countless additions and interpolations) was composed in the third century B.C. by Valmiki on the basis of ancient ballads. If this hypothesis is accepted, it is probable that the Ramayana had its present extent and contents as early as the close of the second century A.D.

SOCIAL CONDITIONS AS REFLECTED IN THE 'EPICS'

The two 'Epics' emphasize the importance of the Kshatriyas and relegate the Brahmanas to an inferior position in the body politic. Here we find a similarity with the Buddhist point of view. In the 'Epics' we find four classes: "a military power, whose head is the *rājā*; then a priestly power, politically unorganised, but divided into schools; then the merchant-power, represented by gilds, whose powerful heads (*mahājana*) are of political importance; then the farmers, unorganised but tenacious of certain rights and boasting of Aryan blood". Below the Aryans were the Sudras, the slaves, and the wild tribes.

POLITICAL HISTORY IN THE 'EPICS'

Some historians believe that the genealogical lists given in the 'Epics' should be accepted as roughly accurate. Pargiter calculated that the great war described in the Mahabharata took place in or about 1100 B.C. The Kurus were one of the most prominent Aryan tribes of the later Vedic period, but it is curious that the Pandus are mentioned for the first time in later Buddhist literature, where they are described as a hill tribe. Both Hastinapur and Indraprastha are historical cities. As regards the story of the Ramayana, some Western scholars take it as an allegorical description of the Aryan colonisation of Southern India. But it is necessary to remember that Rama is mentioned in one of the Jatakas. We also know that Kosala was one of the important Aryan Kingdoms for a long time.

The kernel of the story of the Ramayana may well be historically true.

THE DHARMASASTRAS

The *Dharmasāstras* deal with religious duties and civil law. The principal *Dharmasāstras* are the *Samhitās* ascribed to Manu, Vishnu, Yajnavalkya, and Narada. The dates of these works cannot be precisely determined, but they are generally placed between the first and fifth centuries A.D.

In the *Dharmasāstras* we find the caste system in its rigid form. Apart from the traditional four castes, whose duties are prescribed with meticulous care, these works also refer to the so-called 'mixed castes' (*i.e.*, new castes which are said to have originated from inter-marriages and illicit relations between the four original castes).

The *Dharmasāstras* give us a clear idea about one of the most remarkable features of early Aryan life. Every 'twice-born' was expected to pass through four stages (*āsrama*) of life. The first (*Brahmacharya*) began with the *upanayana* ceremony and ended with the completion of studies. During the second stage (*Gārhasthya*) the 'twice-born' married and lived as a householder. In the third stage (*Vānaprastha*) he renounced worldly cares and repaired to the quiet forest, where he passed his days in religious contemplation. The fourth stage was *Sannyāsa,* in which the body was subjected to severe mortification and the soul devoted to the realisation of the ultimate truth.

The *Dharmasāstras* clearly testify to the gradual degradation of the position of women. According to Manu, they should not be allowed to live independently: "A woman does not deserve independence ; she is protected by her father in childhood, by her husband in youth, and by her sons in old age." He prescribes the early marriage of girls as a religious duty. Widow marriage was prohibited. Women could not inherit property.

FOR FURTHER STUDY

Cambridge History of India, Vol. I.
Winternitz, *A History of Indian Literature,* Vol. I.
Radhakrishnan, *History of Indian Philosophy,* Vol. I.

CHAPTER V

RELIGIOUS AND POLITICAL EVOLUTION

SECTION I

JAINISM

In the sixth century B.C. north-eastern India witnessed a remarkable religious revolution which profoundly influenced the course of Indian history. It was in some respects a reaction against the cumbersome rituals and bloody sacrifices which in those days constituted the essence of the Vedic religion in its popular form. Viewed from the philosophical standpoint, however, it was a continuation of the metaphysical speculations of the *Upanishads*. It would be a mistake to regard the origin of Jainism and Buddhism as a breach with the Vedic view of life, although in course of time both these religions developed certain ideals and rituals inconsistent with Vedic philosophy and worship.

CAREER OF MAHAVIRA

Vardhamana Mahavira is usually regarded as the founder of Jainism, although according to the Jains he was but the last of a long series of teachers (called *Tīrthankaras*) to whom their sect owes its origin and development. Of the twenty-three *Tīrthankaras* mentioned in Jain literature, only one, Parsvanatha, was probably a historical personage ; the others are legendary figures unknown to political history. Parsvanatha is said to have been the son of a King of Benares. He renounced the world and became an ascetic. His main teachings emphasized the spiritual value of non-injury (*Ahimsā*), non-lying (*i.e.*, truth), non-stealing and non-possession.

The dates of Mahavira's birth and death are uncertain, but there is no doubt that he lived during the sixth century B.C. According to some authorities he died in 528 B.C., while some writers place his death as late as 468 B.C. He was born near Vaisali in North Bihar. He belonged to a well-known Kshatriya

clan, and was related to the Lichchhavi ruling family of Vaisali. He lived the life of an ordinary householder till his thirtieth year. Then he became an ascetic, and for twelve years he wandered about at various places, continually practising the utmost self-torture. At the age of forty-two he attained supreme knowledge (*Kaivalya*) and became known as *Jina* (conqueror of passions) or *Nirgrantha* (free from worldly fetters). From these terms are derived the names of his followers—*Jainas* or *Nirgranthas*. The remaining thirty years of Mahavira's life were spent in preaching his doctrines in Magadha, Anga, Mithila, and Kosala. He is said to have come into personal touch with the powerful Kings of Magadha, Bimbisara and Ajatasatru. He accepted the teachings of Parsvanatha as the basis of his faith, and to the four virtues enjoined by his predecessor he added a fifth, *viz.*, chastity. His death took place at Pava (Patna district).

DOCTRINES OF JAINISM

The Jains rejected the authority of the Vedas and the practice of animal sacrifice. Their devotion to the doctrine of *Ahimsā* was far more strict than that of the Buddhists. They believed that every object possessed a soul (*jīva*) which was endowed with consciousness. They rejected the conception of the creation of the world by a Supreme Power, and according to them, "God is only the highest, noblest, and fullest manifestation of the powers which lie latent in the soul of man". They accepted the Hindu theory of *karma*. Salvation meant complete deliverance from all *karma* inherited from past lives, and it could be attained only through the so-called 'three jewels' (*Triratna*): right faith, right knowledge, and right conduct. They laid great stress on asceticism under the impression that the soul was strengthened by penances and self-torture.

EARLY HISTORY OF JAINISM

In the sixth century B.C. Jainism and Buddhism were rivals. Both Mahavira and Gautama preached their doctrines in Eastern India and recruited their disciples from the same class of people. Jainism was probably more successful at the beginning. Chandragupta Maurya is said to have embraced this religion.

There is evidence to show that before the end of the fourth century B.C. Jainism had spread in Southern India.

In the third century B.C. the Jains were divided into two sects called *Svetāmbara* and *Digambara*. The former put on white robes, but the latter remained stark naked in imitation of Mahavira's practice.

Jainism never spread outside the boundaries of India, but for centuries it was one of the most flourishing religions in Southern and Western India.

SACRED LITERATURE OF THE JAINS

At the beginning of the third century B.C. a Jain Council held at Pataliputra arranged the teachings of Mahavira in twelve *Angas*. In course of time the twelfth *Anga* was lost. The remaining eleven *Angas* were rearranged by a Jain Council held at Valabhi in the fifth century A.D. The validity of these *Angas* was not recognised by the Digambaras ; so they constitute the sacred literature of the Svetāmbaras alone. This literature is written in a form of Prakrit called *Ārsha* or *Ardha-Māgadhī*, for the Jains, like the Buddhists, were anxious to make their holy books accessible to the common people. It was from the seventh and eighth centuries A.D. that commentaries and philosophical works began to be composed in Sanskrit.

The canonical literature of the Jains is vast, but its religious and philosophical value is much greater than its literary value. As Winternitz observes, "With rare exceptions the sacred books of the Jains are written in a dry-as-dust, matter of fact, didactic tone, and . . . are seldom instinct with that general human interest which so many Buddhist texts possess. Hence, important as they are for the specialist, they cannot claim the interest of the general reader to anything approaching so great an extent."

NON-CANONICAL LITERATURE OF THE JAINS

The Jains have a vast non-canonical literature as well, written partly in Prakrit and partly in Sanskrit. Among the Jain writers the following deserve special mention—Bhadrabahu, Siddhasena Divakara, Haribhadra, Siddha, Hemachandra. Narrative literature constitutes one of the most interesting

achievements of the Jains. They have also composed remarkable epics, novels, dramas, and hymns. More important are their contributions to philosophy. In opposition to the Buddhist doctrine of *Sunyavāda* they elaborated the doctrine of *Syādvāda*. Jain philosophers attained special excellence in Logic. Grammar, Lexicography, Poetics, Mathematics, Astronomy, Astrology and Political Science have been considerably enriched by Jain contributions. The Jains also rendered valuable service to the development of some vernacular languages—Tamil, Telegu, Kanarese, Gujarati, Hindi and Rajasthani. On the whole, they occupy a very prominent place in the history of Indian thought and literature.

OTHER SECTS

In the sixth century B.C. the spiritual unrest in Eastern India was so acute that a large number of religious sects arose under different teachers. The Jain texts refer to 363 sects; according to the Buddhist works there were 62 sects when the Buddha began to preach his religion. Our information about these sects is extremely meagre. But there are frequent references to the Ajivikas, who are also mentioned in Asoka's edicts.

SECTION II

BUDDHISM

LIFE OF THE BUDDHA

Gautama, the illustrious founder of Buddhism, was a contemporary of Mahavira. In his case also the dates of birth and death are uncertain. Some scholars hold that he attained *Parinibbāna* in 483 B.C., while others prefer 543 B.C. He belonged to the Sakya clan, whose principality lay in the Nepal *terai* to the north of the Basti district in the United Provinces. Like Mahavira, therefore, he was a Kshatriya. His father, Suddhodana, was the elected chief of the Sakya clan, and lived at Kapilavastu. Gautama was born in the Lumbini garden (modern Rummindei, in Nepal), where the well-known

Rummindei Pillar of Asoka still commemorates that great event. At an early age he married Gopa or Yasodhara, and a son named Rahula was born to him when he was twenty-nine years of age. His mind had already been infected by the prevailing spiritual unrest, and he embraced asceticism in quest of salvation. For some time he studied philosophy at Rajagriha under two distinguished teachers. Then he went to Uruvilva (near modern Bodh Gaya) and practised the severest austerities in imitation of the ascetics of that age. But salvation still remained as distant as ever. Deep concentration and profound meditation at last led to the discovery of the ultimate truth. Gautama became *Buddha* (the Enlightened One). At that time he was in his thirty-fifth year.

The Buddha spent the remaining years of his life in preaching the truth as he realised it. He first 'turned the wheel of the Law' and set it in motion in the Deer Park at Sarnath near Benares. Here he was able to secure five disciples. During the next forty-five years he spread his doctrines and collected many disciples in Oudh, Bihar and some adjoining territories. He passed away at the age of eighty at Kusinagara (modern Kasia in the Gorakhpur district, U. P).

DOCTRINES OF BUDDHISM

The Buddha was a practical reformer. His primary aim was to secure deliverance from the grim reality of sorrow and suffering. So he enunciated the Four Noble Truths: (1) There is suffering. (2) This suffering must have a cause. (3) Suffering must be got rid of. (4) In order to get rid of suffering one must know the right way. Suffering was caused by desire; therefore, the extinction of desire would lead to the cessation of suffering. Desire could be extinguished if one followed the noble Eightfold Path: (1) right belief, (2) right thought, (3) right speech, (4) right action, (5) right means of livelihood, (6) right endeavour, (7) right recollection, (8) right meditation. This was the great Middle Path, for it avoided the extremes of gross luxury and severe austerity. This Middle Path led finally to Nirvana, which implied not only the extinction of desire but also the attainment of a perfect state of tranquillity. Emphasis was laid on the observance of the *Silas* (or moralities,

e.g., giving up of killing, falsehood, luxury, etc.), *Samādhi* (concentration) and *Prajnā* (insight).

The Buddha differed from Mahavira in his attitude towards asceticism. He laid great stress on non-injury to living creatures, but in this respect Jainism is far more strict than Buddhism. The Buddha repudiated the authority of the Vedas and denied the spiritual efficacy of Vedic rites and sacrifices, although he accepted the traditional belief in transmigration of the soul and the law of *Karma*. He did not concern himself with the problem of the existence of God, for abstruse metaphysical speculations were, according to him, quite irrelevant for the development of man's moral and spiritual worth. His simple faith was meant for all, irrespective of sex, age, or social position. He introduced the practice of holding religious discourses in the language of the common people, and refused to confine spiritual teaching to Sanskrit, the language of the learned few.

SACRED LITERATURE OF THE BUDDHISTS

Shortly after the *Parinibbāna* of the Buddha his principal disciples met together in a general council at Rajagriha and made a complete and authentic collection of his teachings. But the sacred literature of the Buddhists did not probably take final shape till one or two centuries later. This literature is collectively known as the *Tripitaka* ('three baskets'). The first part is the *Vinaya-pitaka*, which lays down rules for the guidance of the Buddhist monks and the general management of the Buddhist Church. The second part is the *Sutta-pitaka*, a collection of the religious discourses of the Buddha. The third part is the *Abhidhamma-pitaka*, which contains an exposition of the philosophical principles underlying Buddhism.

The second general council of the Buddhists was held at Vaisali about a century after the Buddha's death. This council condemned some prevalent heresies and revised the scriptures. The third general council was held at Pataliputra under the auspices of Asoka. Once again some heresies were condemned and an attempt was made to give the old scriptures a definite and final shape. The fourth, and last, general council was held under the patronage of Kanishka either in Kashmir or at Jalandhar (in the Punjab). This council prepared authoritative commentaries on the sacred texts.

In connection with the sacred literature of the Buddhists we may refer to the *Jātakas*. These Buddhist Birth Stories are certainly older than the second and first centuries B.C. Apart from their value to the devout Buddhists, the *Jātakas* should be carefully studied by all students of ancient Indian history, for they provide important data relating to social and economic conditions.

SECTION III

GROWTH OF POLITICAL UNITY

IDEAL OF UNITY

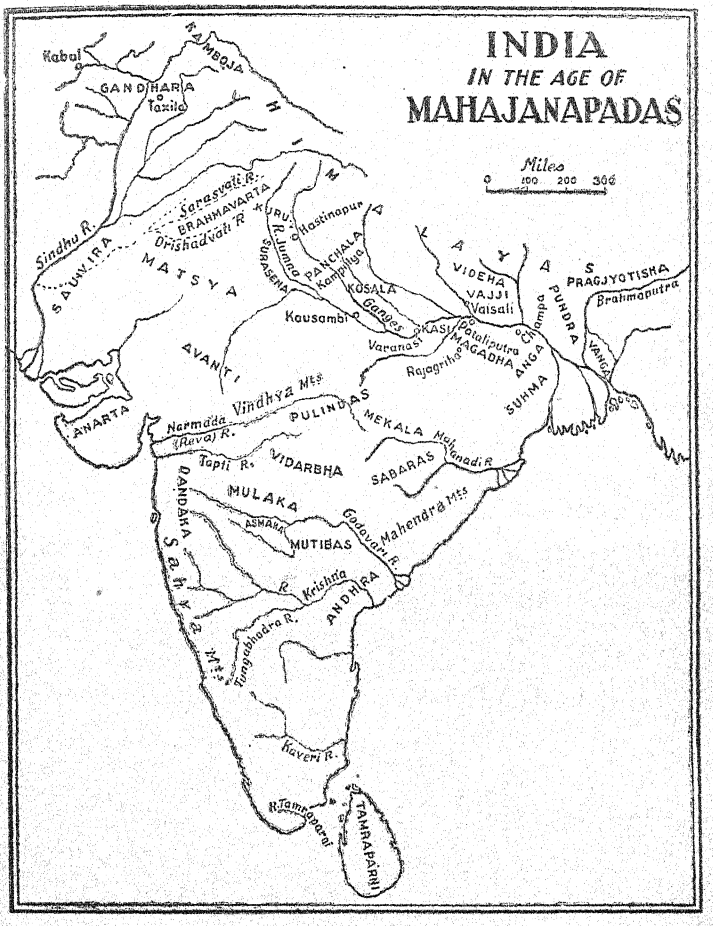
The ideal of political unity is a familiar conception in later Vedic literature. The *Vājapeya* sacrifice conferred on the performer a superior kind of monarchy called *Sāmrājya*. The object of *Aindra Mahābhisheka* was to attain the dignity of *Ekarāt* or sole ruler of the earth. A paramount ruler was expected to perform the *Asvamedha* sacrifice, and several monarchs who are said to have performed this great sacrifice are mentioned in ancient literature. But in the present state of our knowledge it is impossible to say whether any large Empire was really founded in India before the fourth century B.C., when Mahapadma Nanda united a large portion of Northern India and also some parts of the Deccan under the imperial banner of Magadha.

POLITICAL CONDITION IN THE EARLY SIXTH CENTURY B.C.

We learn from ancient Buddhist sources that in the first half of the sixth century B.C. there were sixteen States (*mahājanapadas*) in India. These States were the following :—

1. Kasi : Its capital was Varanasi (modern Benares). At first Kasi was the most powerful of all the *mahājanapadas*, but later on it was compelled to yield the place of honour to Kosala.

2. Kosala : It roughly corresponds to modern Oudh. Its capital was Sravasti (modern Sahet Mahet, Gonda district, U. P.). Two other important cities in Kosala were Ayodhya and Saketa. This Kingdom included the territory of the Sakyas of Kapilavastu. About the middle of the sixth century B.C. Kasi formed an integral part of the Kosalan monarchy.



3. Anga: It lay to the east of Magadha. Its capital was Champa (near modern Bhagalpur in Bihar). It was a rival of Magadha. At one time the Anga Kingdom included Magadha, but later on it was annexed to Magadha by Bimbisara.

4. Magadha: It corresponds roughly to the modern Patna and Gaya districts of Bihar. Its earliest capital was Girivraja, near Rajgir, among the hills in the neighbourhood of Gaya. Then the capital was transferred to Rajagriha, and

finally to Pataliputra. Some early Kings of Magadha are mentioned in Vedic, 'Epic', and Jain literature.

5. The Vajji Confederation: This tribal State included eight confederate clans, of whom the Vajjis, the Videhans, the Lichchhavis and the Jnatrikas were the most important. The city of Vaisali (modern Basarh and Bakhira in the Muzaffarpur district in Bihar) was the capital of the Vajjis, the Lichchhavis, and of the entire confederation. Some modern scholars hold that the Lichchhavis were of Mongolian origin. The Videhans had their capital at Mithila (modern Janakpur in Nepal). The Jnatrikas, the clan of the Jain teacher Mahavira, lived at Kundapura and Kollaga, suburbs of Vaisali.

6. The Malla territory: The territory of the Mallas probably lay to the north of the Vajji State. It was divided into two main parts, which had for their capitals Kusinara (in Gorakhpur district, U.P.) and Pava (near Kusinara). It was a republican State like the Vajji Confederation, although in pre-Buddhist times it was a monarchy.

7. Chedi: It corresponds roughly to modern Bundelkhand and the adjoining tracts. Its capital was Suktimati (near Banda in U.P.).

8. Vamsa or Vatsa: It lay along the banks of the Jumna, to the north-east of Avanti, with its capital at Kausambi (modern Kosam, near Allahabad).

9. Kuru: Its capital was Indraprastha (near Delhi). Another important town was Hastinapura. In the sixth century B.C. the Kuru Kingdom was not at all politically important.

10. Panchala: It roughly corresponds to modern Rohilkhand and some portions of the Central Doab. The Ganges divided it into two divisions, northern and southern, of which the capitals were Ahichchhatra (modern Ramnagar in the Bareilly district) and Kampilya respectively.

11. Matsya: Its capital was Virata-nagara (modern Bairat in the Jaipur State, Rajputana).

12. Surasena: Its capital was Mathura.

13. Assaka or Asmaka: It was situated on the banks of the Godavari.

14. Avanti: It roughly corresponds to Central Malwa and the adjoining parts of the Central Provinces. It was divided

into two parts. The northern part had its capital at Ujjain ; the capital of the southern part was Mahishmati (modern Mandhata, on the Narmada).

15. Gandhara : It included Kashmir as well as the Taxila region. Its capital was Taxila (in the Rawalpindi district in the Punjab).

16. The Kamboja territory : The Kambojas probably lived in the north-west, for they are usually associated with Gandhara in epigraphic records and literature.

Apart from its importance from the standpoint of historical geography, this list of *mahājanapadas* enables us to form some general conclusions about the political condition of India in the early part of the sixth century B.C. In the first place, it is quite clear that there was no political unity. India was divided into numerous petty States engaged in internecine strife. Secondly, most of the *mahājanapadas* lay in modern Bihar, the United Provinces, and Central India. There is no mention of Assam, Bengal, Orissa, the Far South, Gujarat and Sind.[1] Asmaka is the only South Indian State mentioned in the list. With regard to the Punjab, the first Indian province colonised by the Aryans, only two States are mentioned : one (Gandhara) in the extreme north-west, and another (Kuru) in the extreme south-east. The central portion of the Punjab[2] is altogether excluded from the list. The valleys of the Ganges and the Jumna were obviously the centre of political gravity in that age. Thirdly, although monarchy was the predominant form of government there were some republican States in North-Eastern India. In addition to the Vajjis and the Mallas mentioned in this list, we know from Buddhist evidence the names of some other republican tribes which flourished in the time of the Buddha. Of these the most important were the Sakyas, the Koliyas (the eastern neighbours of the Sakyas), the Bhaggas (whose State was a dependency of the Vatsa Kingdom), the Bulis of Allakappa, the Kalamas of Kesaputta (probably in Kosala), and the Moriyas of Pipphalivana (not far from Kusinara). Most

[1] There was a small kingdom named Roruka in Sauvira (the Lower Indus Valley).

[2] Bimbisara married a princess of Madra, a state in the Central Punjab.

of these republican States were gradually absorbed in the expanding Empire of Magadha.

BEGINNINGS OF MAGADHAN SUPREMACY

About the middle of the sixth century B.C. Magadha was ruled by Bimbisara, who belonged to the Haryanka family. He was the son of a petty chief of South Bihar, but he extended his ancestral dominions and raised the power and prestige of Magadha. Rajagriha was his capital. He cultivated friendly relations with the prominent Kings of his age. The King of Gandhara sent him an embassy. He sent a physician to cure the King of Avanti. He contracted matrimonial alliances with the ruling families of Madra (Central Punjab), Kosala, and Vaisali. His Kosalan wife brought a Kasi village producing a large revenue for bath and perfume money. These marriages undoubtedly strengthend Bimbisara's political position. The old struggle between Magadha and Anga was continued, with the result that Anga was incorporated in Magadha. Bimbisara ruled over a fairly large Kingdom, which is said to have embraced 80,000 townships. That he had a strong personality is apparent from the fact that he is said to have exercised a rigid control over his high officers. The criminal law of Magadha was severe; the punishments inflicted for various crimes included imprisonment, scourging, branding, beheading, tearing out of the tongue, breaking ribs, etc. Probably this tradition continued till the Maurya period, but during the Gupta period the criminal law became humane.

Bimbisara was devoted to the Buddha and showed special marks of favour to the Buddhist monks. It is difficult to say whether he was really converted to the new faith Some Jain works represent him as a devotee of Mahavira.

Bimbisara was succeeded by his son Ajatasatru, whom the Buddhist tradition represents as a parricide. The story that Ajatasatru visited the Buddha and expressed remorse for his sin is confirmed by one of the Bharhut sculptures of about the middle of the second century B.C.

Ajatasatru followed a policy of aggrandisement and enlarged the boundaries of the Magadhan Kingdom. His first war was probably waged against Kosala. After the death of Bimbisara's Kosalan wife her brother Prasenajit wanted to re-

occupy the Kasi village which had been settled on her. After a long struggle the two Kings came to terms. Ajatasatru married Prasenajit's daughter, who received the disputed Kasi village for her bath money.

Jain writers refer to Ajatasatru's war with the Lichchhavis of Vaisali. The causes of this war are uncertain, but it was probably not unconnected with the Kosalan war. Probably Kosala and Vaisali made a common cause against the establishment of Magadhan supremacy. After a long and protracted struggle Ajatasatru conquered Vaisali. Magadha now became the most powerful Kingdom in Northern India. It is probable that the rise of Magadha aroused the jealousy of Avanti, and the relations between the two States were strained. Whether hostilities actually broke out in the reign of Ajatasatru, we do not know.

According to ancient Jain works Ajatasatru was a follower of Mahavira, while the Buddhists represent him as a devotee of the Buddha.

Ajatasatru was probably succeeded by his son Udayin, who founded a new capital known as Pataliputra. Its situation at the confluence of two large rivers, the Ganges and the Son, made it commercially as well as strategically important. The Jain writers represent the King of Avanti as an enemy of Udayin.

The successors of Udayin were probably weak rulers. The Buddhist tradition represents them all as parricides. The people became discontented, and taking this opportunity a minister named Sisunaga seized the throne. He transferred his capital at first to Girivraja and then to Vaisali. His important achievement was the annihilation of the power and prestige of the Pradyota dynasty of Avanti, which had meanwhile become more powerful by the conquest of Kausambi.

Kalasoka, who succeeded Sisunaga, transferred the capital to Pataliputra. The second general council of the Buddhists was held at Vaisali during his reign. He was probably murdered by Mahapadma, the founder of the Nanda dynasty.

THE NANDAS

According to the Puranas Mahapadma (or Ugrasena) was born of a Sudra mother; the Jain tradition represents him as the

son of a courtesan by a barber. A Greek writer says that he 'gained the affections of the queen', murdered the King and his sons, and seized the throne. There is no doubt that he was low-born and occupied the throne by ignoble methods, but he was certainly a very able and powerful ruler. The Puranas describe him as 'the destroyer of all the Kshatriyas' and 'the sole ruler (*ekarāt*) of the earth.' It is difficult to ascertain the precise extent of the empire founded by Mahapadma Nanda. The Hathigumpha inscription of Kharavela seems to prove that Kalinga was included in his dominions. The occupation of Kosala is proved by literary evidence. Some portions of the Deccan, specially Kuntala (the southern part of the Bombay Presidency and of Mysore) and Asmaka, probably formed part of the Nanda Empire, but the evidence on this point is doubtful. According to the Greek writers, the powerful peoples who dwelt beyond the river Beas in the time of Alexander the Great were under the rule of one sovereign who had his capital at Pataliputra. It is clear, therefore, that Mahapadma united a large portion of India under one sceptre. He may be regarded as the first *historical* Empire-builder in India.

Mahapadma was followed by his eight sons who ruled in succession. The last King, called Dhana in Buddhist literature, was a contemporary of Alexander the Great. The Greek writers call him Agrammes or Xandrames (probably a corruption of the Sanskrit patronymic *Augrasainya*). There is no doubt that he was a very powerful ruler. According to a Greek writer, his army was composed of 20,000 cavalry, 200,000 infantry, 2,000 four-horsed chariots, and 3,000 elephants. The enormous wealth of the Nandas is frequently referred to in ancient Indian literature. But it seems that he was unpopular with his subjects for his low birth, irreligious disposition, and financial extortion. He was overthrown by Chandragupta Maurya, the founder of the Maurya dynasty, with the assistance of the crafty Brahmin statesman, Chanakya or Kautilya.

NOTE ON CHRONOLOGY

In the present state of our knowledge it is almost impossible to settle definitely the chronology of the rulers of Magadha till the invasion of Alexander the Great. In the absence of epigraphic and numismatic evidence we have to rely exclusively on literary data, but Brahmanical literature (*i.e.*, the Puranas) does not agree with Buddhist literature. For reasons which cannot be discussed here the statements of the Buddhist writers deserve preference. Accordingly, the Buddhist tradition has been followed in the text. According to the Puranas, Sisunaga founded a dynasty which ruled in Magadha for 321 years, and was overthrown by Mahapadma Nanda. Bimbisara was the fifth ruler of this dynasty. According to the Buddhist works, the rulers of the Haryanka dynasty (of whom Bimbisara was the first) were followed by Sisunaga and his descendants, and the total period covered by these two dynasties was 200 years. The accession of Bimbisara may be placed in or about 545 B.C.

FOR FURTHER STUDY

Barodia, *History and Literature of Jainism.*
Stevenson, *The Heart of Jainism.*
Oldenberg, *Buddha.*
E. J. Thomas, *The Life of Buddha.*
Eliot, *Hinduism and Buddhism.*
Radhakrishnan, *History of Indian Philosophy*, Vol. I.
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CHAPTER VI

MAGADHAN IMPERIALISM

SECTION 1

PERSIAN AND GREEK INVASIONS OF NORTH-WESTERN INDIA

POLITICAL DISUNITY IN THE NORTH-WEST

In the sixth century B.C. the Punjab no longer commanded that political and cultural influence which was its due as the first citadel of Aryan power in this country. The centre of gravity had shifted to the east. The *madhyadesa* had become the centre of the Aryan world, and Magadha was gradually developing into a large Empire. Of the sixteen *mahājanapadas* mentioned in Indian literature, none is in the Punjab, and only two, Kamboja and Gandhara, may be placed in the outlying tracts of the province. Another State lying in the Punjab, but not included in the lists of *mahājanapadas*, was Madra. While the rest of Northern India was gradually passing under the imperial sway of Magadha, North-Western India, economically prosperous but politically disunited, fell an easy prey to foreign invaders.

PERSIAN CONQUEST

During the second half of the sixth century B.C. Cyrus (or Kurush) established a large Empire in Persia. In the west the authority of the great Achaemenian monarchy reached the Mediterranean sea ; in the east it touched India. Cyrus is said to have led an expedition against India through Gedrosia (Makran), which ended in a disaster. But he succeeded in subjugating the region lying between the Indus and Cophen (Kabul) rivers.

Darius I (or Darayavaush), the third Achaemenian Emperor, annexed Gandhara and the Indus valley. Several Persian inscriptions refer to the people of Gandhara and the inhabitants of the Indus valley as Persian subjects. Herodotus, the famous

Greek historian, tells us that Gandhara was included in the seventh satrapy or viceroyalty of the Persian Empire. "India" (the Indus valley, bounded on the east by the desert of Rajputana) constituted the twentieth and most populous satrapy. It paid a tribute of 360 talents of gold dust (£1,290,000).

Xerxes (or Kshayarsha), the son and successor of Darius I, retained his hold on the Persian provinces in North-Western India. Indian troops joined his expeditionary force against Greece.

It is difficult to ascertain how long Persian rule lasted in North-Western India. Indian troops figured in the army which Darius III Codomannus led against Alexander the Great. But it is very probable that on the eve of Alexander's invasion the hold of the Persian Emperors on their Indian provinces had become very weak, and the temporary unity imposed by foreign rule was replaced by the rise of many petty states.

RESULTS OF PERSIAN RULE

The long association between India and Persia, covering a period of about two centuries, naturally left some lasting impressions on Indian history. The Persians introduced into India the Aramaic form of writing, which later on developed into the Kharoshthi alphabet. The monuments of Asoka's time, particularly the bell-shaped capital, probably owed something to Persian models, especially to the 'Persepolitan capital.' Persian influence may also be traced in the preamble of Asoka's edicts as well as in certain words used therein. Some Persian ceremonials were probably observed in the Maurya court. In the post-Maurya period the Saka rulers of North-Western and Western India used the Persian title of Satrap.

NORTH-WESTERN INDIA AT THE TIME OF ALEXANDER'S INVASION

At the beginning of the fourth century B.C. the valley of the Indus knew no political unity. The rest of Northern India had found unity and strength under the sceptre of the Nandas of Magadha, but the North-Western provinces were parcelled out into a number of petty States, monarchies as well as clan oligarchies, engaged in internecine warfare.

The classical writers have left for us an interesting account of the political condition of the Punjab on the eve of Alexander's invasion. The Aspasian territory, lying in the rugged hill country north of the Kabul river, was ruled by a chieftain who lived in a city on or near the river Euaspla (probably the Kunar). The Kingdom of the Assakenos had its capital at Massaga, a formidable fortress probably situated not very far to the north of the Malakand Pass. The King of this tribe had a powerful army of 20,000 cavalry, more than 30,000 infantry, and 30 elephants. The territory of the Peukelaotis lay on the road from Kabul to the Indus. It was ruled by a King whose capital lay near Peshawar. The Kingdom of Taxila formed the eastern part of the old Kingdom of Gandhara. Taxila was a large city, and the country around was crowded with inhabitants and very fertile. The Kingdom of Arsakes, comprising the modern Hazara district, was probably an offshoot of the old Kingdom of Kamboja. The Kingdom of Abisares, another offshoot of Kamboja, corresponded to the Punch and Naoshera districts of Kashmir. The Kingdom of Poros lay between the Jhelum and the Chenab. It was an extensive and fertile territory, containing nearly 300 cities. The King had a large army consisting of more than 50,000 foot, 3,000 horse, 1,000 chariots and 130 elephants. The Kingdom of Sophytes lay to the east of the Jhelum. The Kingdom of Mousikanos included a large part of modern Sind. Its capital was at Alor in the Sukkur district.

The above list of monarchical States is by no means exhaustive, but to it must be added a list of oligarchical or republican tribes. Nysa, a small hill state lying between the Kabul river and the Indus, had a republican constitution. The Siboi lived in the Jhang district below the junction of the Jhelum and the Chenab. They had 40,000 foot soldiers in the time of Alexander. The Agalassoi lived near the Siboi and could collect 40,000 infantry and 3,000 horse. The Oxydrakai, who lived in the territory between the Ravi and the Beas, were one of the most warlike tribes of North-Western India. The Malloi occupied the valley of the Ravi, north of the confluence of that river and the Chenab. The Abastanoi were settled on the Lower Chenab. They were a powerful tribe, commanding an army of 60,000 foot, 6,000 cavalry, and 500 chariots. Their constitution was democratic.

ALEXANDER'S PROGRESS THROUGH PERSIA AND AFGHANISTAN

Alexander ascended the throne of Macedon in 336 B.C., and after consolidating his authority in Greece, set forth for the conquest of Persia in 334 B.C. The Persian Empire was now weak and loosely knit, and it was governed by Darius Codomannus, an unworthy successor of Cyrus and Darius I. Within four years Alexander conquered Asia Minor, Syria, Egypt, Babylonia, and Persia. Darius was murdered by one of his Satraps. The great Achaemenian dynasty came to an inglorious end.

Bessus, the murderer of Darius, fled to Bactria and assumed the style of Great King. Alexander pursued him, and on his way annexed Drangiana without a blow. It is probable that Herat is the site of the city which Alexander founded to be the capital of this new province. Next came the occupation of Seistan and Gedrosia, and the constitution of a Gedrosian Satrapy with its capital at Pura. Pushing north-eastward up the valley of the Helmand, Alexander occupied Arachosia, and founded a city probably on the site now occupied by Kandahar. Then he appeared at the foot of the Hindukush and in order to secure this region founded a city somewhere to the north of Kabul. As soon as he reached Bactria (modern Balkh), Bessus fled across the Oxus, and another province was added without a blow to the expanding Macedonian Empire. Alexander pursued Bessus into Sogdiana (the country lying between the streams of the Oxus and the Jaxartes) and captured him there. Determined to make the Jaxartes the northern limit of his Empire, Alexander annexed Sogdiana and founded a city (modern Khodjend) on the banks of that river. In 327 B.C. he assumed the style of Great King, surrounded himself with Oriental forms and pomp, and posed as the successor of Darius.

ALEXANDER IN THE PUNJAB

From Sogdiana Alexander returned to Afghanistan and descended upon India. He had no idea of the shape or extent of this country, for the Greeks regarded India as the last country on the eastern side of the world, bounded by ocean's stream. To them it was a land of milk and honey, of strange

beasts and plants. The story of Alexander's campaigns in India has been constructed solely from the accounts left by the Greek writers, whose unfamiliarity with Indian names has created many geographical puzzles not yet solved. His success, says Smith, 'made so little impression on the minds of the inhabitants of the country that no distinct reference to it is to be found in any branch of ancient Indian literature'.

Alexander crossed the Hindukush mountains in May, 327 B.C., and spent the remainder of the year in subjugating the wild tribes of the valleys of Swat and Bajaur. After this severe winter campaign the army rested on the west bank of the Indus until spring had begun, and crossed the river by a bridge of boats built at Und above Attock in February, 326 B.C. As Alexander approached Taxila he was welcomed by the reigning Prince, Ambhi, who offered the invader rich and attractive presents. A new Satrapy, embracing the lands west of the Indus, was now established, and for its protection Macedonian garrisons were placed in Taxila and some other places east of the Indus.

Alexander then marched eastward and came to the banks of the river Hydaspes (Jhelum), where he encountered determined opposition from Poros, who was waiting on the right bank of the river with a large army protected by a multitude of elephants. The Greeks succeeded in eluding the observation of their enemy and crossed the river about 16 miles upwards from Poros' camp. The hostile armies met in the Karri plain (at present marked by the villages Sirwal and Pakral). Poros committed the fatal mistake of allowing the enemy to take the offensive. The 'battle of the Hydaspes' resulted in the destruction of his large army. He was a mediocre general but a most valiant soldier. He did not flee—but received nine wounds before he was taken prisoner. Brought before Alexander, he proudly demanded to be treated like a King. Alexander prudently conciliated him ; not only was his Kingdom returned, but its boundaries were extended. The crafty Greek King knew that the mutual jealousy between Ambhi and Poros would keep both of them loyal to him. On either side of the Hydaspes, near the battle field, he founded two cities—Bucephala and Nicaca—which were intended to serve as garrisons in the newly conquered territory.

Alexander now advanced to the Hyphasis (Beas), subjugating some small States on his way, and razing the city of Sangala to the ground as a punishment for its resolute resistance. He wished to go farther and plant his victorious standards in the fertile Gangetic valley, but his troops refused to advance to the east. Worn out with years of hard campaigning, they were naturally anxious to return to their distant homeland. A Greek writer tells us that they 'now began to lose heart when they saw the King raising up without end toils upon toils and dangers upon dangers'. They were very much impressed by the reckless courage and military skill of the Indians. They were no longer called upon to face the effete army of Persia ; they had to deal with leaders like Poros and men like the defenders of Sangala. With reference to the military skill of the Indians of those days Arrian says, "In the art of war they were far superior to the other nations by which Asia was at that time inhabited". The refusal of the Greek troops to advance beyond the Hyphasis was largely due to their experience of Indian skill in the art of war. The Gangetic valley was ruled by the Nanda King of Pataliputra, who was reported to be waiting for the invaders with an army of 80,000 horse and 200,000 foot, 8,000 war chariots, and 6,000 fighting elephants. Probably the Macedonians were not prepared to meet such an enemy.

The refusal of the troops to invade the Gangetic valley compelled Alexander to retreat to the Hydaspes. Poros was placed in charge of the territory between the Hydaspes and the Hyphasis, and Ambhi was entrusted with the Indus-Hydaspes Doab. Large garrisons were placed in cities founded by Alexander on Indian soil. Having completed these arrangements he began his voyage down the course of the Punjab rivers to the sea. (October, 326 B.C.). During the retreat he encountered serious opposition from the Siboi, the Agalassoi, the Malloi and the Oxydrakai. These campaigns resulted in the subjugation of the Lower Indus Valley. The Kingdom of Mousikanos acknowledged Alexander's suzerainty. Early in October, 325 B.C., Alexander left the neighbourhood of modern Karachi with a part of his army and marched for Persia through Gedrosia ; the remaining portion of the army proceeded by sea under the command of Nearchos.

EXTINCTION OF GREEK RULE IN NORTH-WESTERN INDIA

In May, 324 B.C., Alexander arrived at Susa in Persia. He died at Babylon, near modern Baghdad, in June, 323 B.C., in the thirty-third year of his age. When he was on his way to Persia he received a report that the Greek Satrap of the Upper Indus Valley had been murdered. At that time Alexander could do no more than ask Poros and Ambhi to manage the affairs of the Punjab under the general supervision of a Greek named Eudemos. After Alexander's death Chandragupta Maurya went to war with the Greek generals of the Punjab and overthrew their power. Eudemos somehow managed to hold his charge till 317 B.C., when he left India. The attempt of Seleukos to recover the Indian provinces conquered by Alexander proved unsuccessful. After the fall of the Maurya Empire the Bactrian Greeks re-established Greek rule in North-Western India.

EFFECTS OF ALEXANDER'S INVASION

"Alexander's fierce campaign", says Smith, "produced no direct effects upon the ideas or the institutions of India". Religion, society, and art remained unchanged, and "even in military science Indians showed no disposition to learn the lessons taught by the sharp sword of Alexander. The Kings of Hind preferred to go on in the old way, trusting to their elephants and their chariots, supported by enormous hosts of inferior infantry. They never mastered the shock tactics of Alexander's cavalry". Whatever Greek influence can be traced in ancient Indian civilisation came through the Bactrian Greeks, but the coming of the Bactrian Greeks to North-Western India may be looked upon as an indirect effect of Alexander's invasion.

The establishment of a number of Greek settlements in North-Western India may be regarded as the most important direct effect of Alexander's invasion. Some of the cities established by him survived for a long time. One of Asoka's edicts refers to the existence of *Yavana* (Greek) settlers in the north-western part of his Empire.

Alexander indirectly contributed to the growth of Indian unity and the extension of the Maurya Empire by weakening the petty States of the Punjab. North-Western India had so

long remained outside the orbit of Magadhan imperialism, and it might have been difficult for Chandragupta Maurya to bring that region under his authority if Alexander had not crushed the military pride of the tribal States.

SECTION II

THE MAURYA EMPIRE

ORIGIN OF THE MAURYA DYNASTY

Chandragupta Maurya, the founder of the Maurya Empire, is described in Hindu tradition as a Sudra and his mother (or grandmother) Mura is said to have been the wife of a Nanda King. According to more reliable Buddhist tradition, however, Chandragupta was a Kshatriya belonging to the Maurya or Moriya clan of Pipphalivana, which probably lay somewhere between Rummindei in the Nepalese *terai* and Kasia in the Gorakhpur district (U.P.). The Mauryas took advantage of the general disaffection prevalent in the Nanda Empire to come to the forefront. Chandragupta was most probably the leader of this clan.

EARLY CAREER OF CHANDRAGUPTA

No authentic details are known about his early life. He is said to have grown up among hunters, herdsmen and peacock-tamers. Plutarch tells us, "Androcottus who was then very young, had a sight of Alexander and he is reported to have often said afterwards that Alexander was within an ace of making himself master of all the country, with such hatred and contempt was the reigning prince looked upon on account of his profligacy of manners and meanness of birth". Chandragupta might have visited Alexander with the intention of securing his help to put an end to Nanda rule. According to Justin, another Greek writer, Alexander gave orders to kill this brave youngman for his boldness of speech, but he saved himself by a hasty flight. Here was no Ambhi soliciting favours and benefit and dependent on the conqueror's generosity.

CHANDRAGUPTA'S CONQUESTS

After his flight from Alexander's camp Chandragupta came into contact with Chanakya or Kautilya, a crafty Brahmin of Taxila, who had been insulted by the Nanda King. They collected an army with the help of treasure found underground in the Vindhya forest. The Nanda King was then defeated in an engagement that ended according to tradition in great slaughter. Thus Chandragupta made himself the ruler of Magadha, probably in 324 B.C. Afterwards he defeated the prefects of Alexander and put an end to what remained of Greek rule in the Punjab.

Gradually he extended his conquests to other parts of India. Plutarch tells us that "Androcottus . . . . traversed India with an army of 600,000 men and conquered the whole". According to ancient Tamil evidence, the first Maurya penetrated as far as the Tinnevelly district in Madras Presidency. A later Mysore inscription refers to Chandragupta's rule in North Mysore. It is, therefore, likely that he conquered a large portion of trans-Vindhyan India. In the west he pushed his conquests as far as Surashtra or Kathiawar in Western India and this is proved by the Junagadh Rock inscription of Rudradaman.

Towards the close of his reign Chandragupta came into collision with Seleukos, surnamed *Nikator* or the Conqueror, who was then King of Western Asia. He was one of Alexander's generals among whom that great conqueror's dominions had been divided not long after his premature death. Seleukos extended his dominions from the Mediterranean Sea to the Indus. Then he naturally tried to recover the Indian heritage of Alexander and came into collision with Chandragupta Maurya. He is said to have crossed the Indus to wage war but ultimately made friends and entered into a matrimonial alliance with Chandragupta. The territory ceded by Seleukos included Aria, Arachosia, Gedrosia and Paropanisadai, *i.e.*, Herat, Kandahar, Baluchistan and Kabul. He got in return 500 war elephants. A Greek envoy named Megasthenes was sent to the Maurya court. A peace on such favourable terms warrants a natural inference that Chandragupta was victorious. After this contest, however, the two rulers became lasting allies and this policy

of mutual friendship between the Seleucids and the Mauryas continued during succeeding reigns.

According to Jain tradition, Chandragupta embraced Jainism, abdicated his throne and committed suicide by slow starvation in the approved Jain manner at Sravana Belgola in Mysore. He died about 300 B.C. after a reign of 24 years.

MEGASTHENES

Chandragupta has left his impress on Indian History as a successful conqueror and a great administrator. Our information about his administrative system is derived from three sources: the fragments of Megasthenes, Kautilya's *Arthasāstra* and the inscriptions of Asoka.

We have already said that Seleukos sent an ambassador to reside at the Maurya court. "The time when he discharged his embassy or embassies, and how long he stayed in India, cannot be determined". There is less doubt as to the parts of India which he saw. He passed through Kabul and the Punjab and reached Pataliputra by travelling along the 'royal road'. He did not see other parts of India. The lower part of the Gangetic valley was known to him only by hearsay and report. He wrote an account of India which survives in quotations by later Greek writers, though the original work has been lost.

Most of the classical writers 'reckoned Megasthenes among those writers who were given to lying and least worthy of credit'. He recorded incredible marvels. He possessed very little critical judgment and was easily misled by wrong information. He was ignorant of Indian languages. But he has left for us undoubtedly authentic information concerning matters which he actually saw. His description of the city of Pataliputra, where he resided, the palace of Chandragupta, which he must have seen for himself, and the imperial court and camp, which he must have attended on many occasions, may be unhesitatingly accepted as true history. Moreover, in many respects his account of the system of government agrees with that of Kautilya.

According to Megasthenes, Pataliputra was the largest city in India, 9½ miles in length and 1¾ miles in breadth. It was surrounded by a broad ditch and protected by a wall with 570

towers and 64 gates. There were many other cities in the Maurya Empire. Those which were situated near the rivers or the sea were built of wood ; those which were situated in lofty places were built of brick and mortar.

The palace of Chandragupta excited the admiration of the Greeks, who declared that even the palaces of the Great Kings of Persia in Susa or Ekbatana could not vie with it. In the parks attached to the Maurya palace tame peacocks and pheasants were kept. There were shady groves and pasture ground planted with trees. The palace itself was built of wood. It probably stood close to the modern village of Kumrahar near Patna. Some European scholars have discovered traces of Persian influence in the construction of Chandragupta's palace, but their theory is not generally accepted.

Megasthenes seems to have divided the Indian population into seven castes: (1) 'Philosophers', who 'in point of number were inferior to the other classes, but in point of dignity pre-eminent over all'. (2) Husbandmen, who 'being regarded as public benefactors, were protected from all injury'. (3) Herdsmen and hunters, 'who neither settled in towns nor in villages, but lived in tents.' (4) Artisans, who were 'not only exempted from paying taxes, but even received maintenance from the royal exchequer'. (5) Soldiers, who were maintained at the King's expense. (6) 'Overseers', who 'enquired into and superintended all that went on in India, and made report to the King'. (7) 'Councillors and assessors', who 'deliberated on public affairs'. This enumeration of 'castes' cannot be reconciled with the orthodox Hindu theory regarding the four castes. Megasthenes seems to have 'gained a superficial acquaintance with the Indian caste system in its functional and racial aspects'. Probably the caste system was growing rigid during the Maurya period, for Megasthenes says that no one was allowed to marry out of his own caste or to adopt any calling or art except his own.

Megasthenes testifies to the frugality and honesty of the Indians of his age: "The Indians all live frugally, especially when in camp. . . Theft is a thing of very rare occurrence. . . They never drink wine except at sacrifices." We cannot accept his statement that the Indians had no written laws, being

ignorant of writing, for we have definite evidence that the art of writing was well-known in the Maurya age. The following statement based on Megasthenes probably draws an idealised picture: "The simplicity of their (*i.e.*, Indians') laws and their contracts is proved by the fact that they seldom go to law. They have no suits about pledges and deposits, nor do they require either seals or witnesses, but make their deposits and confide in each other. Their houses and property they generally leave unguarded".

According to Megasthenes, "all Indians are free, and not one of them is a slave". The existence of slavery is, however, proved beyond doubt by literary as well as epigraphic evidence. Probably Megasthenes was not aware of this fact because slavery in India was of mild character and limited extent in comparison with that prevailing among the Greeks.

According to Megasthenes, there were two classes of superior civil officials—the *agoranomi* (who administered the rural area) and the *astynomi* (who administered the capital city). The functions of the former are thus described: "Some superintend the rivers, measure the land as is done in Egypt, and inspect the sluices, by which water is let out from the main channels into their branches, so that every one may have an equal supply of it. The same persons have charge also of the huntsmen, and are entrusted with the power of rewarding or punishing them according to their deserts. They collect the taxes and superintend the occupations connected with land, as those of the wood-cutters, the carpenters, the blacksmiths, and the miners. They construct roads, and, at every ten stadia, set up a pillar to show the by-roads and distances."

The officials in charge of the capital city were divided into six bodies of five each. The members of the first looked after the industrial arts; those of the second took care of foreigners; those of the third dealt with the registration of births and deaths with a view to levying a tax; those of the fourth regulated retail trade, weights and measures; those of the fifth supervised the sale of manufactured goods; those of the sixth collected 'the tenth of the prices of the articles sold'. In their collective capacity these six bodies had 'charge both of their special departments, and also of matters affecting the general

interest, as the keeping of public buildings in proper repair, the regulation of prices, the care of markets, harbours, and temples'.

The duties ascribed by Megasthenes to the *agoranomi* are similar to those prescribed by the *Arthasāstra* for officers called *Samāhartri*, and the *astynomi* may be identified with the *Nagarādhyakshas* of Kautilya. Megasthenes also mentions a third class of high officials—those who directed military affairs—who may be identified with the *Balādhyakshas* of the *Arthasāstra*. According to Megasthenes, this class also consisted of six divisions, each composed of five members. Each of these divisions was in charge of a particular department—admiralty, commissariat and transport, infantry, cavalry, war-chariots, and elephants. The army was a standing army, not an aggregate of contingents. According to Plutarch's estimate it numbered 600,000.

Megasthenes refers to the punishment of criminals by mutilation: "A person convicted of bearing false witness suffers a mutilation of his extremities. He who maims another not only suffers in return the loss of the like limb, but his hand also is cut off. If he causes a workman to lose his hand or his eye, he is put to death". The *Arthasāstra* also recognises penal mutilations.

THE ARTHASĀSTRA

The *Arthasāstra* is generally attributed to Kautilya, Vishnugupta or Chanakya, who, according to Indian tradition, helped Chandragupta in overthrowing the Nanda dynasty and then became his minister. But the questions of the authorship and date of this important work are yet undecided. Although there is a persistent tradition ascribing it to Kautilya, there is much internal evidence pointing to a later date. The government contemplated by the *Arthasāstra* is that of a small state, but Chandragupta ruled over a vast Empire. Reference to China silk in the *Arthasāstra* seems to show that it was composed in the post-Maurya period, for India had no contact with China in the Maurya age. "Equally noteworthy is the use of Sanskrit as the official language, a feature not characteristic of the Maurya epoch". On these and other grounds it is held

by many scholars that the *Arthasāstra in its present form* was not composed during the Maurya period. But "whether the whole treatise or any part of it be the work of Chanakya or not, it deals with social conditions and institutions which prevailed in the Maurya period". We may, therefore, use it as a source of information relating to the Maurya administrative system. It supplements and confirms the information gleaned from the classical writers and the inscriptions of Asoka.

CENTRAL GOVERNMENT

The King was naturally the head of the State. He played a very important part in administration. Kautilya says that the King should be energetic and wakeful. He should post watchmen, attend to the accounts of revenue and expenditure, look to the affairs of both citizens and country people, attend to the appointments of superintendents, correspond in writs with the assembly of his ministers, receive secret information gathered by spies, superintend elephants, horses, chariots and infantry, and consider plans of military operations with the commander-in-chief. Kautilya also insists that the King should also study and spend some time in self-deliberation. He lays the greatest emphasis on the judicial duties of the King: "When in the court, he shall never cause petitioners to wait at the door". About the legislative functions of the King we should note that Kautilya includes *Rājasāsana* or royal rescripts among the sources of law.[1] The edicts of Asoka illustrate this law-making activity of the monarch. That the King led a very active life is also borne out by Greek evidence: "He remains there all day thus occupied, not suffering himself to be interrupted even when the time arrives for attending to his person".

As sovereignty is possible only with assistance the King had naturally to employ ministers and listen to their opinion. Megasthenes describes them as "councillors and assessors". Kautilya mentions two classes of ministers—*Mantrins* and *Amātyas*. The *Mantrins* were the high ministers who are most probably described by Asoka in his edicts as *Mahāmātras*. There was also a *Mantriparishad* or Council of Ministers which

[1] According to Kautilya the four legs of law are—*Dharma* (sacred law), *Vyavahāra* (evidence), *charitra* (history or tradition), and *Rājasāsana* (order of Kings).

played a very important part in the Maurya State. Its members were not identical with the *Mantrins*; they occupied a less important position. They were consulted by the King when emergency measures had to be decided upon. This council consisted of as many ministers as the needs of a growing Empire required. The edicts of Asoka also prove the existence of the *Mantriparishad*. The *Amātyas* were the executive and judicial officers of the Empire.

Besides the *Mantrins*, the *Mantriparishad* and the *Amātyas*, there was another class of officers who played a very important part in the administrative system. They were the *Adhyakshas* or superintendents who are described by the Greek writers as magistrates (in charge of rural areas as also the capital city). The *Arthasāstra* mentions the duties of 32 superintendents in different departments (*e.g.*, Treasury, Mines, Mint, Tolls, Shipping, Cattle, Horses, Chariots, Jails, Ports, etc.). Some of these superintendents are to be identified with magistrates in charge of military affairs mentioned by Megasthenes. Some of them were subordinate to the *Samāhartri*, some were subordinate to the *Sannidhātri*, and some were under the *Senāpati*, or commander-in-chief.

JUDICIAL ADMINISTRATION

The highest court was that of the King himself. Besides the King's court there were other courts which are described in the *Arthasāstra*: "In the cities of *sangrahana*, *dronamukha*, and *sthānīya*, and at places where districts meet, three members acquainted with sacred law and three ministers of the King shall carry on the administration of justice." A *sthānīya* refers to the centre of 800 villages, a *dronamukha* the centre of 400 villages, and a *sangrahana* the centre of ten villages. Petty cases in villages were decided by *grāmikas*, *i.e.*, elected village officers, and also by village elders. Greek writers refer to judges who listened to cases concerning foreigners. We have already referred to the severity of the penal code.

PROVINCIAL ADMINISTRATION

The Maurya Empire was divided into a number of provinces. The number of provinces in the time of Chandragupta

is not definitely known. In the time of Asoka there were at least five with their headquarters at Taxila (*Uttarāpatha*), Ujjain (*Avantirattha*), Suvarnagiri (*Dakshināpatha*), Tosali (*Kalinga*), Pataliputra (*Prāchya*). The outlying provinces were governed by *Kumāras, i.e.,* Princes of the blood royal. There were also peoples who were autonomous and cities which enjoyed a democratic government. Kautilya refers to *Sanghas* or corporations of warriors of Kamboja and Surashtra.

ESPIONAGE

The very efficient intelligence service described in the *Arthasāstra* probably ensured proper control over the administrative machinery in the provinces. Kautilya describes spies in two groups—*Samsthāh, i.e.,* Stationary Spies, and *Sanchārāh* or Wandering Spies.

REVENUE

The King's share of the produce of the soil (*bhāga*) generally amounted to one-sixth, but it was sometimes raised to one-fourth or reduced to one-eighth. Greek evidence seems to show that husbandmen had to pay an extra impost in addition to a fourth part of the produce of the soil, for "all India is the property of the crown and no private person is permitted to own land". In towns the King realised taxes on births and deaths, fines and tithes on sales.

SPIRIT OF MAURYA ADMINISTRATION

The *Arthasāstra* presents before us a political system that is "merciless in its precepts." The Emperor, his army, his bureaucracy, the excellent departmental organisation, the imperial Princes holding viceregal position in distant provinces, the well-organised spy system—all these raise before us a picture of ruthless efficiency and thoroughness. There is a frank realism about it all that seems to cast a shade of darkness over the mighty structure created by Chandragupta. But this almost pan-Indian Empire with its cynical attitude towards the political activities of man fostered at the same time the prevalent cultural harmony, and the relations between the govern-

ment and the governed were guided by the noblest ideals of toleration and benevolence. In this respect the principles of the *Arthasāstra* do not differ much from the spirit that finds expression in an Asokan edict in the celebrated words: "All men are my children." Kautilya says about the monarch:

"In the happiness of his subjects lies his happiness, in their welfare his welfare. Whatever pleases himself he shall not consider as good, but whatever pleases his subjects he shall consider as good."

"The King shall provide the orphans, the aged, the infirm, the afflicted and the helpless with maintenance. He shall provide subsistence to helpless women when they are carrying and also to the children they give birth to."

BINDUSARA

Bindusara, son and successor of Chandragupta, ruled approximately from 300 B.C. to 273 B.C. His title *Amitraghāta* (slayer of foes) seems to indicate that he was a powerful ruler. Either Chandragupta or Bindusara conquered a large part of trans-Vindhyan India, for Asoka made only one conquest—that of Kalinga,—yet his dominions extended in the south as far as the Pennar river. During the reign of Bindusara there was a formidable insurrection at Taxila, but the rebels submitted promptly on the arrival of Prince Asoka.

Bindusara maintained friendly relations on a footing of equality with the Hellenistic Powers. The King of Syria despatched to his court an ambassador named Deimachos. Ptolemy Philadelphos of Egypt also sent an ambassador named Dionysius who presented his credentials either to Bindusara or to Asoka. A Greek officer of the Seleukidan Empire sailed in the Indian seas to collect geographical information. Political relations probably brought about cultural contact. Bindusara is said to have requested King Antiochos I of Syria to send him a sophist.

EARLY YEARS OF ASOKA

Bindusara was succeeded by his son Asoka. He ascended the throne about 273 B.C., but his formal coronation took place four years later in 269 B.C. To explain this delay a theory of

fratricidal struggle has been advanced on the authority of the Ceylonese chronicles. We cannot believe wild legends in the absence of independent authentic evidence. No definite information is available regarding the first four years of Asoka's reign. These years form "one of the dark spaces in the spectrum of Indian history".

Asoka, or *Devānāmpiya Piyadasi,* as he is called in his edicts, pursued the imperial policy of expansion within India, which he inherited from his predecessors. Kalinga, which had formed a part of the Nanda Empire, must have asserted its independence after the fall of the Nandas, and if Greek evidence is to be believed, formed an independent Kingdom in the time of Chandragupta. Eight years after his coronation Asoka effected its conquest. The Kalinga monarch had a huge army and Asoka had considerable difficulty in overcoming him. He says in Rock Edict XIII, "One hundred and fifty thousand persons were carried away captive, one hundred thousand were slain and many times that number perished." The newly conquered territory was constituted into a new viceroyalty with its headquarters at Tosali (in the Puri district). With the annexation of Kalinga the era of military conquest, which had begun in the days of Bimbisara, came to an end.

EXTENT OF ASOKA'S EMPIRE

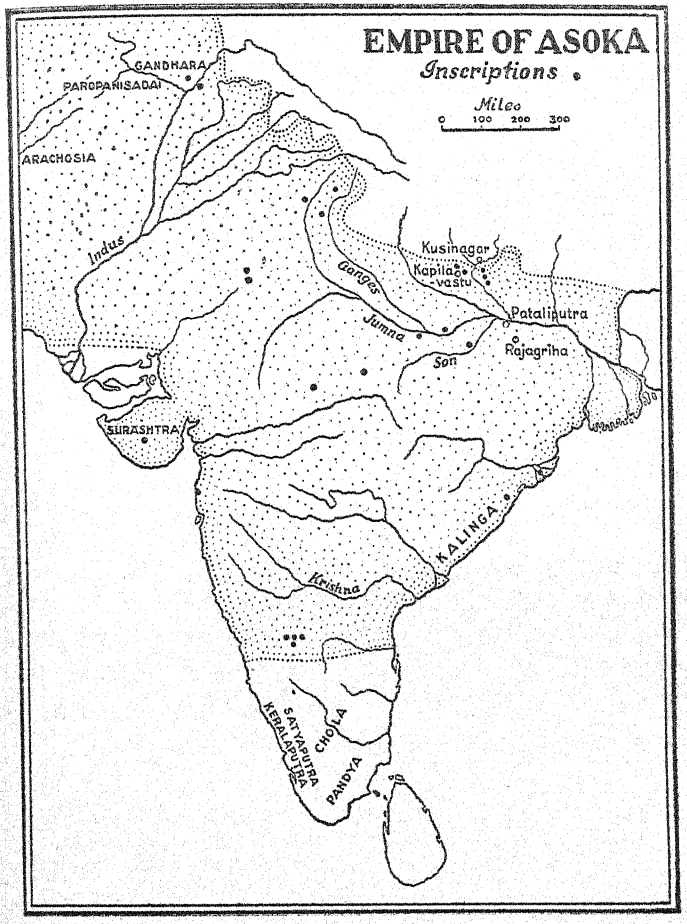
The extent of the Maurya Empire under Asoka may be almost precisely determined. In the north-west his Empire stretched as far as the borders of the Empire of Antiochos II of Syria and included modern Afghanistan, Baluchistan, Sind as well as the tribal territories. The Yonas, the Kambojas and the Gandharas of the North-West frontier region are mentioned as dependent tribes. The inclusion of Kashmir is proved by the evidence of Hiuen Tsang and also by Kalhana's *Rājatarangiṇī.* The inclusion of the Nepalese *terai* is proved by the pillar inscription of Asoka at Rummindei. In Rock Edict XIII Asoka enumerates his outlying regions in a definite order and in this connection refers to the Nābhapamtis of Nābhaka who were residents of the *terai* region. In the east Maurya dominion seems to have extended to the Brahmaputra. Hiuen Tsang saw stupas of Asoka near Tamralipti (in South

Bengal) and Pundravardhana (in North Bengal), but in his days there were no monuments of Asoka in Kamarupa (Assam). In the south the Maurya frontier extended to the Pennar river, and the Tamil powers of the Far South (Chera, Chola, Pandya and Pallava) are mentioned by Asoka in Rock Edict XIII as border states. There were various tributary tribes in the south, like the Andhras, the Bhojas, the Pulindas and the Rāshtrikas. In the west the Asokan Empire extended to the Arabian Sea, and Surashtra was governed by Yavanaraja Tushaspha, a vassal of Asoka.

ASOKA AS A BUDDHIST

The Kalinga War must be regarded as one of the most decisive events in the history of the world. The misery and bloodshed of this campaign made a profound impression on Asoka's mind. He speaks thus in one of his edicts: "Thus arose His Sacred Majesty's remorse for having conquered the Kalingas, because the conquest of a country previously unconquered involves the slaughter, death and carrying away captive of the people. That is a matter of profound sorrow and regret to His Sacred Majesty . . . of all the people who were then slain, done to death or carried away captive in the Kalingas, if the hundredth or the thousandth part were to suffer the same fate, it would now be matter of regret to His Sacred Majesty". He became a convert to Buddhism but he continued to entertain full reverence for men of all sects. He called himself *Devānāmpiya* (beloved of the Gods). He inculcated liberality and seemly behaviour towards the Brahmins. He also made costly gifts to the Ajivika monks. One of his edicts says, "The King does reverence to men of all sects".

Asoka attached the greatest importance to the zealous practice of *Dhamma* or Law of Piety. Asoka thus describes *Dhamma*, "Father and mother must be obeyed ; similar respect for living creatures must be enforced ; truth must be spoken ; these are the virtues of the Law of duty". Elsewhere he says, "A meritorious thing is the hearkening to father and mother ; a meritorious thing is liberality to friends, acquaintances, relations, Brahmanas and ascetics ; a meritorious thing is small expense and small accumulation". Thus, instead of emphasizing



[The shaded portion represents the approximate extent of Asoka's Empire. The black dots indicate find-spots of Asoka's inscriptions.]

dogmas and theological subtleties Asoka insists on the practice of certain simple virtues. Hence it has been claimed that the morality inculcated by him was common to all the Indian religions. Rhys Davids points out that *Dhamma* never means religion but rather, when used in that connection, what it behoves a man of right feeling to do or what a man of sense

will do. It lies quite apart from all questions of religion or theology. It fell naturally into three divisions: (1) What it was right for the layman. (2) What it was right for the wanderer. (3) What it was right for those who had entered the path of *Arhatship*. The *Dhamma* promulgated by Asoka was only the first of these three divisions. It was the *Dhamma* for the laymen as generally held in India, but in the form and with modifications adopted by the Buddhists. So the *Dhamma* inculcated in the Asokan edicts cannot be properly understood except in the context of Buddhism.

Asoka adopted various measures to disseminate instructions on *Dhamma*. He sent missions far and wide to give such instructions. He engraved these teachings on imperishable rocks and stone pillars. The sites were carefully chosen and the documents were composed in vernacular dialects. The style is distinctive and the edicts are alive with personal feeling. He also appointed a new class of officers called *Dharma-mahāmātras* and included within the purview of their duties "the concerns of the Law, the establishment of the Law, and the business of alms giving." The Emperor himself also undertook royal tours of piety in the place of old tours of pleasure and royal hunts. These royal tours must have given great impetus to the spread of the *Dhamma*.

MISSIONARY ACTIVITIES OF ASOKA

After the conquest of Kalinga Asoka gave up the traditional policy of *Digvijaya* and adopted the ideal of *Dhammavijaya*. In Edict IV he says that "the reverberation of the war drums has become the reverberation of *Dhamma*". In accordance with this new ideal he made no attempt to annex the frontier states in and outside India. Instead of sending soldiers he sent missionaries.

As Asoka attached so much importance to his policy of *Dhammavijaya* we should note the outcome of his missionary activity. "In his use of *Dhammavijaya* the stress is all on *Dhamma* and the *Vijaya* becomes a metaphor and ceases to be a reality." In Rock Edict XIII he claims that he made conquests by *Dhamma* not only throughout his Empire but also in the adjoining Kingdoms of Antiochos Theos of Syria, Ptolemy

Philadelphos of Egypt, Magas of Cyrene and Alexander of Epirus (or Corinth). It is added, "Even where the envoys of His Sacred Majesty do not penetrate, those people too, hearing His Sacred Majesty's ordinance based upon the Law of Piety and his instruction in that Law, practise and will practise the Law." There is no doubt that Buddhism made some progress in Western Asia, though we have nothing to prove that it made any headway among the Greeks. The Ceylonese Chronicles, *Mahāvamsa* and *Dīpavamsa*, written several centuries after Asoka, name the missionaries sent by him to Ceylon and to Suvarnabhumi or Lower Burma. The mission to Ceylon, headed by Prince Mahendra, was entirely successful, and during the long reign of Tissa Buddhism won a complete victory in Ceylon.

ASOKA'S RELATIONS WITH THE BUDDHIST CHURCH

Asoka preached concord among the various sects ; but he naturally took special interest in the affairs of the Buddhist Church. In one of his edicts he refers to the deadly sin of schism within the Buddhist Church. He took steps to maintain the integrity of the Church and to prevent schism. According to tradition, he summoned a Buddhist Council at Pataliputra in the seventeenth year of his reign with a view to suppress heresy and compile the true Buddhist doctrines. He is said to have entered the *Samgha*. I-tsing, the Chinese traveller, saw an image of Asoka in the garb of a Buddhist monk. Asoka's relations with the *Samgha* were friendly and cordial. He earned the title of "kinsman of the faith." But his lavish expenditure upon religious edifices has been exaggerated. "It is said that he thrice gave away and purchased back Jambudvipa. This can hardly be believed of an emperor so conscious of the responsibilities of his unique position".

ASOKA'S FOREIGN POLICY AND INTERNAL ADMINISTRATION

We have already noted how Asoka's conversion to Buddhism led to a fundamental change in his foreign policy. Instead of trying to annex the frontier states in the Far South —Chola, Pandya, Satiyaputra and Keralaputra—he maintained

friendly relations with them. With the Syrian neighbour the old policy of friendship was continued.

With regard to internal policy also a change is manifest. He condemned sacrificial slaughter of living creatures, violence to animate beings, offensive *Samājas* or popular carousals and unseemly behaviour. He upheld *Ahimsā* and *Maitrī*. He wanted to improve the moral and material condition of his people by means of his administrative reforms and his simple instructions in *Dhamma*. Asoka hoped to put an end to mal-administration in the distant provinces. The administrative innovations introduced by him included the quinquennial and triennial tours of royal officers like the *Yutas, Rājukas, Prādesikas* and *Mahāmātras*. While the other officers were directed to carry on propaganda work during their tours, the *Mahāmātras* were to check miscarriage of justice and abuse of delegated authority in the outlying provinces. A new class of officers called *Dharma-mahāmātras* preached the *Dhamma*; but they also dealt with important administrative questions, *e.g.*, revision of sentences, reduction of penalties, etc.

Asoka sought to promote the welfare of men and beasts. He issued certain regulations that restricted slaughter and mutilation of animals. Pillar Edict V contains a code of regulations against animal carnage. These agree with the restrictions recognised by the *Arthasāstra*. Asoka must have given effect to these restrictions. Hospitals were built for men and beasts. Wells were dug ; banyan trees and mango groves were planted. Great importance was attached to the distribution of alms and beneficent activity in general received a great impetus from the new tone of administration. "The importance of energetic action by the sovereign was not a new conception. . . . nor was the idea of royal responsibility for the virtue of the people a novelty, but Asoka gives to these principles a new force and direction by calling upon all to participate in his energy and by fixing all attention upon moral improvement as a means to happiness in the present and further in another life."

ESTIMATE OF ASOKA

Asoka's reign is regarded as "one of the brightest interludes in the troubled history of mankind." With a triumphant army and an efficient bureaucracy, this supremely able ruler

could easily have completed the conquest of the Far South and embarked on a policy of further conquest abroad. Alexander turned back on the Hyphasis because he was compelled to do so and he was indignant with destiny for bestowing on its favourite only limited success. Caesar turned back on the Thames, on the Rhine, on the Danube and on the Euphrates because he had to effect a regulation of the frontiers. Asoka could easily have realised the ideal of a united *Jambudvipa* or thought of unbounded plans of world conquest, but where others saw and conquered, he conquered and then saw what conquest meant. The forbearance of this strong man is unique in history.

This soldier and statesman was also responsible for transforming a local sect into one of the greatest world religions. But he was neither dogmatic nor intolerant ; he looked upon all questions from the broad, humane point of view. It has been said that "the missions of King Asoka are amongst the greatest civilising influences in the history of the world. His benefactions were a source of inspiration even as late as the time of Govindachandra of the Gahadavala dynasty".

This great preacher of non-violence, whose burning words on the misery and desolation of aggressive wars still ring in our ears, could not unfortunately prevent the world from pursuing its wonted course. His pacifism is said to have weakened the Maurya Empire. We do not know what happened to the large and powerful army organised by Chandragupta. The sound of the war drum was hushed. Hunting was abolished. Even the wild tribesmen heard only the mild preaching of *Dhamma*. Asoka died in or about 232 B.C. Within a quarter of a century the decline of the Maurya power became manifest. Disintegration began and the process of decline became very rapid, *Yavana* invasions accelerating the process. But it must not be forgotten that he was not an unpractical visionary. Inspite of his idealism he knew how to face the facts of life. "He exhorts his successors to follow him in the path of *Dhammavijaya*, of winning people to the learning and practice of *Dhamma* ; but he is not sure that they will accept this advice and adopt this course in its entirety ; hence he adds a rider that if, still, in the face of his exhortation, conquest should yet have its attractions for them, they should be gentle

and merciful in the pursuit of their plans and never lose sight of the ideal of true conquest. Again, the practical question of the need for and the limits to the use of force in ensuring that regard for law and order without which social life would be impossible—this question is not shirked by Asoka." He was a practical statesman and the alleged responsibility of his pacifism for the decline of the Maurya Empire is little more than a plausible surmise.

INSCRIPTIONS OF ASOKA

The inscriptions of Asoka have been divided into eight classes in chronological order. The area covered by them is nearly the whole of India. Their distribution enables us to indicate correctly the extent of the dominions of Asoka. Their language is vernacular, closely akin to literary Sanskrit and Pali. The script is generally Brahmi but in two rescensions of the fourteen Rock Edicts we have Kharosthi.

(1) *The two Minor Rock Edicts.* The first document is of value for the personal history of Asoka. The second contains a summary of *Dhamma.* Their date is probably 257 B.C. Copies of these edicts have been found at Sahasram (Shahabad district, Bihar), Rupnath (Jubbulpore district, C.P.), Bairat (Jaipur State, Rajputana), Siddapur, Jatinga-Rameswar and Brahmagiri (all in the Chitaldrug district, Mysore), Maski (Raichur district, Nizam's Dominions), Yerragudi (Karnul district, Madras Presidency) and Kopbal (in the Nizam's Dominions). The Maski version is perhaps the only record which mentions the great Emperor's personal name (Asoka); other records give us his title (Piyadasi) only.

(2) *The Bhabru Edict.* It gives some important passages from the Buddhist scriptures and proves that Asoka had really embraced Buddhism. The date is about the same as that of the Minor Rock Edicts.

(3) *The fourteen Rock Edicts.* These explain Asoka's principles of government and ethical system. Their date is about 257 B.C. Copies of these edicts have been found at Shahbazgarhi (Peshawar district, N.W.F.P), Manshera (Hazara district, N.W.F.P.), Kalsi (Dehradun district, U.P.), Girnar (near Junagadh in Kathiawar), Sopera (Thana district, Bombay Presidency), Dhauli (Puri district, Orissa), Jaugada (near

Ganjam, Orissa) and Yerragudi (Karnul district, Madras Presidency).

(4) *The Kalinga Edicts.* These explain the principles of his new system of administration adopted after the Kalinga War. These edicts also deal with the treatment of border tribes. These two edicts take the place of Rock Edicts XII-XIII in the Dhauli and Jaugada versions of the fourteen Rock Edicts.

(5) *The Cave Inscriptions* in the Barabar Hills (Gaya district, Bihar). The dedications of three caves are to the Ajivika monks who were the forerunners of the Digambara Jains of later times and are to be dated between 257-50 B.C.

(6) *The Terai Pillar Inscriptions* are two commemorative records on columns in the Nepalese *terai,* one of them being at Rummindei, the birth-place of the Buddha, and the other at Nigliva. They were erected in 249 B.C. Here Asoka also indicates his devotion to the former Buddhas.

(7) *The seven Pillar Edicts* (date between 243 and 242 B.C.). They serve as an appendix to the Rock Edicts, emphasising and repeating earlier instructions. The more important inscribed pillars of Asoka are now found at Delhi, Allahabad, Lauriya Araraj, Lauriya Nandangarh and Rampurwa (all in the Champaran district, Bihar).

(8) *The four Minor Pillar Edicts* (date between 242 and 232 B.C.). Copies of these edicts are found at Allahabad, Sanchi (in Bhopal State) and Sarnath (near Benares).

ASOKA'S SUCCESSORS

We know the names of several sons of Asoka: Kunala, Jalauka, Tivara. We also know the names of three of his grandsons: Dasaratha, Samprati, Vigatasoka. It is very difficult to reconcile divergent versions regarding the succession to the Maurya throne after Asoka's death. The last of the Imperial Mauryas was undoubtedly Brihadratha who was assassinated by his general Pushyamitra, the founder of the Sunga dynasty, in or about 187 B.C.

CAUSES OF THE FALL OF THE MAURYA EMPIRE

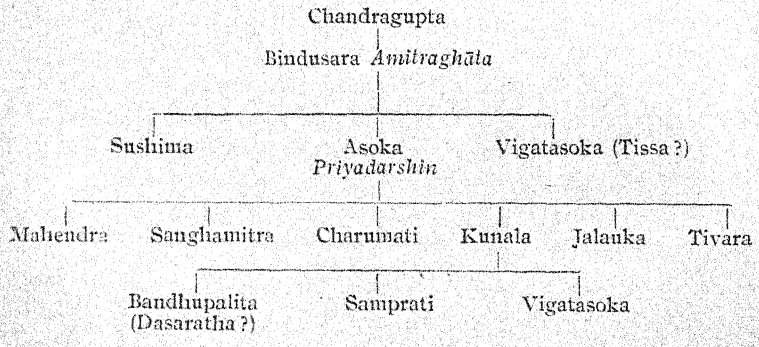
The Maurya Empire experienced a gradual decay. The theory that this decline was due to a Brahmanical reaction

does not stand critical examination. There was nothing in the career of Asoka to bring about a militant Brahmanical reaction. The Sunga *coup d'etat* was just a dynastic revolution.

If Greek evidence is to be believed, Subhagasena had set himself up as an independent King in the Kabul valley long before the fall of Brihadratha. There is also evidence to show that Vidarbha or Berar had also become independent. When Antiochos the Great of Syria invaded north-western India in 206 B.C. the dismemberment of the mighty Maurya Empire had already advanced very far. The weak successors of Asoka, like the weak successors of Aurangzeb, were unequal to the task that they had to face. In the outlying provinces the centrifugal tendency asserted itself and the mighty fabric of Chandragupta and Asoka was almost in a state of collapse when Pushyamitra effected the dynastic revolution. He usurped only a fragment of the extensive Empire.

Thus disappeared the first great Indian Empire that gave to India political unity for a century, defended her against powerful foreign enemies, established a uniform and efficient system of administration, used one official language (Prakrit) for official purposes, and emphasised that code of conduct which was common to all Indian religions. The wider peace that was established opened out fuller opportunities for cultural development. This political and administrative unity of Indian history was again lost with the collapse of the Maurya Imperial fabric.

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE MAURYA DYNASTY



FOR FURTHER STUDY

H. C. Raychaudhuri, *Political History of Ancient India.*
V. A. Smith, *Early History of India.*
V. A. Smith, *Asoka.*
Hultzsch, *Inscriptions of Asoka.*
Cambridge History of India, Vol. I.
Monahan, *Early History of Bengal.*
McCrindle, *Ancient India as described by Megasthenes.*
Shamasastry, Kautilya's *Arthasāstra* (English translation).

CHAPTER VII

POLITICAL DISINTEGRATION AND FOREIGN INVASIONS

SECTION I

DECLINE OF MAGADHA

PUSHYAMITRA SUNGA

Pushyamitra Sunga (*circa* 187-151 B.C.), who overthrew the Maurya dynasty and usurped the throne of Magadha, seems to have been a Brahmin. In those days it was not unusual for the Brahmins to exchange the ferule for the sword. Pushyamitra ruled over an Empire which was much smaller in size than the vast Empire of Asoka. The Sunga dominions extended from Pataliputra to the river Narmada and included the cities of Ayodhya and Vidisa. It is also probable that Pushyamitra ruled over Jalandhar and Sialkot in the Punjab. It seems that an independent principality had been established at Vidarbha (Berar) in the confusion that followed the overthrow of the Maurya dynasty. After a successful war Pushyamitra was able to establish his suzerainty over Berar.

According to some scholars, Kharavela, King of Kalinga, invaded Magadha during the reign of Pushyamitra Sunga and defeated him. This theory rests on a doubtful interpretation of some obscure passages in Kharavela's Hathigumpha inscription. Most probably Kharavela was not a contemporary of Pushyamitra.

The great Grammarian Patanjali, who was a contemporary of Pushyamitra, refers to a Greek invasion in his reign. The *Yavanas* besieged Saketa (Ayodhya) and Madhyamika (Nagari near Chitor.). Presumably the were repulsed by the Magadhan army. The name of the Greek invader is not mentioned in Indian literature, nor does Greek evidence give us any positive clue about his identity. Some modern writers identify him with Menander, others with Demetrios.

Pushyamitra performed two *Asvamedha* sacrifices, probably to celebrate his victories against Vidarbha and the *Yavanas*. He was a staunch adherent of orthodox Hinduism. Late Buddhist writers describe him as a persecutor of Buddhism, but it is difficult to accept their statements at their face value.

THE LATER SUNGAS

Pushyamitra was succeeded by his son Agnimitra, the hero of Kalidasa's drama *Mālavikāgnimitra*. During his father's reign he had served as viceroy of Vidisa and conducted the war against Vidarbha. Very little information is available about his successors. One of them, Bhagabhadra, received from Antialkidas, Greek King of Taxila, a Greek envoy named Heliodoros, who professed the Bhagavata religion and set up a *Garuda* pillar at Besnagar. This shows that the Bactrian Greeks of North-Western India cultivated friendly relations with the Indian rulers. The Greek envoy's devotion to an Indian religion proves that the Greeks were succumbing to Indian culture.

THE KANVA DYNASTY

According to the Puranas, the Sungas ruled in Magadha for 112 years. In or about 75 B.C. Devabhuti, the last ruler of the Sunga dynasty, was murdered by his minister Vasudeva, who usurped the throne and founded the Kanva or Kanvayana dynasty. Four rulers of this dynasty occupied the throne for 45 years.

The period of Kanva rule came to an end in or about 30 B.C. It is very difficult to reconstruct the history of Magadha from the fall of the Kanva dynasty to the rise of the Gupta dynasty in the fourth century A.D. The Satavahanas of the Deccan, who probably succeeded the Kanvas in Eastern Malwa, do not appear to have ruled in Magadha proper. Epigraphic evidence shows that some 'Mitra Kings' ruled in Magadha, but their relationship with the Sungas and the Kanvas is unknown. In Pataliputra as well as in Mathura the 'Mitra Kings' were probably succeeded by the Saka 'Murundas' and Satraps, who were later on replaced by the Nagas and the Guptas.

SECTION II

KINGDOMS OF THE DECCAN

THE CHETA DYNASTY OF KALINGA

The history of Kalinga after the death of Asoka is shrouded in obscurity. A new dynasty, known as the Cheta or Cheti dynasty, rose in this region probably in the first century B.C. Our information about this dynasty is derived solely from the Hathigumpha inscription of Kharavela, the third ruler of the dynasty. The inscription does not even mention the names of the first two Kings of the dynasty, and as it was issued in the thirteenth year of Kharavela's reign, it does not give us any information about the later years of his life. It is undated, but a particular expression used in it seems to show that it was issued 300 years (or 103 years) after the Nandas. Kharavela may, therefore, be said to have flourished in the first century (or third century) B.C.

The Hathigumpha inscription informs us that having received training in various arts and sciences, including mathematics, law, and finance, *Yuvarāja* Kharavela ascended the throne of Kalinga. His capital was at Kalinga-nagara. He defeated the Satavahana King, Satakarni, and compelled the Rathikas and Bhojakas to submit to him. Twice he led expeditions to Northern India, the people of Magadha were terrified, and the King of Magadha (whose name is uncertain) was compelled to bow at his feet. He also led expeditions to the South and subdued the King of the Pandyas. The concluding portion of this meteoric career is still unknown to us, nor do we know any thing about the history of Kalinga immediately after Kharavela's death.

RISE OF THE SATAVAHANAS OF MAHARASHTRA

The Puranas contain conflicting traditions about the Satavahana Kings of Maharashtra. According to one tradition, they ruled for about four centuries and a half. Some modern scholars accept this tradition. They assign the beginning of Satavahana power to the last quarter of the third century B.C., and hold that the dynasty came to an end in the third century A.D.

It is difficult to accept this theory in view of the fact that another Puranic tradition mentions 300 years only as the period of Satavahana rule. It is better to rely on a third Puranic tradition, according to which Simuka, the founder of the Satavahana dynasty, 'obtained the earth after uprooting the remains of the Sungas' power'. His rule should, therefore, be assigned to the first century B.C.

In the Puranas the Satavahanas are called Andhras. The Andhras lived in the Telegu country between the Godavari and the Krishna. They are mentioned in Vedic literature, in the fragments of Megasthenes, and in the edicts of Asoka. There is evidence to show that the Satavahanas did not belong to the Andhra stock. They were probably Brahmins with a little admixture of Naga blood. In their epigraphic documents they uniformly call themselves Satavahanas, and the name 'Andhra' is conspicuous by its absence. Their earliest records are found in Central India and in the Northern Deccan, not in the Andhra country. The name 'Andhra' probably came to be applied to them in later times when their political authority was confined to the territory at the mouth of the river Krishna.

Satakarni, the third ruler of the dynasty, raised its power and prestige by extensive conquests. He conquered Eastern Malwa and performed the *Asvamedha* sacrifice. His capital was Pratishthana, modern Paithan on the north bank of the Godavari in the Nizam's Dominions. He is probably to be identified with the Satavahana ruler who was defied by Kharavela, King of Kalinga.

Very little authentic information is available about the successors of Satakarni. Towards the end of the first century A.D. the Kshaharatas, a family of Saka Satraps ruling in Western India, wrested parts of Maharashtra from the Satavahanas. The latter probably retired to the southern part of their dominions.

PERIOD OF SATAVAHANA GREATNESS

The power of the Satavahana dynasty was revived by Gautamiputra Satakarni, who defeated the powerful Saka Satrap Nahapana and overthrew the Sakas, *Yavanas* (Greeks) and Pahlavas (Parthians). His dominions extended not only over

Maharashtra and the districts around Paithan, but also over North Konkan, Kathiawar, Berar and Malwa. But there is no direct evidence to show that he ruled over the Andhra country and South Kosala. According to some modern scholars, his accession took place after 106 A.D. and he ruled for at least 24 years. In a contemporary inscription he is described as a social reformer: "He crushed down the pride and conceit of the Kshatriyas, furthered the interests of the twice-born (apparently the Brahmanas) as well as the lowest orders, and stopped the contamination of the four castes."

He was succeeded by Vasishthiputra Pulamavi (*circa* 130-154 A.D.), who was probably the first Satavahana ruler to establish his authority in the Andhra country. His political influence may have extended to the Coromandel coast as well as to some portions of the modern Central Provinces. Some modern scholars think that he was twice defeated by his father-in-law, the great Saka Satrap Rudradaman.

Yajna Sri Satakarni (*circa* 165-194 A.D.) was the last great ruler of the Satavahana dynasty. He certainly ruled over both Maharashtra and the Andhra country. He recovered North Konkan from the successors of Rudradaman. Numismatic evidence indicates that he was interested in maritime activity.

FALL OF THE SATAVAHANAS

The power of the Satavahanas declined after Yajna Sri Satakarni's death. The Abhiras occupied Maharashtra about the middle of the third century A.D. The later Satavahanas ruled in the Eastern Deccan and the Kanarese country. In that region they were finally succeeded by the Ikshvakus and the Pallavas.

THE VAKATAKAS OF CENTRAL INDIA

Like the Sungas, the Kanvas and the Satavahanas, the Vakatakas of Central India were Brahmins. Bundelkhand was probably their original home. The beginnings of their power may be traced to the third quarter of the third century A.D. The first important ruler of the dynasty was Vindhyasakti, who is mentioned in the Puranas as a ruler of Vidisa (modern Bhilsa near Bhopal). His son, Pravarasena I, performed four

Asvamedhas and assumed imperial titles. Prithivisena I, whose political influence extended from Bundelkhand to the borders of the Kanarese country, was probably a contemporary of the great Gupta Emperor Samudra Gupta. There is no clear reference to the Vakatakas in the famous Allahabad inscription which gives us a brief account of Samudra Gupta's campaigns, but it is probable that as a result of his victories Central India came under the suzerainty of the Guptas, and the Vakatakas became a purely southern power. Chandra Gupta II Vikramaditya gave one of his daughters—Prabhavati Gupta—in marriage to the Vakataka King Rudrasena II and thus secured his subordinate alliance. This alliance was probably very useful to the Gupta Emperor in his war with the Sakas of Western India, for, says Smith, "the Vakataka *Maharaja* occupied a geographical position in which he could be of much service or dis-service to the northern invader of the dominions of the Saka Satraps of Gujarat and Surashtra." The last great King of the Vakataka dynasty was Harisena, who reigned towards the close of the fifth century A.D. He is said to have made extensive conquests in Malwa, South Kosala (Eastern C.P.), Kalinga, the Andhra country, the Kanarese country and Lata (Southern Gujarat). The Kalachuris and the Kadambas destroyed the power of the Vakatakas towards the middle of the sixth century A.D.

EARLY HISTORY OF THE PALLAVAS

The origin of the Pallavas is one of the unsolved problems of ancient Indian history. The theory that they were foreign intruders connected with the Pahlavas or Parthians of North-Western India is based on nothing more substantial than the superficial similarity of names, and may be safely rejected. Another theory is that the Pallavas were of Chola-Naga origin, and belonged to the Far South and Ceylon. But the traditional hostility of the Pallavas to the Cholas and the obviously northern character of their culture cannot be reconciled with this theory. The Pallavas used Prakrit in their early records, patronised Sanskrit learning, and performed the *Asvamedha* sacrifice. These facts, taken together with their claim of Brahmin descent, seem to show that they were really Northerners of Brahmanical origin.

The earliest charters of the Pallavas have been assigned to the third and fourth centuries A.D. The first great ruler of the dynasty was Siva-Skanda-Varman, who ruled over an extensive Kingdom and performed the *Asvamedha* and other Vedic sacrifices. The capital of the Pallavas was Kanchi (Conjeeveram). When Samudra Gupta invaded Southern India, Vishnugopa, the Pallava King of Kanchi, was defeated and compelled to acknowledge Gupta suzerainty. The history of the Pallavas during the fifth and sixth centuries A.D. is very obscure. Some Sanskrit charters disclose the names of some Kings, but very little is known about their political achievements.

THE DYNASTIES OF THE FAR SOUTH

The Cholas, the Pandyas, and the Cheras were indigenous to the Far South. The traditional Chola country lay between the two rivers, Pennar and Vellar, and roughly included the modern districts of Tanjore and Trichinopoly and a portion of the Pudukottai State. The earliest historical reference to the Cholas as a ruling power occurs in the edicts of Asoka. About the middle of the second century B.C. a Chola prince named Elara conquered Ceylon and ruled there for a considerable period. Interesting information about the Chola country may be collected from the *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea* (*circa* 60 A.D.) and the well-known geography of Ptolemy (*circa* middle of the second century A.D.). During the third (or fourth) century A.D. the power of the Cholas declined owing to the rise of the Pallavas and the aggressions of the Pandyas and the Cheras. Towards the middle of the seventh century A.D. the famous Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang visited Southern India. He found the Chola country 'deserted and wild, a succession of marshes and jungles'. He does not mention the ruler, but says, "The population is very small, and troops and brigands go through the country openly". The power of the Cholas was restored in the ninth century.

The Pandya country generally comprised the present districts of Madura, Ramnad and Tinnevelley and the southern parts of Travancore. Madura, 'the Mathura of the South,' was the capital of the Pandyas. The chief commercial ports were Korkai (in the Tinnevelly district) and Kayal.

The Pandya Kingdom is mentioned in Indian literature even in the fourth century B.C. Megasthenes gives some curious stories about this Kingdom and tells us that it was governed by women. In one of his edicts Asoka refers to the Pandyas as an independent people living beyond the southern limits of his Empire. Kharavela, King of Kalinga, claims to have humbled the Pandya King. A Pandya King sent an embassy to the great Roman Emperor, Augustus, in 20 B.C. Our information about the history of the Pandyas until about the beginning of the seventh century A.D. is extremely meagre.

The Chera Kingdom roughly comprised the modern district of Malabar, the northern parts of Travancore, and Cochin. There were two important ports on the western coast—Muziris (modern Cranganore) and Vaikkarai—which served as flourishing centres of foreign trade.

The earliest reference to the Cheras occurs in an edict of Asoka, which mentions the Keralaputras as an independent people in the south. References to the Chera country are also found in the *Periplus* and the geographical work of Ptolemy, but its political history is obscure. Tamil literature gives us an exaggerated account of the heroic exploits of a Chera King named Senguttuvan, who is said to have carried his arms as far as the Himalayas. From the eighth century onwards the Chera country submitted alternately to the Pandyas and the Cholas.

SECTION III

FOREIGN INVASIONS

The incorporation of North-Western India in the Magadhan Empire was one of the greatest achievements of Chandragupta Maurya, for it was a novel and decisive step towards the unification of India under one sceptre. It seems that the political connection between Magadha and the North-West did not long survive Asoka's death, for even before the invasion of Antiochos the Great of Syria (206 B.C.), an Indian prince named Subhagasena had carved out an independent Kingdom in Gandhara. From the second century B.C. North-Western India came under the rule of a succession of foreign

races, and its political connection with the rest of India became feeble.

RISE OF THE BACTRIAN GREEKS

The large Empire occupied by Seleukos after the death of Alexander the Great began to decline in the third century B.C. The provinces of Parthia (Khurasan and the south-east coast of the Caspian Sea) and Bactria (Balkh, *i.e.*, the region lying between the Hindukush and the Oxus) asserted their independence. Bactria was an important centre of Greek culture in Asia.

Euthydemos, the third independent Greek ruler of Bactria, was a contemporary of the Seleukidan ruler, Antiochos the Great, who after a long war recognised his independence and probably gave his daughter in marriage to his son Demetrios. After the Syrian King's departure from the Indian frontier (206 B.C.) Euthydemos subjugated a large part of Afghanistan. Towards the beginning of the second century B.C. he was succeeded by Demetrios, who conquered a considerable portion of the Punjab. According to some modern scholars, he is to be identified with the *Yavana* ruler who invaded Upper India during the reign of Pushyamitra Sunga. While Demetrios was pushing his arms into the interior of India, Bactria was occupied by a Geek general named Eukratides. Demetrios could not re-establish his authority in Bactria ; his power remained confined within the Indus valley and he came to be known as 'King of the Indians'. His capital was Euthydemia or Sakala (Sialkot in the Punjab). He was the first Greek ruler to issue bilingual coins, having legends in Greek as well as in an Indian language in the Kharosthi script.

MENANDER

Numismatic evidence gives us the names of several Bactrian Greek Kings, but no detailed information about them is available. It is uncertain whether Menander, perhaps the greatest Greek ruler of North-Western India, belonged to the dynasty of Euthydemos. He was a powerful King. Strabo says that he conquered 'more nations than Alexander'. His coins have been found over a very wide extent of country as far west

as Kabul and as far east as Mathura, and even Bundelkhand. His coins were current in the ports of Western India in the age of the *Periplus* (*circa* 60 A.D.). Plutarch describes him as a ruler of many cities. Some modern scholars identify Menander with the *Yavana* invader who was repulsed by Pushyamitra Sunga. He is also identified with King Milinda, who is mentioned in the Buddhist work *Milindapanho*. He was probably a convert to Buddhism. His capital was Sakala (Sialkot), a flourishing city of beautiful buildings and strong defences.

FALL OF THE BACTRIAN GREEKS

The Bactrian Greeks knew no unity ; the house of Euthydemos found a powerful rival in the house of Eukratides. After consolidating his authority in Bactria, Eukratides conquered the Kabul valley, Gandhara, and the western portion of the Punjab. He was probably murdered by his son and successor, Heliokles, in or about 155 B.C. After the death of Heliokles, Bactria was occupied by the Sakas, and the later members of the house of Eukratides ruled in Afghanistan and the Western Punjab. One of them, Antialkidas, who is described as King of Taxila, sent an envoy named Heliodoros to the court of the Sunga King, Bhagabhadra. The last Greek ruler of the North-Western frontier was Hermaios, who was overthrown by the Kushan King, Kadphises I, in the first century A.D.

SAKA RULE IN NORTHERN INDIA

About the middle of the second century B.C. the westward migration of the Yueh-chis compelled the Sakas, who lived in the region to the north of the river Syr Darya, to move towards the south. They occupied Bactria and Parthia. The revival of Parthian power under Mithridates II (123-88 B.C.) pushed them towards Seistan ; they could not advance towards the Punjab, for the kingdom ruled by the house of Eukratides stood as a barrier between Central Asia and the Indian frontier. Afterwards they moved through southern Afghanistan and Baluchistan to the Lower Indus valley. Gradually they penetrated far into the interior of India and established several principalities.

One of the earliest Saka rulers mentioned in Indian inscriptions is Maues or Moga. The dates assigned to him by different scholars range from 135 B.C. to 154 A.D. Numismatic evidence shows that he was the ruler of Gandhara. His territory, therefore, lay between the two Bactrian Greek Kingdoms of the Kabul valley and the Eastern Punjab. His successor, Azes I, probably conquered the Eastern Punjab. It seems that the administration of the Saka rulers of North-Western India was largely influenced by Persian and Greek traditions.

A family of Saka Satraps ruled at Mathura. Rajuvula probably put an end to Greek rule in the Eastern Punjab. Some scholars think that the so-called 'Northern Satraps', like Maues and Rajuvula, were Parthians, not Sakas.

SAKA RULE IN WESTERN INDIA

A family of Saka Satraps, known as the Kshaharatas, extended their power to Western and Southern India. Bhumaka ruled in Saurashtra (Kathiawar). Nahapana, the greatest of the Kshaharata Satraps, occupied a large portion of Maharashtra from the Satavahanas. His political influence probably extended from Maharashtra and North Konkan to Kathiawar, Malwa and Ajmer. Some scholars think that the era of 78 A.D. derives its name of *Saka* era from the Saka princes of Nahapana's family. According to this view, Nahapana ruled during the period 119-124 A.D. Nahapana's power was probably crushed by Gautamiputra Satakarni, who restored the Satavahana power in Maharashtra and some adjoining provinces.

SAKA SATRAPS OF UJJAIN: RUDRADAMAN

The Karddamaka family of Saka Satraps ruled in Western India for several centuries. Ujjain was the centre of their dominions. The first *Mahākshatrapa* of the family was Chashtana, who probably flourished about 130 A.D. He was probably a viceroy of the Kushans.

Chashtana's grandson, Rudradaman (*circa* 130-150 A.D.), was a powerful ruler. His career is described in some detail in the Junagadh Rock Inscription of 150 A.D. We are told that he won for himself the 'proud title of *Mahākshatrapa*. This

statement has been interpreted to mean that the power of his family had been shaken by some neighbour, probably Gautamiputra Satakarni, and he had to establish his position by his own prowess. His authority was recognised in East and West Malwa, Northern Gujarat, Kathiawar, Cutch, Marwar, the Lower Indus valley, North Konkan, and some adjoining districts. Some of these territories originally formed parts of the Satavahana Kingdom ; Rudradaman probably conquered them from either Gautamiputra Satakarni or one of his immediate successors. The Junagadh Rock Inscription tells us that he twice defeated Satakarni, lord of the Deccan, but did not destroy him on account of their near relationship. Some scholars identify this Satakarni with Vasishthiputra Pulamavi, who was probably Rudradaman's son-in-law. The Lower Indus valley was probably wrested from one of the successors of Kanishka. Rudradaman also defeated the Yaudheyas, who ruled over the banks of the river Sutlej and some parts of the modern Bharatpur State.

Rudradaman was not only a great conqueror, but a good ruler as well. One of his officers constructed a new dam on the famous Sudarsana Lake, and the entire expenses were borne by the royal treasury. Rudradaman was an accomplished scholar, for we are told that he gained fame by studying Grammar, Political Science, Logic, and Music. He did not kill men except in battle.

FALL OF THE WESTERN SATRAPS

Very little detailed information is available regarding Rudradaman's successors, although several names have been collected from coins and inscriptions. Disputed successions, internal rebellions and aggressions of powerful neighbours like the Satavahanas gradually crippled their kingdom. Northern Konkan, Sind, Rajputana and Malwa were lost before the middle of the third century A.D. Towards the beginning of the next century the dynasty of Chashtana was overthrown by a ruler of unknown antecedents. During the period 295-*circa* 348 A.D. there was no *Mahākshatrapa* ; the rulers used only the subordinate title of *Kshatrapa*. It seems that this decline of Saka power was due to the extension of Sassanian supremacy

in North-Western India. When the hold of the Sassanian Emperors on the distant Indian Satrapies became weak, a successor of Rudradaman, Rudrasena III, whose reign probably covered the third quarter of the fourth century A.D., assumed the title of *Mahārāja*. The Saka revival in Western India proved ephemeral, for Chandra Gupta II Vikramaditya conquered Malwa and Kathiawar and killed the last Saka ruler of that region.

PARTHIAN RULE IN NORTH-WESTERN INDIA : GONDOPHERNES

Towards the middle of the first century A.D. Saka rule in some parts of Gandhara was overthrown by the Parthians, who gradually extended their power to the east. Gondophernes was the greatest of all Indo-Parthian rulers. His reign probably covered the second quarter of the first century A.D. At the beginning of his reign his authority seems to have been confined to Southern Afghanistan. Later on he annexed the Peshawar district. There is no epigraphic evidence to show that he conquered Eastern Gandhara, although it is probable that he wrested some territories from the Azes family. According to Christian traditions, he was converted to Christianity by the Apostle St. Thomas. His death was followed by the disintegration of his dominions. We learn from epigraphic evidence that the Parthian rulers of Afghanistan, the Punjab, and Sind were overthrown by the Kushans.

YUEH-CHI MIGRATIONS

About the year 165 B.C. the Yueh-Chis, a tribe living in North-Western China, were defeated and expelled from their country by a nomadic tribe called the Hiung-nu. The Yueh-chis migrated westwards, until they came into conflict with the Sakas in the valley of the river Syr Darya and occupied their territory. About the year 140 B.C. the Yueh-chis were driven by an enemy further west into the Oxus valley. Here they subdued several tribes, and the whole of Bactria and Sogdiana was probably occupied by the beginning of the first century B.C. Now the Yueh-chis gave up their nomadic habits, and the territory controlled by them was divided into five principalities. One of these, the principality of the Kushans, a branch of the

Yueh-chis, probably lay between Chitral and the Panjshir country.

THE EARLY KUSHANS

Kujula Kadphises, or Kadphises I, the first well-known King of the Kushans, united the five Yueh-chi principalities under his rule. He was probably the colleague or ally, and afterwards the successor, of Hermaios, the last member of the house of Eukratides ruling in the Kabul valley. According to this view, the Kushans supplanted the Bactrian Greeks in the Kabul valley. Kadphises I also defeated the Parthians and probably conquered Gandhara and southern Afghanistan. He is the first Kushan King to strike coins to the south of the Hindukush. He copied the coins issued by the Roman Emperor Augustus or his immediate successors. The Roman influence on the coinage of the Kadphises Kings shows that at that time India had extensive commercial transactions with China and the Roman Empire. In some of his coins Kadphises I describes himself as 'steadfast in the true faith of the Buddha'. The Kushans had obviously succumbed to Indian influence at the very beginning of their Indian career.

Kadphises I was succeeded by his son Kadphises II or Vima (or Wima or Wema) Kadphises. He extended his authority to the Indian interior—to the Punjab and possibly also to the United Provinces—and left this portion of his Empire under the charge of a viceroy. Some scholars hold that he introduced the Saka Era of 78 A.D. According to this view, he was probably the overlord of the Kshaharata Satrap Nahapana. His coins show that he was a worshipper of Siva.

DATE OF KANISHKA

Kanishka was undoubtedly the greatest Kushan ruler of India, but the information available about him is in many respects unsatisfactory. Some scholars hold the view that he reigned before the Kadphises Kings, and was the founder of the *Vikrama* era commencing 58 B.C. In the present state of our knowledge it is hardly possible to accept this view. Epigraphic as well as numismatic evidence shows that Kanishka's Empire included Gandhara, but Chinese evidence proves that in the second half of the first century B.C. that region was not

under Kushan rule. Moreover, Kanishka's coins show unmistakable influence of Roman coins issued in the first century A.D. It is now generally accepted that Kanishka was a successor of the Kadphises Kings, although nothing is known regarding their relationship. Some scholars believe that Kanishka flourished in the third century A.D., but this theory is clearly contradicted by Chinese and Tibetan evidence. According to Marshall, Smith and some other scholars, Kanishka's rule began about 125 A.D., and ended in the second half of the second century A.D. This view cannot be reconciled with the known fact that Kanishka was the founder of an era. It is, therefore, better to accept the theory of Thomas, Rapson and other scholars, who hold that Kanishka ruled in the first century A.D. and founded the Saka era commencing 78 A.D. Kanishka's era probably came to be called *Saka* era because it was used for a long time by the Saka princes of Western India.

CONQUESTS OF KANISHKA

Kanishka was a great conqueror, and his military successes made him the ruler of a vast Empire. He annexed Kashmir, and traditions of his conflict with the rulers of Saketa and Pataliputra have been preserved in Chinese and Tibetan literature. He defeated the King of the Parthians. His wars with the Chinese resulted in the conquest of Kashgar, Khotan and Yarkand. During the reign of the great Emperor Ho-ti (89-105 A.D.) the Chinese made a serious attempt to recover their influence in Central Asia, and a Chinese general named Pan-chao defeated Kanishka. Some years later Kanishka led another expedition across the Pamir plateau and defeated Pan-chao's son. It is probably on this occasion that he secured a Chinese prince as a hostage at his court.

Outside India Kanishka's Empire comprised Afghanistan, Bactria, Kashgar, Khotan and Yarkand. In India the Punjab, Kashmir, Sind and the United Provinces (as far east as Benares) were almost certainly included within his dominions. His coins have been found even in Bihar and Bengal. The eastern portion of his Empire was governed by viceroys who used the titles of *Mahākshatrapa* and *Kshatrapa*. Kanishka himself lived at Purushapura (Peshawar).

KANISHKA'S RELIGION

Buddhist literary tradition affirms that Kanishka became a convert to Buddhism at the beginning of his reign. This tradition is supported by numismatic, epigraphic, and archaeological evidence. Some of his coins depict the figure of the Buddha. In Peshawar he erected a monastery and a huge wooden tower, in which he placed some relics of the Buddha. He summoned the last great Buddhist Council which was held in Kashmir, or Gandhara, or Jalandhar. Its deliberations were guided by Vasumitra and Asvaghosa. The Council compiled comprehensive commentaries on the Buddhist canon, which were engraved on copper and deposited in a *stupa*. In spite of his devotion to Buddhism, Kanishka was loyal to the Indian tradition of eclecticism. On his coins we find the figures of Hindu, Greek, Mithraic, Zoroastrian, and Elamite gods. Probably Kanishka honoured the numerous gods worshipped in the different parts of his vast Empire.

KANISHKA'S PATRONAGE OF ARTS AND LETTERS

Kanishka was a great patron of arts and letters. The monastery built by him at Peshawar excited the admiration of Chinese and Muslim travellers many centuries after his death. The *stupa* was built under the supervision of a Greek architect named Agesilaos. Kanishka built a town near Taxila, and it is probable that the town of Kanishkapura in Kashmir was established by him. His court was adorned by the celebrated Buddhist teachers Parsva and Vasumitra, the great Buddhist poet and philosopher Asvaghosa, the well-known philosopher Nagarjuna, and the immortal authority on *Āyurveda*, Charaka.

THE LATER KUSHANS

Kanishka was probably succeeded by Vasishka, whose inscriptions prove his control over Mathura and Eastern Malwa. Huvishka, who ruled after Vasishka, probably lost his hold over the Lower Indus valley, which seems to have been occupied by the great Saka Satrap Rudradaman. He was a patron of Buddhism and built a splendid monastery at Mathura. His coins are very artistic, and contain representations of numerous Greek, Persian and Indian deities. An inscription discovered

at Ara in the Peshawar district mentions a Kanishka, who is identified by some scholars with the great Kanishka, but regarded as a different ruler by others. Vasudeva I, whose reign probably covers the third quarter of the second century A.D., was the last important Kushan ruler of India. His inscriptions and coins have been found only in the Punjab and the United Provinces. He was probably a worshipper of Siva.

In the third century A.D. the mighty Empire of Kanishka broke up into petty principalities ruled by weaklings, whose chronology and history are extremely obscure. The Sassanian Emperors of Persia established their suzerainty over Bactria, Afghanistan and north-western India, but it is doubtful whether their conquests extended to the Punjab proper. In the fourth century A.D. the supremacy of the Sassanians was replaced by that of the Guptas; Samudra Gupta's influence was well-established over the Kushan princes of the north-west. After the fall of the Gupta Empire they had to fight hard against the Huns, and then against the Muslims. The Hindu Shahi dynasty of the Punjab exterminated the remnants of the Kushan Empire in India towards the close of the ninth century A.D.

SUCCESSORS OF THE KUSHANS: THE NAGAS

The Nagas succeeded the Kushans in Mathura and Gwalior regions. There were two Naga families, with capitals at Mathura and Padmavati (Padam-Pawaya in Gwalior State); we do not know whether they were related to each other. They flourished during the third and fourth centuries A.D. The Naga rulers of Padmavati were known as the Bharasivas. They performed ten *Asvamedhas*. Among them definite historical information is available only about Bhava Naga, who was an ally of the Vakatakas. The power of the Nagas was crushed by the Guptas.

MAHĀYĀNA BUDDHISM

It was during the period of Kushan rule that Indian civilization found its way to Central and Eastern Asia. The Kushan period saw the introduction of Buddhism into China by Kasyapa Matanga (*circa* 61-67 A.D.). The spread of Buddhism

outside India, and its intimate contact with foreign racial elements, brought about a far-reaching change in the character of that religion. In the reign of Kanishka the growth of the *Mahāyāna* form of Buddhism is clearly noticeable. Buddhist literary tradition ascribes to Nagarjuna, one of the celebrities at Kanishka's court, the systematization of *Mahāyāna* philosophy. It is clear, however, that the *Mahāyāna* faith was already in an incipient state before the Kushan period, and its origin is probably to be assigned to the increasing influence of the *Bhakti* cult and the demand of the Buddhist masses for easily intelligible religious symbols and rituals. In the days of Kanishka the distinction between *Mahāyāna* and *Hīnayāna* ('primitive Buddhism as expounded in the *Dialogues*' of the Buddha) was emphasized by the worship of the *Bodhisattvas* (beings 'who were in the process of obtaining, but had not yet obtained, Buddhahood'). Thus, 'the veneration for a dead Teacher passed into the worship of a living Saviour'. A new canon was developed, written in Sanskrit instead of Pali, and new philosophical conceptions were introduced to keep pace with the external changes. The *Mādhyamika* and the *Yogāchāra* schools of philosophy grew out of *Mahāyāna* thought.

GANDHARA ART

Religion was naturally reflected in art. In the earlier Buddhist sculptures, like those at Sanchi and Bharhut, we find exquisite portrayal of scenes from the Jatakas and other stories connected with the life of the Buddha, but nowhere do we find the Buddha himself carved in stone. His presence was indicated by various symbols (*e.g.,* foot prints, umbrella, etc.). But during the Kushan period the sculptors devoted themselves to the novel task of carving stone images of the Buddha and the *Bodhisattvas*. This new art is called Gandhara art, for most of its specimens have been found in the Gandhara region. Sometimes it is also called Graeco-Buddhist art, 'because the forms of Greek art were applied to Buddhist subjects.' "Images of Buddha appear in the likeness of Apollo, the Yaksha Kuvera is posed in the fashion of the Phidian Zeus, and so on. The drapery follows Hellenistic models." Here we find a remarkable instance of the influence exercised by the Greeks on Indian

culture. The Gandhara school of art has naturally left some impress upon the art of Mathura and Amaravati, two great centres of Indian art during the post-Maurya period.

FOREIGN INFLUENCE ON ADMINISTRATION

The long rule of different foreign races in different parts of India naturally introduced some changes in political theory and administrative machinery. The Persian system of government by Satraps prevailed in many parts of India, and officials with Greek titles like *Strategos* became familiar to the Indian people. The conception of Monarchy underwent a significant change. "The exaltation of monarchy is apparent from two facts, namely, the assumption of high-sounding semi-divine honorifics by reigning monarchs, and the apotheosis of deceased rulers." While a great ruler like Asoka remained content with the simple title of *Rājā*, rulers who controlled territories much smaller than those of the Maurya Emperor assumed titles like *Chakravartin*. While Asoka called himself merely *Devānāmpiya*, many foreign rulers, probably following the Chinese model, claimed the majesty of *Devaputra*. The Roman practice of deifying the rulers was introduced by the Kushans, and Mathura became the city of *Devakulas* ('Royal galleries of portrait statues'). The system of *Dvairājya* (joint rule of two Kings), which prevailed in Northern and Western India, was of Graeco-Roman origin.

FOR FURTHER STUDY

R. G. Bhandarkar, *Early History of the Deccan.*

H. C. Raychaudhuri, *Political History of Ancient India.*

Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India.*

R. C. Majumdar and A. S. Altekar, *A New History of the Indian People,* Vol. VI.

K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *The Colas.*

K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *The Pandyan Kingdom.*

CHAPTER VIII

THE GUPTA EMPIRE

SECTION I

POLITICAL HISTORY OF THE GUPTAS

RISE OF THE GUPTAS

We know very little about the origin of the Gupta family. It may have belonged to the Vaisya caste, although there is no conclusive evidence on this point. According to epigraphic evidence, the founder of the family was a person named Gupta. He used the simple title of *Mahārāja,* and it is probable that he was a petty ruler of a small principality in Magadha or in Bengal. He was succeeded by his son Ghatotkacha, who is also styled *Mahārāja.* It is difficult to ascertain whether they were independent rulers or feudatory chieftains.

CHANDRA GUPTA I

Ghatotkacha's son and successor, Chandra Gupta I, who is described as a *Mahārājādhirāja,* was undoubtedly an independent sovereign. He probably ascended the throne in 320 A.D., the initial year of the Gupta Era, of which he is usually regarded as the founder. During his brief rule he succeeded in raising the power and prestige of the family. He married a Lichchhavi princess named Kumaradevi, and it is probable that this matrimonial alliance was politically fruitful. Nothing definite is known about the Lichchhavis of this period. Smith suggests that they were ruling in Pataliputra as feudatories of the Kushans, and that through his marriage Chandra Gupta 'succeeded to the power previously held by his wife's relatives'. It is also possible that the Lichchhavis ruled in North Bihar with Vaisali (modern Basarh in Muzaffarpur district) as their capital, and Chandra Gupta's marriage with the Lichchhavi heiress led to the amalgamation of the two principalities. However, Chandra Gupta was able to establish his authority probably

over the greater part of Bihar and also a portion of U.P. and Bengal.

SAMUDRA GUPTA

Samudra Gupta was selected from among his sons by Chandra Gupta I as best fitted to succeed him. A Gupta ruler named Kacha issued some gold coins. Smith regards Kacha as a rival brother of Sumudra Gupta, but it is probable that they are identical. Samudra Gupta ascended the throne *after* 320 A.D. and died *before* 380 A.D. The precise dates of his accession and death cannot be ascertained.

CONQUESTS OF SAMUDRA GUPTA

Samudra Gupta was a great conqueror.. Like Mahapadma Nanda and Chandragupta Maurya he seems to have aimed at the political unification of India. A more or less detailed account of his conquests has been preserved in the famous Allahabad Pillar Inscription, an elaborate panegyric composed by his court poet, Harishena. In the Gangetic valley and Central India Samudra Gupta annexed the territories of the defeated monarchs, but in Southern India he remained content with victories alone —he did not annex the territories of the vanquished rulers. Probably he realised the difficulty of controlling Southern India from his remote base in the north-east.

The Allahabad Pillar Inscription says that Samudra Gupta uprooted Rudradeva (Rudrasena I Vakataka?), Matila (probably a ruler of the Bulandshahr region in U.P.), Nagadatta (a Naga King?), Chandravarman (identified with Chandravarman mentioned in the Susunia Rock Inscription, who was the ruler of Pushkarana or Pokharan in the Bankura district of Bengal), Ganapati Naga (a Naga ruler of Mathura), Nagasena (a Naga ruler of Padmavati), Achyuta (ruler of Ahichchhatra, modern Ramnagar in the Bareilly district in U.P.), Nandi (a Naga ruler?), Balavarman (a prince of Assam?), and many other Kings of *Āryāvarta*. He also captured the scion of the family of Kota (ruling in the Eastern Punjab and Delhi region?). The territories conquered from these princes included probably the United Provinces and a portion of Central India and south-west Bengal, and were placed under the direct administration of

Imperial viceroys and officers. Samudra Gupta also subjugated the rulers of the 'forest countries' in the Ghazipur-Jubbulpore region.

After the conquest of Northern India Samudra Gupta turned his attention to the South. It is probable that his campaigns were limited to the eastern and southern parts of the Central Provinces, Orissa and the eastern coast of the Deccan as far as Kanchi. The Southern rulers defeated by him were Mahendra of Kosala (*i.e.*, South Kosala, or the Bilaspur, Raipur and Sambalpur districts of C.P.), Vyaghraraja of Mahakantara ('a wild tract of Central India'), Mantaraja of Kaurala (the Sonpur region?), Svamidatta of Kottura (in the Ganjam district), Mahendragiri of Pishtapura (Godavari district), Damana of Erandapalla (in the Vizagapatam district), Vishnugopa of Kanchi (of the Pallava dynasty), Nilaraja of Avamukta (identification uncertain), Hastivarman (probably of the Salankayana dynasty) of Vengi (near Ellore), Ugrasena of Palakka (Nellore district), Kuvera of Devarashtra (in the Vizagapatam district?), Dhanamjaya of Kusthalapura (in the North Arcot district?), and others. As we have said above, the territories of these Princes were not annexed. There is no clear reference in the Allahabad Pillar Inscription to Samudra Gupta's conflict with the Vakatakas, but it has been suggested that as a result of his victory over Vyaghraraja, who was probably a feudatory of the Vakatakas, the Guptas succeeded the Vakatakas in the suzerainty over Central India.

Samudra Gupta's *Digvijaya* seems to have terrorised the frontier rulers of North-Eastern India and the tribes of the Punjab, Western India, Malwa, and the Central Provinces, who "gratified his imperious commands by paying all kinds of taxes, obeying his orders and coming to do homage". Among the frontier Princes were the rulers of Samatata (south-east Bengal: capital at Bad Kamta near Comilla), Davaka (Nowgong district in Assam? or Dacca?), Kamarupa (Upper Assam), Nepal and Kartripura (Jalandhar district in the Punjab, or Kumaun, Garhwal and Rohilkhand in U.P). The tribes which submitted to the Gupta Emperor were the following: Malavas (of Eastern Rajputana and the Mandasor region), Arjunayanas (of Jaipur and Alwar States in Rajputana), Yaudheyas (living on both banks of the Sutlej on the border of the Bahawalpur State),

Madrakas (of Sialkot), Abhiras (of the Sanchi region in Central India?), Kharaparikas (of C.P.?), Prarjunas (of Central India?), Sanakanikas (of the Bhilsa region in Central India?) and the Kakas (of the Bhilsa region).

Samudra Gupta made so great an impression on his contemporaries that the foreign potentates of North-Western India, Malwa, and Kathiawar conciliated him by acts of homage. These foreign potentates are called *Daivaputra Shāhī-Shāhānu-Shāhī-Saka-Murunda*. They were the successors of the Kushans and the Sakas, who had formerly ruled over a large portion of Northern and Western India.

Samudra Gupta's fame transcended the geographical borders of India and attracted the people of Ceylon and 'all other dwellers in islands'. Meghavarna, King of Ceylon, sent an embassy to him and secured his permission to erect a monastery at Bodh Gaya. It is possible that Samudra Gupta exercised some control over the Hindu colonies in Malay Peninsula, Java, Sumatra, and other islands in the Indian archipelago. The *Digvijayī* naturally celebrated his victories by the performance of the *Asvamedha* sacrifice.

SAMUDRA GUPTA'S EMPIRE

Towards the close of Samudra Gupta's reign his Empire included almost the whole of Northern India (except Western Punjab, N.W.F.P., Kashmir, Sind, Western Rajputana and Gujarat), the highlands of the Central Provinces and Orissa, and a long stretch of territory extending at least as far south as Madras city. A considerable portion of Northern India was directly governed by the Emperor through his officials. Several tributary states surrounded this directly administered area on all sides. Beyond these tributary states lay the Saka and Kushan principalities as well as Ceylon and other islands, the rulers of which were submissive allies. The establishment of a strong central authority was in this way reconciled with the recognition of local autonomy.

ACCOMPLISHMENTS OF SAMUDRA GUPTA

The Allahabad Pillar Inscription describes Samudra Gupta as a man of versatile genius. It says, "He established his title

of *Kavirāja* by various poetical compositions." Obviously he was the author of some poems which have been lost. He was a lover of music, and his musical accomplishments are testified to by certain coins depicting him playing on the lute. He was a patron of learning. It is said that the famous Buddhist scholar Vasubandhu was his minister. In religion he was devoted to the Brahmanical faith, but there is nothing to suggest that he was intolerant of other faiths. His coins are remarkable for their artistic excellence.

CHANDRA GUPTA II VIKRAMADITYA

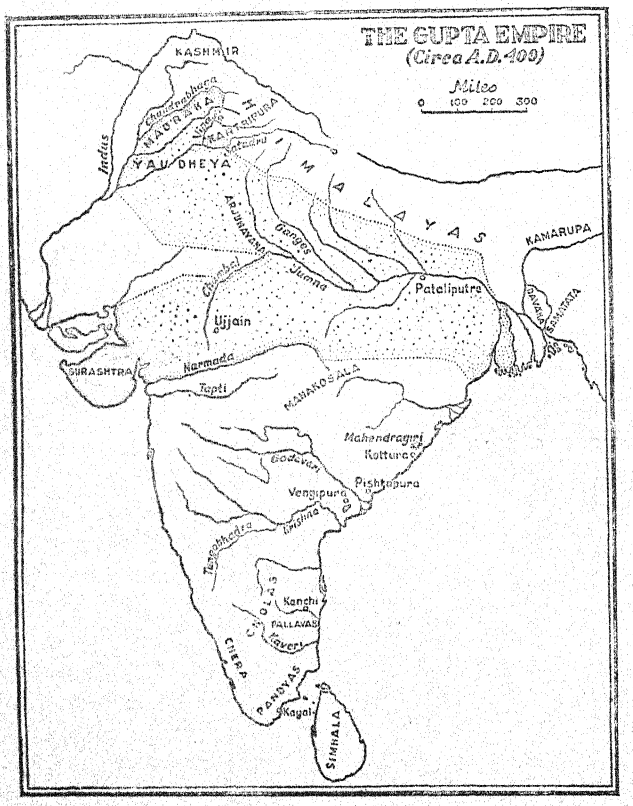
Chandra Gupta was probably selected out of many sons by his father Samudra Gupta as best fitted to succeed him. The earliest known date of his reign is 380 A.D. and his last known date is 412-13 A.D. Some scholars believe that a King named Rama Gupta, an elder brother of Chandra Gupta, intervened between Samudra Gupta and Chandra Gupta. This view rests on late literary evidence and finds no support in Gupta inscriptions and coins.

Chandra Gupta inherited a vast Empire. He strengthened it by matrimonial alliances with the Nagas and the Vakatakas, and extended it by the conquest of Western India. He married a Naga princess and gave one of his daughters in marriage to the Vakataka King Rudrasena II. The alliance of the Vakataka monarch was probably of great use in his campaign against the Sakas of Western India, for "the Vakataka *Maharaja* occupied a geographical position in which he could be of much service or dis-service to the northern invader of the dominions of the Saka Satraps of Gujarat and Surashtra." Numismatic evidence indicates that the conquests of the Saka dominions took place towards the close of the fourth century and the beginning of the fifth century A.D. The Gupta Empire was now extended to the shore of the Arabian Sea. The flourishing ports of the western coast contributed to the commercial prosperity of the Empire.

Chandra Gupta was a devout Vaishnava, but he ungrudgingly extended his patronage to men professing other faiths. One of his leading ministers was a Saiva, and his greatest general was probably a Buddhist.

THE VIKRAMADITYA OF LEGENDS

Chandra Gupta is usually identified with the great King Vikramaditya of Indian legends, who is credited with victories over the Sakas, and whose court is said to have been adorned by the celebrated 'nine gems' (*navaratna*) including Kalidasa.



[The shaded portion represents the approximate extent of the Gupta Empire under Chandra Gupta II and includes the territory of the Sakas conquered by him.]

That Chandra Gupta vanquished the Sakas is a definite historical fact. It is possible that the great poet Kalidasa enjoyed his patronage, although it is certain that some of the persons included in the conventional list of 'nine gems' were not his contemporaries. In Sanskrit literature Vikramaditya is repre-

sented as ruling at Pataliputra as well as Ujjain and other cities. Pataliputra was Chandra Gupta's capital, and it seems that in connection with the destruction of Saka rule in Western India he had a long residence in Malwa—at first at Vidisa, later on at Ujjain. Tradition associates Vikramaditya with the *Vikrama* era commencing 58 B.C. Chandra Gupta can by no means be regarded as the founder of that era ; but it is possible that the connection of the name 'Vikrama' with the era was a late invention.

FA-HIEN

It was during the reign of Chandra Gupta II that the famous Chinese pilgrim, Fa-hien, visited India. His route lay across the Gobi desert and the mountainous regions of Khotan, the Pamir plateau, Swat and Gandhara. In India he visited Peshawar, Mathura, Kanauj, Sravasti, Benares, Kapilavastu, Kusinagara, Vaisali, Pataliputra, and some other places. His main purpose was to search for Buddhist manuscripts and relics ; so his preference was for places sacred to Buddhism. At the famous sea-port of Tamralipti (Tamluk, Midnapore district) he embarked for Ceylon and Java on his homeward voyage. His itinerary covered the period 399-414 A.D.

Fa-hien does not mention the name of Chandra Gupta Vikramaditya, but he gives many interesting details about the condition of the country. He passed three years at Pataliputra and studied Sanskrit there. He found two large Buddhist monasteries in the city, which attracted students from all parts of India and served as great centres of *Hīnayāna* and *Mahāyāna* learning. The ruins of Asoka's magnificent palace excited his wonder ; the structure, he said, was 'all made by spirits which Asoka employed'. The inhabitants were rich and prosperous, and vied with one another in the practice of benevolence and righteousness. The heads of the Vaisya families established houses for dispensing charity and medicines. There was an excellent hospital at Pataliputra, where deserving patients were supplied free food and medicine. There were rest houses in large towns as well as on highways.

In the *Madhyadesa* (the Upper Ganges valley) the people, with the sole exception of the Chandalas, were vegetarian and devoted to the principle of *Ahimsā*. Fa-hien says, "The people

are numerous and happy ; they have not to register their households, or attend to any magistrates or their rules ; only those who cultivate the royal land have to pay a portion of the gain from it. If they want to go, they go ; if they want to stay on, they stay. The King governs without decapitation or other corporal punishments. Criminals are simply fined, lightly or heavily, according to the circumstances of each case. Even in cases of repeated attempts at wicked rebellion they only have their right hands cut off. The King's body-guards and attendants all have salaries." This passage throws interesting light on Chandra Gupta Vikramaditya's administration, although it is difficult to say whether the picture drawn by the pilgrim is idealistic or realistic.

Fa-hien was naturally more interested in Buddhism than in anything else. His account shows that the faith was flourishing in the Punjab and Bengal, and that it was progressing in Mathura. In the *Madhyadesa*, however, Buddhism was not at all popular ; here the Brahmanical faith was predominant. There was no religious persecution, and the relations between the Hindus and the Buddhists were cordial.

KUMARA GUPTA I MAHENDRADITYA

Chandra Gupta II was succeeded by his son Kumara Gupta I, whose known dates cover the period 414-455 A.D. Very little is known about his political career, but numismatic and epigraphic evidence indicates that the strength, unity and prestige of the Empire remained unshaken in his reign. Like Samudra Gupta he performed the *Asvamedha* sacrifice, but whether it commemorated any new conquests we do not know. Towards the close of his reign the Gupta power was seriously menaced by the hostility of the Pushyamitras, a tribe living probably in the Narmada valley. The fallen fortunes of the imperial family were revived by Kumara Gupta's son Skanda Gupta.

SKANDA GUPTA VIKRAMADITYA

Skanda Gupta, the last great ruler of the Gupta dynasty, enjoyed a brief rule (*circa* 455-467 A.D.). He probably came to the throne when the war with the Pushyamitras was still going on. His victory over the Pushyamitras saved the Gupta Empire ; but it was invaded by the Huns, who poured into central and

western India soon after his accession. He succeeded in defeating the Huns and in maintaining the integrity of his ancestral Empire. The decline of the Empire began soon after his death. Skanda Gupta was a Vaishnava, but he continued the tolerant policy of his predecessors.

ADMINISTRATION OF THE IMPERIAL GUPTAS

The inscriptions of the Imperial Guptas throw some light on the system of administration in those days. The succession to the imperial throne was hereditary, but in some cases the successor was nominated by his predecessor. The exaltation of the Monarchy, begun by the foreign rulers of India during the post-Maurya period, reached its zenith under the Imperial Guptas, and the sovereign was described as 'the supreme deity.' The office of the ministers was often hereditary. There was no clear-cut division between civil and military officials.

The Gupta Empire was too large to be governed from one centre. It was divided into a number of provinces (*desas, bhuktis* etc.), which were sub-divided into districts (*pradesas* or *vishayas*). The provinces were governed by wardens of the marches (*Goptris*) or viceroys (*Uparikas* or *Uparika Mahārājas*) who were sometimes princes of the Imperial family. The districts were administered by high officials, some of whom were directly under the Emperor, while others were usually under provincial governors. The lowest unit of administration was the village, which was under a headman (*grāmika*). Outside the limits of the Imperial provinces lay the vassal Kingdoms and tribal republics which paid homage to the Emperor.

THE LATER GUPTAS

In the present state of our knowledge it is not possible to reconstruct with tolerable precision the history of the Imperial Guptas after Skanda Gupta's death (*circa* 467 A.D.). The last powerful ruler of the dynasty was Budha Gupta, who probably died about 500 A.D. He ruled over extensive territories stretching from Bengal to Malwa, and his suzerainty may have been recognised as far west as Kathiawar. It is probable that Baladitya, who is said to have defeated Mihirakula and saved the Gupta Empire from the Hun depredations, was identical with Narasimha Gupta, the younger brother and successor of Budha Gupta.

There are epigraphic references to several Gupta rulers of the sixth century A.D., but no definite information is available regarding their political careers or the extent of their dominions. The rising Maukharis destroyed the Gupta rule in the Upper Ganges valley, while the Gaudas of Western Bengal shattered Gupta authority in the east. After the death of Harsha the power of the Guptas was sought to be revived in Eastern India by Adityasena, who assumed imperial titles and performed the *Asvamedha* sacrifice. In the eighth century the Gaudas finally destroyed the remnants of the Gupta Empire.

CAUSES OF THE FALL OF THE GUPTA EMPIRE

During the reigns of Kumara Gupta and Skanda Gupta the Pushyamitras and the Huns weakened the foundations of the Gupta Empire. Although the Pushyamitras seem to have been completely suppressed, the Huns continued to attack the central and western parts of the Empire, some portions of which were occupied by them after Skanda Gupta's death. Baladitya's victory removed the Hun menace, but the Empire was already decadent. The weakening of the central authority led to the disintegration of the Empire from within. The Maitrakas of Valabhi assumed independence. Mandasor became independent under Yasodharman. The Maukharis created a powerful Kingdom in the Upper Ganges valley. The Gaudas wrested Bengal. The ambition of the feudatories and the subject peoples was encouraged by the dissensions within the Imperial family itself. The later Gupta rulers sometimes took opposite sides in the struggles and political convulsions of the period. Finally, the Buddhist leanings of some of the later Gupta rulers probably weakened their military vigour.

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE IMPERIAL GUPTA DYNASTY

Gupta
|
Ghatotkacha
|
Chandra Gupta I=Kumaradevi
|
Samudra Gupta *Parākramānka*
|
Chandra Gupta II *Vikramādilya*
|
Kumara Gupta I *Mahendrādilya*
|
Skanda Gupta *Vikramādilya*

SECTION II

GUPTA CIVILISATION

POLITICAL UNITY

The Imperial Guptas may be described as the last great Hindu Empire-builders ; the Empires established after them by Harsha, the Gurjara-Pratiharas, the Palas, the Rashtrakutas and the Cholas were less extensive, less enduring, and less brilliant than the Gupta Empire. For about two centuries the Guptas gave unity to a very large portion of India, and even when their political authority declined under the pressure of foreign invasion and internal disintegration, they continued to control several provinces of Northern India for about two centuries. We learn from Fa-hien that the Gupta Empire was well-governed and prosperous. The system of administration was humane ; the laws were far less severe than the sanguinary laws of the Mauryas. Political unity and good government naturally fostered trade, and the resultant material prosperity found expression in literature, science, and art.

RELIGION

The triumph of Buddhism in the days of Asoka and Kanishka did not mean the extinction of Brahmanical Hinduism or Jainism. The Sungas were patrons of Brahmanical Hinduism. Pushyamitra Sunga performed the *Asvamedha* sacrifice. The case of Heliodoros proves that the Bhagavata or Vaishnava form of Hinduism attracted even the Greeks of North-Western India. The Saka Satraps of Ujjain were Brahmanical Hindus. Some of the Kushan Kings, like Kadphises II and Vasudeva I, worshipped Hindu gods. The *Asvamedha* sacrifice was performed during the post-Maurya period by several Northern and Southern dynasties (*e.g.*, the Bharasiva Nagas, the Vakatakas, the Satavahanas, the Pallavas, the Salankayanas). It is clear, therefore, that we are not entitled to speak of 'Hindu *Renaissance*' or the *revival* of Brahmanical Hinduism during the Gupta period. There is no doubt, however, that the powerful patronage of the Guptas, who were devoted Hindus with special predilections for the worship of Vishnu, strengthened the Brahmanical religion and gave it a new impetus.

One of the most important aspects of the religious history of the Gupta period is the transformation of the ancient Brahmanical faith into something like modern Hinduism. The worship of a variety of deities—Vishnu, Siva, Kartikeya, Surya, Lakshmi, Parvati, and others—was the most prominent feature of the transformed faith. It found natural expression in the art and literature of the period. The Puranas, recast in their present form during the Gupta period, created the necessary mythology, and sculpture brought the deities to the sight of the common man.

Buddhism was gradually losing its vitality, and during the Gupta period it was really on the downward path, at least in the *Madhyadesa*, although the charmed vision of Fa-hien did not notice this tragic process. The powerful patronage of Asoka had made it the dominant religion in India. After the fall of the Maurya Empire it attracted foreigners like Menander and Kanishka, and in the first century A.D. it was introduced into China. But the growth of the *Mahāyāna* cult was in itself a sign of weakness, for it involved the recognition of rituals and practices which gradually made Buddhism almost indistinguishable from Hinduism. Step by step the popular Hinduism of the Gupta period began to absorb the changing Buddhism of the fifth and sixth centuries ; the recognition of the Buddha as one of the ten *avatāras* (incarnations of God) of the Hindus hastened the process.

The inscriptions of the Gupta period not unoften refer to Jainism, but its severe discipline and lack of royal patronage curbed its growth. A council held at Valabhi in the middle of the fifth century A.D. arranged the sacred texts of the *Svetāmbara* sect.

Toleration was the keynote of the religious life of the Gupta period. The Gupta rulers were no persecutors, and they did not hesitate to confer high offices upon persons who differed from them in faith. Fa-hien's account testifies to the amity and concord which united the different sects in a common brotherhood.

LITERATURE

A learned European scholar rightly holds that 'the Gupta period is in the annals of classical India almost what the Peri-

clean age is in the history of Greece'. The period certainly occupies a very prominent position in the literary history of ancient India. The fertilisation of the national intellect and imagination was effected partly by political unity and material prosperity, and partly by the patronage of the Gupta Emperors. Samudra Gupta was not only a patron of learning, but a poet himself. If the identification of Chandra Gupta II with the Vikramaditya of tradition be accepted, he must be regarded as one of the greatest patrons of learning and literature known to Indian history. Finally, there is some truth in Vincent Smith's observation: "The extraordinary intellectual vitality of the Gupta period undoubtedly was largely due to the constant and lively exchange of ideas with foreign lands in both East and West."

Sanskrit was the literary language of the Gupta period. Here, again, it would be incorrect to speak of the *revival* of Sanskrit, for the language had never been dead or moribund. Sanskrit was not the official language of the Maurya period; Asoka's edicts were written in 'easily intelligible varieties of the vernacular tongue'. But many scholars hold that Kautilya's *Arthasāstra* was composed during the reign of Chandragupta Maurya. Patanjali's great work, *Mahābhāsya*, was written during the reign of Pushyamitra Sunga. Rudradaman's famous inscription at Junagadh is entirely in Sanskrit. The works of Asvaghosa and Charaka, who were most probably contemporaries of Kanishka and enjoyed his patronage, were written in Sanskrit. It is, indeed, remarkable that *Mahāyāna* Buddhism accepted Sanskrit as the vehicle of its literary and philosophical expression. The Gupta Emperors continued the tradition and gave it a new vigour by their patronage. Most of their inscriptions are composed in beautiful Sanskrit in the *kāvya* style; Harishena's *prasasti* is a remarkable specimen of poetical narrative. The legends of the Gupta coins are in Sanskrit.

Kalidasa, the greatest poet and dramatist of ancient India, was very probably a contemporary of Chandra Gupta II Vikramaditya, or Kumara Gupta I, or both. Tradition makes him one of the *nine 'gems'* of Vikramaditya's court. He was probably a resident of Malwa. His great epic, *Raghuvamsam*, seems to contain faint allusions to the military achievements of Chandra Gupta II. In another epic, *Kumāra-Sambhavam*,

we probably find the tribute of the Gupta age to the Hindu god Siva. *Meghadutam* is an exquisite lyric of delicate beauty. *Abhijnāna-Sakuntalam* is regarded even by Western scholars and critics as one of the greatest dramas of the world. Another drama, *Mālavikāgnimitram*, deals with the life of Agnimitra, son of Pushyamitra Sunga, and seems to contain some details of historical value.

Many remarkable literary artists, philosophers, and scientists flourished during the Gupta period. Special mention should be made of Visakhadatta, author of the political drama *Mudrā-Rākshasam*, Sudraka, author of the interesting drama *Mrichchhakatikam*, the great lexicographer Amarasimha, the great Buddhist writers Vasubandhu and Dignaga, and the great astronomers Aryabhata (born in 476 A.D.), Varahamihira (505-587 A.D.), and Brahmagupta (born in 598 A.D.). Aryabhata and Varahamihira were quite familiar with Greek science and astronomy, and their works clearly reveal traces of Hellenic influence.

Although the origin of the Puranic literature, 'a store-house of traditions, legends, myths, dogmas, rituals, moral codes and religious and philosophical principles', is to be traced to an earlier period, it probably assumed its present form during the Gupta age. The Brahmins brought the ancient Puranas into harmony with the social and religious requirements of the new age ; they were given a new shape and written in simple Sanskrit. Some of the Puranas are sectarian in character (*e.g.*, *Vishnu Purāna, Garuda Purāna, Skanda Purāna*) ; they were obviously composed to serve as the canon of the neo-Hinduism evolved during the Gupta period. A similar process changed the character of the ancient *Smriti* literature. The social changes evolved in course of time under the pressure of historical circumstances found expression and sanction in new *Smriti* works like the present versions of Manu and Yajnavalkya.

ART

Speaking of the Gupta period Vincent Smith says, "The three closely allied arts of architecture, sculpture, and painting attained an extraordinarily high point of achievement." Most of the buildings and temples of the Gupta period were, un-

fortunately, destroyed by the Muslim invaders, and it is no longer possible to give a detailed and critical account of the architecture of that age. A stone temple at Deogarh (Jhansi district, U.P.) and a brick temple at Bhitargaon (Cawnpore district, U.P.) are the most interesting extant specimens. It is probable that some magnificent stone temples of the Gupta age stood at Sarnath near Benares.

Sculpture undoubtedly reached a high level of excellence under the Guptas. "Sarnath has proved to be a treasure-house of Gupta figures and reliefs, among which are many of high quality dating from the time of Samudra Gupta and his successors." The sculptures deal with Buddhist subjects as well as with incidents from Puranic mythology. "The Gupta sculpture exhibits pleasing characteristics. . . . The physical beauty of the figures, the gracious dignity of their attitude, and the refined restraint of the treatment are qualities not to be found elsewhere in Indian sculpture in the same degree."

The celebrated Ajanta caves range in date from the first to the seventh century A.D. Their interiors are decorated with frescoes which have elicited unstinted praise from all lovers and critics of art, Eastern and Western. Some of them undoubtedly represent the work of the Gupta period.

The artists and craftsmen of the Gupta age showed excellent skill in working metals. The famous pillar at Delhi, made of wrought iron probably in the time of Chandra Gupta II, has not rusted in spite of exposure for centuries to sun and rain. The art of casting copper statues was also practised with conspicuous success.

CONTACT WITH THE OUTSIDE WORLD

During the Gupta period India did not live in isolation from the rest of the world ; she maintained friendly intercourse with foreign lands in both East and West. During the fourth, fifth and sixth centuries some missions were sent to China from different parts of India. Several Buddhist pilgrims came from China to India, and India also sent some of her great sons to the Celestial Empire. In this connection the name of Kumarajiva (*circa* 383 A.D.) deserves special mention. Gunavarman, Crown Prince of Kashmir, who converted the Javanese

to Buddhism, died at Nanking in China in 431 A.D. Epigraphic as well as literary evidence indicates that during the Gupta period India came into intimate contact with the Malay Peninsula and the adjoining islands. The commercial and colonial enterprise of Indian navigators and military adventurers carried Indian religion and culture to Java, Sumatra, Cambodia, and other islands in that region. The Ajanta frescoes show that India and Persia interchanged embassies in the seventh century A.D. The contact with the Roman Empire, which probably originated during the Kushan period, was maintained, and three missions to Roman Emperors (336 A.D., 361 A.D., and 530 A.D.) are mentioned. The coinage of the Gupta period is not altogether free from Roman influence.

FOR FURTHER STUDY

H. C. Raychaudhuri, *Political History of Ancient India.*

R. C. Majumdar and A. S. Altekar, *A New History of the Indian People,* Vol. VI.

R. G. Bhandarkar, *A Peep into the Early History of India.*

CHAPTER IX

FALL OF IMPERIALISM

SECTION I

HUN INVASION AND POLITICAL DISINTEGRATION

THE HUNS AND THE GUPTA EMPIRE

Towards the middle of the second century B.C. the Hiung-nu, who are known to Indian literature and epigraphy as the Hunas, expelled the Yueh-chi from North-Western China. Sometime later the Huns also advanced westwards. One branch gradually reached Europe and cruelly devastated the Roman Empire. Another branch encamped in the Oxus valley about the middle of the fifth century and came to be known as the Ephthalites or White Huns. They attacked the western part of the Gupta Empire in the early part of Skanda Gupta's reign (before 458 A.D.), but the Gupta Emperor was able to repulse them. But they gradually occupied both Kabul and Persia, killing the Sassanian King Firuz in 484 A.D. After the victory over Persia the Huns became stronger and ruled over a vast Empire with their capital at Balkh.

The death of Skanda Gupta had left the Gupta Empire weaker than before. The Huns again swooped down upon India. The first well-known leader of the Hun invaders was Toramana, whose name occurs in several inscriptions. It has been suggested recently that he was not a Hun, but a Kushan chief allied with the Huns. However, he occupied a large part of the western provinces of the Gupta Empire. It is probable that his authority extended as far as Central Malwa. He was, however, defeated by the Gupta Emperor Bhanu Gupta in 510 A.D.

Toramana was succeeded by his son, Mihirakula, who was a blood-thirsty and treacherous tyrant. He was a persecutor of Buddhism ; many Buddhist *stupas* and monasteries were destroyed by him. He was able to extend his suzerainty as far

as Gwalior, but he was defeated by Yasodharman of Mandasor sometime before 533 A.D. He was also defeated, taken prisoner, and subsequently released by Baladitya, King of Magadha. Some scholars identify him with Narasimha Gupta of the Imperial Gupta family. Probably Baladitya's victory liberated Central India from the Hun yoke and restored the Gupta authority in that region. Smith suggests that Baladitya and Yasodharman formed a confederacy to crush the Hun invader, but there is no definite evidence in favour of this theory. Mihirakula took shelter in Kashmir, where the King treated him very kindly ; but he soon seized the throne by treachery. Mihirakula's capital was Sakala (Sialkot) in the Punjab. His reign probably came to an end towards the middle of the sixth century A.D.

ABSORPTION OF THE HUNS IN HINDU SOCIETY.

The Huns found no able leader after Mihirakula's death, and their political prominence soon died down. But literary as well as epigraphic evidence proves that they continued to give trouble to the Indian rulers up to the close of the sixth century A.D. Thus, Prabhakaravardhana of Thaneswar is described as 'a lion to the Huna deer.' It is probable that the Huns gradually accepted the religion and language of the invaded country and were slowly absorbed in Hindu society. A Kalachuri King of the eleventh century married a Hun princess. The Huns were accompanied or followed by some other foreign tribes, like the Gurjaras, who also eventually merged themselves in the mass of the Indian population. The barbarian invasions of the fifth and sixth centuries have been rightly described by Smith as a turning point in the political and social history of Northern and Western India. Politically, they contributed to the fall of the Gupta Empire and the rise of numerous petty States on its ruins. Socially, they marked a revolution culminating in the rise of the so-called Kshatriya Rajputs.[1]

THE MAITRAKAS OF VALABHI

Surashtra (Kathiawar) was one of the earliest provinces to rebel against the suzerainty of the Guptas. The ruling family

[1] See Chapter XI, Section I.

belonged to the Maitraka clan, which Smith has called, without sufficient evidence, Iranian in origin. The founder of the Kingdom was Bhatarka. The capital was Valabhi. In the seventh century Dhruvasena II married the daughter of Harsha. His successor, Dharasena IV, assumed high-sounding imperial titles. It was probably during his reign that the celebrated Sanskrit epic *Bhattikāvyam* was composed. Towards the close of the seventh century Valabhi was a great centre of learning. The Kingdom was probably overthrown by the Arabs of Sind in the third quarter of the eighth century.

YASODHARMAN OF MANDASOR

We have already referred to Yasodharman of Mandasor, who defeated the Hun tyrant Mihirakula. Mandasor was one of the most important viceregal seats of the Gupta Empire. Yasodharman defied the authority of his Gupta suzerain and set up pillars of victory commemorating his conquests. An inscription dated 533 A.D. informs us that homage was tendered to him by chieftains from the river Brahmaputra in the east to the Western Ocean, and from the Himalayas in the north to the Eastern Ghats in the south. This conventional account of *Digvijaya* is, of course, not literally true. Yasodharman's power must have been short-lived. Some modern scholars identify him with the legendary Vikramaditya ; but Yasodharman did not vanquish the Sakas, nor did he rule at Ujjain, and there is no contemporary evidence proving his assumption of the title 'Vikramaditya'.

THE MAUKHARIS

The Maukharis were probably Kshatriyas. They played an important part in the history of Northern India after the fall of the Gupta Empire. The family was divided into several branches. The most important branch flourished in the Gangetic valley and is generally associated with Kanauj. A second branch ruled in the Gaya region in Bihar. A third branch has left its records in the Kota State in Rajputana.

The first important member of the Kanauj branch of the Maukhari family was Isanavarman (*circa* 554 A.D.) who claimed victories over the Andhras, the Sulikas (not satisfactorily

identified), and the Gaudas, and assumed imperial titles. During his reign began a long duel between the Maukharis and the Guptas which ended only with the extinction of the Maukhari power in the beginning of the seventh century. Prabhakaravardhana of Thaneswar was at first an ally of the Guptas, but towards the close of his reign he gave his daughter Rajyasri in marriage to Grahavarman, a Maukhari Prince. This alliance between Thaneswar and Kanauj compelled Deva Gupta —the contemporary Gupta ruler of Malwa—to form a counter-alliance with Sasanka, the King of the Gaudas. After Prabhakaravardhana's death Deva Gupta and Sasanka probably made a joint attack on the Maukhari Kingdom which ended in its destruction.

THE GAUDAS

Epigraphic evidence conclusively proves that in the fourth and fifth centuries Bengal was included within the Gupta Empire. Some inscriptions discovered in the different districts of Bengal show that the decline of that Empire was followed by the division of Bengal into several states which were probably independent. We know the names of three Kings—Dharmaditya, Gopachandra and Samacharadeva—who assumed sovereign titles, and, presumably, renounced the sovereignty of the decadent Guptas. In the sixth century the Gaudas (*i.e.*, the people of Western and North-Western Bengal) came into conflict with the Maukharis.

SASANKA

The greatest of the Gauda Kings was Sasanka, the famous rival of the Pushyabhuti dynasty of Thaneswar and the Maukharis of Kanauj. Nothing is known about his predecessors and successors, and we do not know to which family he belonged. Long before his rise the Gaudas had entered into rivalry with the Maukharis. The hostility between the Guptas and the Maukharis gave Sasanka an excellent opportunity of extending his dominions towards the west. He entered into an alliance with Deva Gupta of Malwa, and the two rulers made a joint attack on the Maukhari Kingdom. The Maukhari King, Grahavarman, was killed, and his wife Rajyasri, a daughter of Prabhakaravardhana

of Thaneswar, was cast into prison at Kanauj. Rajyavardhana, Prabhakaravardhana's son and successor, proceeded with a large cavalry to avenge the wrongs done to his sister. He defeated Deva Gupta, but he was murdered, probably treacherously, by Sasanka in 606 A.D. The story of treachery comes from writers friendly to the Pushyabhuti dynasty—Banabhatta, author of *Harshacharita,* and Hiuen Tsang,—and is, therefore, open to suspicion. However, Sasanka occupied Kanauj but did not retain it long in his possession. Harshavardhana, Rajyavardhana's younger brother and successor, naturally tried to avenge the death of his brother, but no detailed account of his relations with Sasanka is available. Harsha concluded an alliance with Bhaskaravarman of Kamarupa, and we have an epigraphic record showing that the city of Karnasuvarna (in the district of Murshidabad), Sasanka's capital, was for some time in the possession of the King of Kamarupa. It is probable that the ruler of Karnasuvarna who was overthrown by Bhaskaravarman was a successor of Sasanka. Sasanka's death took place sometime between 619 and 637 A.D., and it is almost definite that he evaded Harsha's grasp. He extended his dominions as far as Ganjam on the eastern coast. He is represented as a persecutor of Buddhism.

SECTION II

HARSHAVARDHANA

EARLY HISTORY OF THE PUSHYABHUTI DYNASTY

The Pushyabhuti dynasty was established at Thaneswar towards the close of the fifth or the beginning of the sixth century. Its small principality probably owed its origin to the disturbances created by the Huns. The first important ruler of the dynasty was Prabhakaravardhana, who is said to have fought against the Gurjaras and extended his influence as far as Malwa and Gujarat. He was at first an ally of the Guptas, but towards the close of his reign he entered into a matrimonial alliance with the Maukharis of Kanauj. We have already referred to the tragedy which overtook his son-in-law Grahavarman, his daughter, Rajyasri, and his son and successor Rajyavardhana.

EARLY CAREER OF HARSHA

In 606 A.D. the thrones of Thaneswar and Kanauj were occupied by Harshavardhana, the younger brother of Rajyavardhana, and from this year started the Harsha Era. It is probable that the throne of Kanauj, vacated by the death of Grahavarman, was accepted by Harsha at the request of the ministers of the Maukhari Kingdom. A Chinese source indicates that after her release Rajyasri co-operated with Harsha in the administration of her husband's Kingdom. At first Harsha assumed the title of *Rājaputra* ; titles indicating full sovereignty were assumed in 612 A.D. The union of the Kingdoms of Thaneswar and Kanauj created a large and powerful State in the Upper Ganges valley. Harsha transferred his capital to Kanauj and made it the centre of political gravity in Northern India.

Harsha's immediate task after the assumption of regal authority was to secure the release of Rajyasri. He advanced towards Kanauj with a strong force, and on his way concluded a treaty of alliance with Bhaskaravarman of Kamarupa (in Assam). This was a stroke of wise diplomacy, for Sasanka was now exposed to attack from the west as well as from the east. The Gauda King was, however, able to defend himself, and it was probably after his death that Bhaskaravarman occupied his capital. After the conclusion of the alliance with Kamarupa Harsha heard that Rajyasri, released from the prison of Kanauj, had retired to the Vindhya forests. After a vigorous search Harsha found her at the very moment she was going to throw herself into fire with all her attendants. Sasanka, threatened by Harsha and possibly by his Kamarupa ally, withdrew from Kanauj.

CONQUESTS OF HARSHA

Hiuen Tsang makes frequent references to Harsha's campaigns, but the pilgrim does not give us definite details about his conquests. Sasanka was naturally the first object of his wrath, but we do not know how he proceeded against the powerful Gauda King. Sasanka certainly reigned in full glory till at least 619 A.D., and Harsha established his authority in Magadha after Sasanka's death, which took place shortly before 637 A.D. Harsha is also said to have invaded Northern Bengal.

In 643 A.D. he conquered the Kongoda region (Ganjam district). In the west he defeated the ruler of Valabhi. Hiuen Tsang says that Dhruvasena II of Valabhi married Harsha's daughter. There are references to Harsha's expeditions to Sind and Kashmir, but no authentic details are available. In the south he failed to extend his dominions beyond the Narmada. He was repulsed with severe losses by Pulakesin II, the well-known Chalukya ruler of Vatapi. This decisive defeat took place before 634 A.D.

In the exaggerated language usually employed in epigraphic records Harsha is described as 'the master of the whole of *Uttarāpatha,*' but the details recorded in the inscriptions of the period, as well as the account of Hiuen Tsang, clearly show that his Empire was much more limited in extent. His authority was probably obeyed in some eastern districts of the Punjab, almost the whole of the present United Provinces (excluding Mathura), Bihar, Bengal, and Orissa, including the Kongoda (Ganjam) region. It is doubtful whether his suzerainty was acknowledged in Surashtra (Kathiawar) and Kamarupa (Assam). His pre-eminence was, however, recognised by all the contemporary rulers of Northern India.

RELATIONS WITH CHINA

It is well-known that Hiuen Tsang, the celebrated Chinese pilgrim, visited India during Harsha's reign. He started on his travels in 629 A.D. at the age of 29, and passing through Tashkend and Samarkand, arrived in Gandhara in 630 A.D. He left India in 643 A.D., and returned to China through Kashgarh, Yarkand and Khotan. He 'visited almost every province in India, recording numberless exact observations on the country, monuments, people, and religion, which entitle him to be called the Indian Pausanias'. He spent about eight years (635-643 A.D.) in the dominions of Harsha and almost earned his friendship. His account is a veritable mine of information regarding the political and religious condition of India in the age of Harsha. Smith rightly says, "It is impossible to overestimate the debt which the history of India owes to Hiuen Tsang".

In 641 A.D. Harsha sent a Brahmin envoy to Tai-Tsung,

the Tang Emperor of China, and a Chinese mission subsequently visited him.

ADMINISTRATION OF HARSHA

Harsha was a benevolent ruler and personally supervised the civil administration of his wide dominions. Hiuen Tsang says, "He was indefatigable and the day was too short for him". He was probably assisted by a council of ministers (*Mantri-Parishad*). The outlying provinces were governed by viceroys or feudatories. The official hierarchy was probably efficiently organised. The provinces (*bhukti*) were divided into districts (*vishaya*). The village was naturally the lowest unit of administration. Taxation was light. The cultivators had to pay only one-sixth of their produce. Criminal law was more severe than in the Gupta period. The usual punishments were imprisonment for life, banishment, and loss of limbs. Minor offences could be atoned for by money payment. Ordeals by fire, water, etc. were sometimes resorted to for determining the innocence or guilt of an accused person. In spite of the severity of the laws, crimes were of more frequent occurrence than in the Gupta period. But Hiuen Tsang was highly impressed by the character of the Indian people. He says, "They will not take anything wrongfully, and they yield more than fairness requires. They fear the retribution for sins in other lives, and make light of what conduct produces in this life. They do not practise deceit and they keep their sworn obligations". These words almost echo the sentiments of Megasthenes recorded several centuries before Harsha's time.

KANAUJ UNDER HARSHA

Under Harsha Kanauj became the premier city of Northern India and eclipsed the glory of Pataliputra. Hiuen Tsang says that the city was large (5 miles in length and 1¼ miles in breadth), well defended, and beautiful. There were 100 Buddhist monasteries and about 200 'Deva temples'.

The Chinese traveller has left for us a detailed account of a grand assembly held at Kanauj. Harsha marched from his camp along the southern bank of the Ganges, accompanied by Hiuen Tsang and Bhaskaravarman. At his destination he was

received by many princes and priests. The proceedings of the assembly began with a procession, in which a golden image of the Buddha was carried on an elephant. After the procession was over, Harsha performed a ceremonial worship of the image, and gave a public dinner. Then the conference opened, and Hiuen Tsang expounded the doctrines of the *Mahāyāna* school. The Brahmins were angry at the excessive favour shown by Harsha towards the Buddhists, and engaged an assassin to murder him. Fortunately the murderer's attempt failed. The chief culprits were punished and the rest were pardoned.

QUINQUENNIAL DISTRIBUTIONS AT PRAYAGA

At the end of every five years Harsha used to celebrate a solemn festival at Prayaga (Allahabad) at the sacred confluence of the Ganges and the Jumna. When the assembly at Kanauj was over, Harsha invited Hiuen Tsang to witness the sixth quinquennial festival at Allahabad. The proceedings lasted for 75 days, and were attended by numerous Princes from different parts of India. On the first day the statue of the Buddha was set up in a temporary shrine and honoured by the distribution of costly offerings. On the second and third days the images of Sun and Siva were worshipped, but in each case the gifts distributed were less valuable than those distributed on the first day. On the fourth day gifts were distributed to 10,000 Buddhist monks. For the next twenty days gifts were bestowed upon the Brahmins. The next ten days were spent in bestowing gifts on the Jains and members of other sects. For the next ten days alms were bestowed upon the mendicants. For the next month gifts were made to the poor, the orphans, and the destitute. By this time the wealth accumulated during the last five years was exhausted ; Harsha then gave away his personal gems and goods. He begged from Rajyasri an ordinary second-hand garment, and having put it on, he worshipped the Buddhas of the ten regions. Such an example of charity is unequalled even in Indian history.

HARSHA'S RELIGION

Harsha's ancestors were worshippers of the Sun. Epigraphic evidence shows that Harsha himself was a devotee of Siva

during, at least, the first twenty-five years of his reign. Towards the later part of his life, however, he was attracted towards Buddhism, probably under the influence of his Buddhist sister Rajyasri ; his friendship with Hiuen Tsang may also have been partly responsible for this change in his religious outlook. He is said to have erected many Buddhist *stupas* and monasteries. He annually summoned a convocation of the Buddhist monks for the discussion of religious problems. He prohibited the slaughter of animals. Like Asoka, he made arrangements for the free supply of food and medicine to the poor and the destitute. In the Kanauj assembly he showed some partiality for the *Mahāyāna* faith. But he was never a convert to Buddhism, and he officially honoured Siva and Aditya (Sun) in the Prayaga assembly. Hiuen Tsang's account makes it clear that Buddhism was on the decline, although the pilgrim seems to have been unconscious of this fact. Jainism was not popular, except in North Bihar, North Bengal, and Samatata (Eastern Bengal). The predominant religion was Brahmanical Hinduism, and the principal deities were Aditya, Siva and Vishnu.

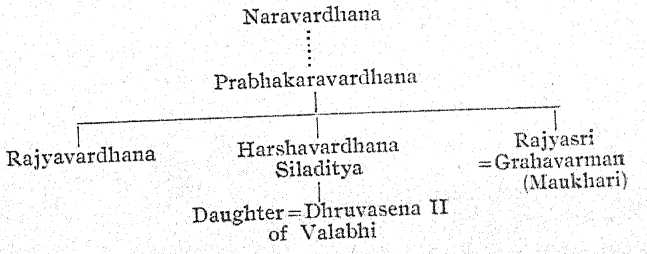
LITERARY ACTIVITIES

Harsha was a great patron of learning. Hiuen Tsang says that one-fourth of the revenue from the crown lands was earmarked for rewarding scholars and literary men. Harsha made large endowments to Nalanda, the world-famous centre of Buddhist learning, where Hiuen Tsang studied for several years. The Chinese pilgrim says, "There were thousands of similar institutions in India, but none comparable to Nalanda in grandeur. There were 10,000 students who studied various subjects, including religious literature, both Buddhist and Brahmanical, and discourses were given from 100 pulpits every day. Piety of generations of Kings not only adorned that place with magnificent buildings, both residential and lecture halls, but supplied all the material necessities of this vast concourse of the teachers and the taught. The revenues of about 100 villages were remitted for this purpose, and two hundred householders in these villages supplied in turn the daily needs of the inmates". The teachers and students of Nalanda were men of the highest ability and talent. The atmosphere was surcharged with intellectual enthusiasm : "The day is not

sufficient for asking and answering profound questions. From morning till night they engage in discussion ; the old and the young mutually help one another''.

Harsha extended his patronage to men of literature, and was himself a poet of no mean repute. His court was adorned by Banabhatta, the celebrated author of the *Harshacharita*, an important historical work narrating the incidents of the early part of Harsha's reign, and the *Kādambarī*, a poetical novel of great literary merit. Harsha himself wrote three well-known dramas, the *Priyadarsikā*, the *Ratnāvalī*, and the *Nāgānanda*.

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE PUSHYABHUTI DYNASTY



EFFECTS OF HARSHA'S DEATH

Harsha was neither a great military conqueror nor probably a very successful administrator. His fame rests chiefly on the friendly eulogy of two partisan writers, Banabhatta and Hiuen Tsang. The Empire built up by him was neither so large nor so well-governed as the Gupta Empire, and it did not survive his death (646 or 647 A.D.). He left no heir, and the organisation of the Empire was not strong enough to survive its builder. The throne of Kanauj was seized by one of his ministers, whose name was probably Arjun. The usurper opposed the entry of the Chinese mission sent before Harsha's death and killed or captured its small escort. The leader of the mission, Wang-hiuen-tse, escaped to Nepal, which was then tributary to Tibet, and at his request Srong-tsan Gampo, the famous King of Tibet, who had married a Chinese princess, sent an army to punish the usurper. Arjun was captured and sent to China. The Tirhut region was annexed to Tibet, and remained under Tibetan rule until 703 A.D. Once again North India lost its political unity.

KANAUJ IN THE EIGHTH CENTURY

Nothing is definitely known about the history of Kanauj for about 75 years after Harsha's death. A military adventurer named Yasovarman appears to have occupied the throne of Kanauj during the period *circa* 725-752 A.D. No definite information is available about his ancestry. He has been identified with that 'King of Central India' who, according to Chinese evidence, sent his minister to China in 731 A.D. Neither the object nor the result of this mission is known to us. Vakpati, a court poet of Yasovarman, credits him with victories over the King of Gauda and conquests in Southern and Western India. It is difficult to say whether the story of Yasovarman's *Digvijaya,* as described in Vakpati's well-known Prakrit work *Gaudavaho,* is anything more than conventional eulogy. Yasovarman was the patron of the great dramatist Bhavabhuti, whose *Uttararāmacharitam* is a masterpiece of Indian dramatic literature. Yasovarman's end was tragic ; he was defeated and killed by Lalitaditya of Kashmir.

During the last quarter of the eighth century the throne of Kanauj was occupied by a family of minor rulers whose names end with the word *Ayudha.* Indrayudha was defeated and dethroned by Dharmapala of Bengal, who placed his protege Chakrayudha on the vacant throne. Chakrayudha was defeated by the Gurjara-Pratihara King Nagabhata II, who is said to have transferred his capital to Kanauj.

SECTION III

NORTHERN INDIA AFTER HARSHA

KASHMIR

The geographical position of the valley of Kashmir could not isolate it from the main currents of Indian history, although it naturally enjoyed better opportunities of developing its indigenous institutions than other provinces of India. Kashmir certainly formed part of the Maurya and Kushan Empires, but the Guptas were not able to extend their power to that distant valley.

According to the well-known historical poem, Kalhana's *Rājatarangiṇī*, composed in the twelfth century, which forms the principal source of our information regarding the history of Kashmir, Durlabhavardhana founded the Karkota dynasty early in the seventh century. Hiuen Tsang visited Kashmir during his reign. The most powerful ruler of the dynasty was Lalitaditya Muktapida (*circa* 724-760 A.D.), who led an expedition against the Tibetans, carried his arms to the Upper Oxus valley, defeated Yasovarman of Kanauj, and conquered a portion of the Punjab. We are told that he overran Eastern India (Magadha, Bengal, Kamarupa, and Orissa), penetrated into the Deccan and humbled the Chalukyas, conquered Malwa and Gujarat, and defeated the Arabs of Sind. It is difficult to accept these stories as true, but there is no doubt that towards the middle of the eighth century Kashmir occupied a very prominent position in the political arena of Northern India. Lalitaditya sent an embassy to the Chinese Emperor Hiuen Tsang. He built some Buddhist monasteries and Hindu temples, the most important structure among them being the great Martanda temple dedicated to the Sun.

Lalitaditya was succeeded by some weak Kings who failed to maintain the power and prestige of Kashmir. His grandson, Jayapida Vinayaditya (779-810 A.D.), revived the reputation of the Karkota dynasty. He defeated and dethroned a King of Kanauj who may be identified with Indrayudha or his immediate predecessor. Kalhana says that he sent expeditions against Nepal and North Bengal, but the historical value of these statements is not beyond question. Jayapida was a patron of letters, and his court was adorned by several scholars of repute.

About the middle of the ninth century the Karkota dynasty was replaced by the Utpala dynasty. Kashmir gave up all schemes of conquest and sank into obscurity, but it was able to retain its independence till 1339 A.D.

IMPORTANCE OF KANAUJ

It has already been pointed out that during the reign of Harsha Kanauj became the premier city of Northern India and replaced Pataliputra as the centre of political gravity. In the eighth century the possession of Kanauj came to signalise

the assumption of imperial pretensions. We have seen that two Kings of Kashmir, Lalitaditya and Jayapida, defeated the rulers of Kanauj, and it is probable that the former succeeded in bringing Kanauj under his own control. We shall see that the Palas of Bengal, the Gurjara-Pratiharas, and the Rashtrakutas of Southern India engaged in a long struggle for the possession of the imperial city. The final victory lay with the Gurjara-Pratiharas, who established their capital at Kanauj, and founded an Empire which was more extensive, more powerful, more enduring than the comparatively small and ephemeral Empire of Harsha.

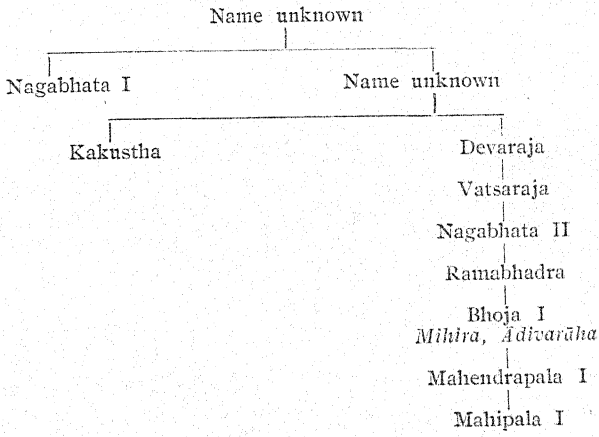
RISE OF THE GURJARA-PRATIHARAS

The Gurjara-Pratiharas claimed to be Rajputs belonging to the Solar dynasty, their traditional ancestor being Lakshmana, the younger brother of Rama, the great hero of the Ramayana ; but in reality they appear to have been of foreign extraction. They were probably descended from the Gurjaras, one of those Central Asiatic tribes which poured into India along with the Huns in the fifth and sixth centuries A.D. Their earliest settlement was at Mandor (in Marwar, Rajputana). One branch of the family gradually advanced southwards and established itself in Malwa. An early prince of this family is described as ruler Avanti. Nagabhata I increased the power and prestige of the family by repelling "the armies of the powerful *Mlechchha* King," *i.e.*, the Arabs of Sind. He carried his arms to Broach. The next two rulers were weaklings, but towards the close of the eighth century A.D. Vatsaraja (*circa* 738-84 A.D.) not only consolidated his power in Malwa and Rajputana but also tried to extend his conquests to Eastern India, where he found a worthy antagonist in the Pala dynasty of Bengal.

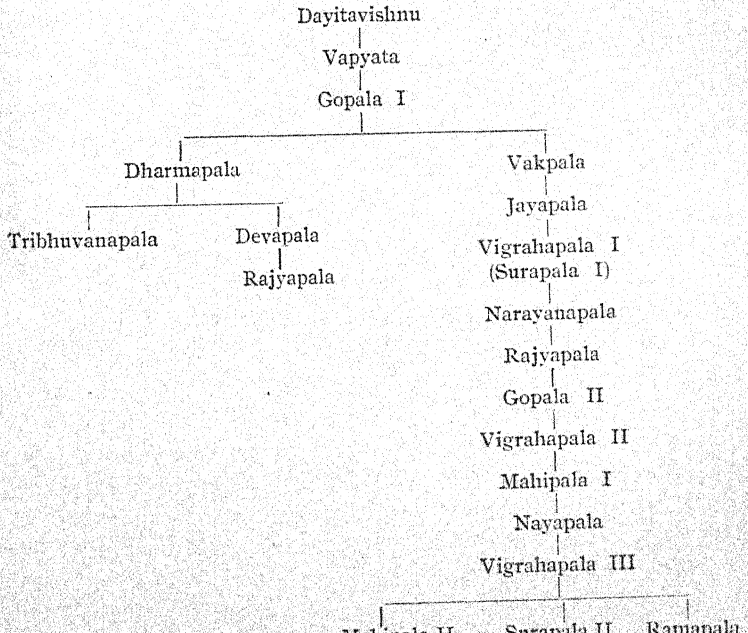
RISE OF THE PALAS

The death of Sasanka (*circa* 637 A.D.) ushered in an era of political turmoil in Bengal. Hiuen Tsang, who travelled in Bengal shortly after Sasanka's death, mentions four Kingdoms in Bengal proper, *viz.*, Pundravardhana (North Bengal), Karnasuvarna (northern parts of Western Bengal), Samatata (South-East Bengal), and Tamralipti (Tamluk, *i.e.*, Midnapur region).

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE IMPERIAL GURJARA-PRATIHARAS



GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE PALA DYNASTY



Bhaskaravarman of Kamarupa occupied Karnasuvarna and issued a grant from Sasanka's capital city. The history of Gauda during the period *circa* 650-750 A.D. is extremely obscure. The absence of political unity invited foreign aggression. Bhaskaravarman was followed by Yasovarman, King of Kanauj, who probably brought nearly the whole of modern Bengal under control. It is also probable that Lalitaditya of Kashmir extended his suzerainty over Bengal.

The anarchy and confusion which prevailed in Bengal for more than a century came to an end about the middle of the eighth century, when "Gopala was made King by the people to put an end to a lawless state of things (*mātsyanyāya*) in which every one was the prey of his neighbour." There is nothing to indicate that Gopala's ancestors were ruling princes. The early inscriptions of the Palas do not claim any mythical origin for them, nor do they connect them with any ancient ruling family; but in the later inscriptions of the dynasty there are references to descent from the solar race and also from the sea. As regards their caste, they were regarded as Kshatriyas, although Abul Fazl describes them as Kayasthas. Their religion was Buddhism. Gopala is said to have built a monastery at Nalanda and established many religious schools.

No information is available about Gopala's political achievements, nor do we know the precise extent of the Kingdom ruled by him. The early rulers of the dynasty are, however, described as lords of Vanga (Eastern Bengal) and Gauda (Western Bengal). The period of Gopala's reign roughly covers the years 750-770 A.D.

STRUGGLE BETWEEN DHARMAPALA, THE PRATIHARAS, AND THE RASHTRAKUTAS

Gopala was succeeded by his son Dharmapala (*circa* 770-810 A.D.) who raised the Pala Kingdom to the position of an imperial power. His contemporaries on the Pratihara throne were Vatsaraja (*circa* 738-784 A.D.) and Nagabhata II (*circa* 805-833 A.D.) and the contemporary Rashtrakuta rulers of the Deccan were Dhruva (*circa* 779-793 A.D.) and Govinda III (*circa* 793-814 A.D.). For a pretty long period these vigorous rulers fought for the imperial position in Northern India, the ultimate success remaining with the Pratiharas.

Vatsaraja's attempt to extend his conquests to Eastern India was naturally opposed by Dharmapala, an ambitious ruler anxious to push his arms towards the west. Vatsaraja claims to have 'appropriated with ease the fortune of royalty of the Gauda'. This does not necessarily mean that he occupied any portion of the Pala Kingdom, although it is almost definite that he was victor in the contest. At this stage the rising power of the Palas was saved from further intervention from the west by a disastrous defeat inflicted upon Vatsaraja by Dhruva. The Pratihara ruler was compelled to take shelter in the desert of Rajputana. Dhruva then invaded the Gangetic Doab, where he met Dharmapala and defeated him. He is said to have 'seized the white umbrellas . . . of the Gauda King'. But it was hardly possible for a Southern ruler to establish a lasting Empire in the North. Dhruva's ephemeral success did not do any permanent injury to Dharmapala; on the other hand, the discomfiture of his Pratihara rival left him free to subjugate Northern India.

Some inscriptions of the Pala dynasty give us some important details about Dharmapala's triumphant campaign in Northern India. We are told that he acquired the sovereignty of Mahodaya (*i.e.*, Kanauj) by having defeated Indraraja (generally identified with Indrayudha[1]), and then conferred it upon Chakrayudha. The new ruler of Kanauj was installed in the presence of the rulers of Bhoja, Matsya, Madra, Kuru, Yadu, Yavana, Avanti, Gandhara and Kira.[2] There can be hardly any doubt that these Princes recognised Dharmapala as their suzerain. It seems, therefore, that Dharmapala had succeeded in getting himself acknowledged as the Emperor of Northern India. Bengal and Bihar were under his direct rule ; Kanauj was a vassal State under the rule of his nominee Chakrayudha ; a large number of principalities in the Punjab, Eastern Rajputana, Malwa, Berar, and probably also Nepal, were governed

[1] See p. 136.

[2] Gandhara, Madra, and Kuru were located respectively in the western, central, and eastern Punjab. Matsya lay in modern Alwar-Jaipur-Bharatpur region. Yavana probably refers to an Arab principality, either in Sind or in the North-West. The Yadus ruled over some districts of the Punjab, Mathura, Surashtra, etc., The Bhoja principality probably lay in Berar.

by rulers who 'bowed down respectfully with their diadems trembling'.

Towards the beginning of the ninth century A.D. the power of the Pratiharas was revived by Nagabhata II. He is said to have made alliance with the rulers of Sindhu, Andhra, Vidarbha, and Kalinga. Having thus strengthened his position he attacked Kanauj ; Chakrayudha was defeated and fled to his suzerain Dharmapala. According to some writers, this victory put Nagabhata in possession of the imperial city of Kanauj, to which he now transferred his capital. There is no decisive evidence in favour of this view. In any case, after his victory over Chakrayudha, Nagabhata triumphantly marched to the east and inflicted a crushing defeat on Dharmapala in a pitched battle fought near Monghyr. For the Pala Empire the consequences of this defeat might have been very serious, but once more the Rashtrakutas saved it by their sudden intervention in the Northern conflict.

We do not know whether Dharmapala invoked the assistance of Govinda III after the arrival of the Pratihara army in the heart of his dominions. Nagabhata had offended the Rashtrakuta King by occupying some parts of Malwa, which was at that time subordinate to the latter, and also by making alliance with some states (Andhra, Vidarbha) on the border of the Rashtrakuta dominions. So Govinda III might have advanced to the North of his own accord, with a view to crush the Pratihara power. In any case, we definitely know that Govinda III inflicted a severe defeat on Nagabhata and marched right across his dominions at least up to the Ganges-Jumna Doab. The Rashtrakuta records tell us that both Dharmapala and Chakrayudha 'surrendered' to Govinda III. This 'surrender' was probably the price by which they purchased the assistance of the Rashtrakuta monarch against Nagabhata.

Dharmapala's submission to Govinda III was probably nominal, and there are reasons to believe that the Pala Empire escaped almost unhurt from the struggle against Nagabhata. The power of the Pratiharas probably remained confined to Rajputana and the adjoining regions. One epigraphic record represents Nagabhata as having won victories against Anartta (Northern Kathiawar), Malava (Malwa), Matsya, Kirata (in the Himalayan region), Vasta (Kosambi region), and the Turushkas (Arabs of Sind).

STRUGGLE BETWEEN DEVAPALA, THE PRATIHARAS AND THE RASHTRAKUTAS

Dharmapala was succeeded by his son Devapala (*circa* 810-850 A.D.). He was a very powerful ruler, and we have epigraphic records relating to his campaigns against the Pragjyotishas, Utkalas, Hunas, Gurjaras, and Dravidas. Pragjyotisha obviously indicates the Brahmaputra valley, or Kamarupa. The ruler of this Kingdom, either Pralambha or Harjara, accepted the suzerainty of Devapala and was left unmolested. Utkala (Orissa) was thoroughly subjugated. The reference to the victory over the Huns probably indicates a successful invasion of a Hun principality in Uttarapatha, near the Himalayas. Devapala also claims victory over Kamboja, which lay to the north-west of the Punjab.

We are told that Devapala crushed the pride of the Gurjaras. There is some evidence to show that Nagabhata revived his power after Dharmapala's death and even occupied Kanauj. His successor, Ramabhadra, was a feeble ruler, during whose reign the enemies of the Pratiharas are said to have ravaged his dominions. But his son and successor, Mihira Bhoja (*circa* 836-885 A.D.), was a great ruler. He occupied Kanauj and established his authority in Bundelkhand as well as in Gurjaratra (Marwar). He was, however, defeated by Devapala, probably between 840 A.D. and 850 A.D. Foiled in the east, Bhoja turned his attention to the south, and overran Southern Rajputana and Malwa. The inevitable contest with the Rashtrakutas followed. He was defeated by Dhruva II, a Rashtrakuta chieftain of Broach. He also came into conflict with Krishna II (*circa* 877-913 A.D.) ; the result was probably indecisive. These successive defeats put a severe strain on Bhoja's power, and even Gurjaratra passed out of his hands.

The statement that Devapala defeated the Dravidas should be taken to indicate that the Rashtrakuta King Amoghavarsha I (*circa* 814-877 A.D.) was defeated by him. This success of the Pala ruler was probably facilitated by the internal discords in the Rashtrakuta Kingdom. It has been suggested by an eminent scholar that the Dravida ruler defeated by Dharmapala should be identified with the Pandya King Sri-Mara Sri-Vallabha.

The Arab traveller, Sulaiman, says that Devapala's troops

were more numerous than those of his adversaries—the Rashtrakutas and the Pratiharas. About 50,000 elephants accompanied his army in his campaigns, and about 15,000 men in his army were employed in washing clothes. The Arab traveller refers to the Pala Kingdom as 'Ruhmi'. His statements about Devapala's military strength can hardly be accused of exaggeration. The Pala monarch's reputation transcended the boundaries of India. King Balaputradeva of the Sailendra dynasty ruling in Java, Sumatra, and Malay Peninsula sent an ambassador to him, to ask for a grant of five villages with which the former proposed to endow a monastery built by him at Nalanda. Devapala granted this request.

DECLINE OF THE PALAS AND TRIUMPH OF THE PRATIHARAS

The glory of the Pala Empire did not long survive the death of Devapala. No military achievement is attributed by the Pala records to his successors, Vigrahapala I or Surapala I (*circa* 850-854 A.D.) and Narayanapala (*circa* 854-908 A.D.). A Rashtrakuta inscription tells us that the rulers of Anga, Vanga, and Magadha paid homage to Amoghavarsha I, who probably invaded the Pala Kingdom in the reign of Narayanapala.

The defeat inflicted by the Rashtrakuta King on the weak and pacific Pala King probably enabled Gurjara Bhoja to establish his suzerainty in Northern India. The well-known Arab traveller, Sulaiman, writing in 851 A.D., describes Bhoja as 'unfriendly to the Arabs' and 'the greatest foe of the Muhammadan faith'. The Muslim writer bestows high praise on his army, specially cavalry. Bhoja subjugated extensive territories in Bundelkhand and the United Provinces and advanced almost to the borders of Magadha. Epigraphic records prove beyond doubt that he humbled the contemporary Pala ruler. In the west he extended his conquests as far as Kathiawar and Karnal (in the Punjab). The rulers of Assam and Orissa took advantage of the weakness of the Palas and asserted their independence. The Rashtrakutas were temporarily weakened by the revolt of their Gujarat branch and the long struggle with the Eastern Chalukyas; but Krishna II seems to have defeated Narayanapala.

Bhoja was succeeded by his son Mahendrapala I (*circa* 885-910 A.D.). Under him the Pratihara Empire reached its

zenith. He defeated Narayanapala, annexed Magadha, and even occupied North Bengal for a time. In the west his authority extended as far as Kathiawar. Kalhana informs us that Sankaravarman of Kashmir reconquered some portions of the Punjab which had been annexed by Bhoja. But the Karnal region remained under the rule of Mahendrapala. His court was adorned by the famous poet Rajasekhara.

Mahendrapala was succeeded by his son Bhoja II, who was soon dethroned by his brother Mahipala (*circa* 912-944 A.D.). Probably in or about 908 A.D. Narayanapala recovered North Bengal and Bihar. Sometime between 915 A.D. and 917 A.D. Mahipala was severely defeated by the Rashtrakuta King Indra III, who sacked Kanauj and plundered Pratihara territory as far east as Prayaga (Allahabad). The Rashtrakutas won further successes some years later; the closing years of Mahipala's reign were darkened by the triumphant Northern expeditions of Krishna III.

The successors of Narayanapala—Rajyapala (*circa* 908-940 A.D.) and Gopala II (*circa* 940-960 A.D.),—retained their hold on Magadha and North Bengal, although they were not strong enough to challenge the Pratihara suzerainty in Northern India. Rajyapala probably married a Rashtrakuta princess; this matrimonial alliance seems to have strengthened the position of the Palas.

DECLINE OF THE PRATIHARAS: RISE OF NEW DYNASTIES

Although the Pratiharas continued to enjoy some sort of formal suzerainty over large portions of Northern India till the extinction of the dynasty in the early part of the eleventh century, yet they lost all effective authority after Mahipala's disastrous defeats at the hands of the Rashtrakutas. Under the weak successors of Mahipala several Rajput dynasties established autonomous principalities in different parts of Northern India. Of these dynasties the Chandellas of Bundelkhand, the Kalachuris of Chedi (Central Provinces), the Paramaras of Malwa, the Chaulukyas of Gujarat and the Chauhans of Sakambhari (in Rajputana)[1] deserve special mention. The last Pratihara ruler, Rajyapala, saved himself by a cowardly flight when

[1] For the history of these dynasties, see Chapter X.

Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni threatened Kanauj. But the unfortunate King was defeated and killed by the Chandella Prince Vidyadhara. Thus the Pratihara dynasty came to an inglorious end.

THE LATER PALAS

After the decline of the Pratihara dynasty the Palas encountered two new enemies in the west—the Chandellas and the Kalachuris. There are epigraphic references to some Chandella and Kalachuri incursions into Bengal during the reigns of Gopala II and Vigrahapala II (*circa* 960-988 A.D.). Bengal seems to have lost her political unity in the second half of the tenth century A.D., for there are epigraphic references to several independent principalities in East and South Bengal.

The fallen fortunes of the Pala dynasty were temporarily revived by Mahipala I (*circa* 988-1038 A.D.), who consolidated his authority in North and East Bengal. It is doubtful whether he succeeded in recovering Pala power in West or South Bengal. During the period 1021-1023 A.D. a Chola general sent by Rajendra Chola "attacked and overthrew, in order, Dharmapala of Dandabhukti, Ranasura of Southern Radha, and Govindachandra of Vangala, before he fought with Mahipala and conquered Uttara-Radha." No definite information is available about the exact relations of these Princes with Mahipala, but it is generally agreed that the Chola campaign was nothing more than a hurried raid across a vast stretch of country. Epigraphic evidence shows that Mahipala ruled over North and South Bihar. He was probably defeated by the Kalachuri King Gangeya.

The aggressive policy of Gangeya was continued by his son and successor Lakshmi-Karna, who waged a long struggle with Nayapala (*circa* 1038-1055 A.D.), son and successor of Mahipala, and also with Nayapala's son and successor, Vigrahapala III (*circa* 1055-1070 A.D.). Bengal had to face an invasion from the Chalukya King Somesvara I, probably not long before 1068 A.D. About the middle of the eleventh century A.D. Bengal was invaded by Mahasivagupta Yayati, the Somavamsi ruler of Orissa. Independent dynasties arose in East, West, and South Bengal.

At last a rebellion of the vassal chiefs led to the defeat and death of Mahipala II (1070-1075 A.D.), and North Bengal passed under the rule of Divya, a high official of the Kaivarta caste. He was a powerful and able ruler. He was succeeded by his younger brother Rudroka, whose successor was Bhima. This political revolution constitutes the subject matter of the well-known historical *kāvya, Rāmacharitam,* written by Sandhyakara Nandi. The power of the Pala dynasty was partially revived by Ramapala, the younger brother of Mahipala II, who defeated and captured Bhima and wreaked a terrible vengeance upon him. After consolidating his authority in North Bengal, Ramapala brought East Bengal and Assam under his suzerainty and pushed his arms as far as Kalinga, where he came into conflict with Anantavarman Choda-Ganga of the Eastern Ganga dynasty. In the west he fought with the Gahadavala King Govindachandra. His weak successors failed to maintain the integrity of the Kingdom left by him. About the middle of the twelfth century the Pala Kingdom was confined to Central and Eastern Bihar, and probably included a portion of North Bengal. Then the Senas occupied North Bengal. Some Princes whose names ended in 'pala' continued to rule in Bihar for some time, but their relationship, if any, with the dynasty of Gopala is yet uncertain.

SECTION IV

SOUTHERN INDIA IN THE POST-GUPTA PERIOD

RISE OF THE CHALUKYAS OF VATAPI

The Chalukyas played an important part in the history of Southern India for several centuries. Their origin is lost in obscurity, but it is probable that they were descended from Northern Indian Kshatriyas and migrated from Ayodhya to the country beyond the Vindhyas. Smith connects them with the Gurjaras and thinks that they emigrated from Rajputana to the Deccan. There is no conclusive evidence in support of this theory.

About the middle of the sixth century Pulakesin I carved out a small principality in the Kanarese-speaking country

around Vatapi (modern Badami, Bijapur district), which henceforth became his capital. He performed an *Asvamedha* sacrifice, but his territory and power did not justify imperial pretensions. His son and successor, Kirtivarman I, who probably ascended the throne in 566 A.D., extended his conquests to North Konkan and North Kanara, and probably also to the Bellary and Karnul districts. The stories relating to his conquests in Magadha, Bengal, and the Chola and the Pandya territories in the Far South, are probably poetical embellishments devoid of historical foundations. He was succeeded by his brother Mangalesa (597-608 A.D.) who conquered the Ratnagiri district in the Konkan and subjugated the Kalachuris of Northern Deccan. His attempt to settle the succession on his son was opposed by his nephew (Kirtivarman's son) Pulakesin, who defeated and killed him and occupied the throne.

ZENITH OF CHALUKYA POWER: PULAKESIN II (609-642 A.D.)

The war of succession left its traces upon the fortunes of the Chalukya dynasty, and the early years of Pulakesin II's reign were spent in subjugating his rebellious feudatories and neighbours. He captured the capital of the Kadambas of North Kanara, overawed the Gangas of Mysore, and subdued the Mauryas of North Konkan. The Latas of Southern Gujarat, the Malavas, and the Gurjaras (of Broach?) submitted to him. Harsha of Kanauj suffered a crushing defeat, and his attempt to extend his Empire beyond the Narmada proved a failure. The Kings of Mahakosala (in modern C.P.) and Kalinga felt terror-stricken at the approach of the Chalukya army, and the fortress of Pishtapura (modern Pithapuram in the Madras Presidency) surrendered to him without opposition. He defeated the Pallava King Mahendravarman I and advanced within a few miles of the Pallava capital Kanchi. When the victorious Chalukya army crossed the Kaveri, the Cholas, the Keralas, and the Pandyas submitted to Pulakesin II. Thus the Chalukya King succeeded in unifying a large part of Southern India (from the banks of the Narmada to the districts beyond the Kaveri) under his sceptre. But his end was tragic. The Pallava King Narasimhavarman stormed Vatapi (642 A.D.) and probably killed Pulakesin himself.

Pulakesin II was undoubtedly a very powerful King. He is said to have maintained friendly relations with Khusru II, King of Persia, and exchanged diplomatic missions with him. Some scholars believe that the reception of a Persian mission by Pulakesin II is depicted in one of the Ajanta cave paintings.

HIUEN TSANG ON THE CHALUKYA KINGDOM

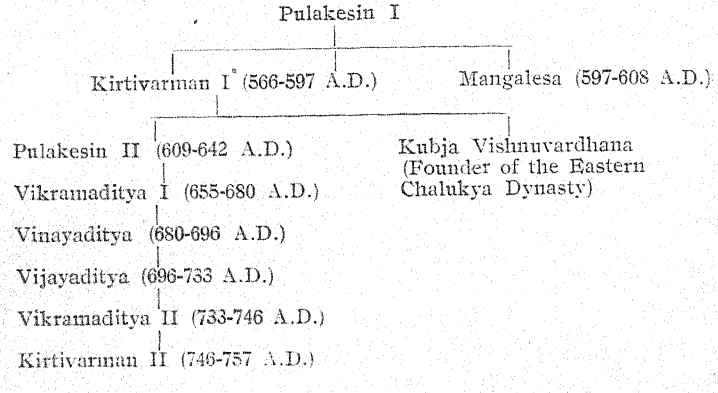
Hiuen Tsang visited Southern India in the reign of Pulakesin II. He describes the soil of Maharashtra as rich and fertile. According to him, "the inhabitants were proud-spirited and warlike, grateful for favours and revengeful for wrongs, self-sacrificing towards suppliants in distress and sanguinary to death with any who treated them insultingly. Their martial heroes who led the van of the army in battle went into conflict intoxicated, and their war-elephants were also made drunk before an engagement." About Pulakesin II the Chinese pilgrim observes, "The King, in consequence of his possessing these men and elephants, treats his neighbours with contempt. His plans and undertakings are widespread, and his beneficent actions are felt over a great distance. His subjects obey him with perfect submission."

LATER CHALUKYAS OF VATAPI

Pulakesin II's death was followed by the temporary decline of the Chalukya power. His son Vikramaditya I (655-680 A.D.) succeeded in recovering his paternal dominions from the grip of the Pallavas. The struggle against the Pallavas was continued, the Pallava capital was plundered, and the power of the Chalukya army was once more felt by the Cholas, the Keralas, and the Pandyas. His successors, Vinayaditya I and Vijayaditya I, whose reigns cover the period *circa* 680-733 A.D., were powerful rulers. The former is credited with victories over a 'lord of the whole of *Uttarāpatha*', who is probably to be identified with one of the successors of the Gupta ruler Adityasena. During the reign of Vikramaditya II (*circa* 733-746 A.D.) the Pallavas were once more defeated, and their capital plundered, by the Chalukya army. The Cholas, the Pandyas, and the people of Malabar submitted to him. The Arabs of Sind invaded Lata (Southern Gujarat), which was then

included within the Chalukya dominions, but they were repulsed. Thus Southern India was saved from the Arab menace. His son, Kirtivarman II, lost Maharashtra to the Rashtrakuta Chief Dantidurga, and the sovereignty of the Chalukyas came to an end (*circa* 753 A.D.).

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE CHALUKYA DYNASTY



RELIGION UNDER THE CHALUKYAS

The Chalukyas were Brahmanical Hindus, but they were true to the Indian tradition of religious toleration. Buddhism was slowly declining in their territories, although it appears from Hiuen Tsang's account that it was not extinct. The Chinese pilgrim noticed more than one hundred Buddhist monasteries. Jainism prospered in Southern India during this period, and enjoyed the patronage of the Chalukyas. Large temples were built at Vatapi and Pattadakal (Bijapur district) in honour of Brahma, Vishnu and Siva. The practice of excavating cave-temples came into vogue. Some of the famous Ajanta cave-frescoes probably belong to the Chalukya period.

EARLY HISTORY OF THE RASHTRAKUTAS

The origin of the Rashtrakutas, who exercised sovereignty over large portions of Southern India for more than two centuries, is as obscure as the origin of many other ancient Indian dynasties. Later rulers of the dynasty claimed descent from

Yadu, but it is difficult to take such traditions as sober history. Some scholars connect the Rashtrakutas with the Rathikas mentioned in one of Asoka's edicts. Some Chalukya records describe them as agriculturists of the Andhra country. There are epigraphic records showing that they were hereditary chieftains under the Chalukyas. It is probable that their original home was in Karnataka (not in Maharashtra), and their mother-tongue was Kanarese. Although they are usually described as the Rashtrakutas of Manyakheta (Malkhed, in the Nizam's Dominions), the capital was established at that place by Amoghavarsha I ; the earlier seat of their power is unknown.

The founder of the Rashtrakuta power was Dantidurga, who wrested Maharashtra from the Chalukya King Kirtivarman II about the middle of the eighth century. He is also said to have defeated other contemporary rulers, like those of Kanchi (evidently a Pallava Prince), Kalinga, South Kosala (in C.P.), Malava (probably the Gurjara-Pratihara Prince of Ujjain), Lata (Southern Gujarat), and other small principalities. He was succeeded by his uncle Krishna I (768-772 A.D.). He completed the overthrow of Kirtivarman II, crushed a proud Prince named Rahappa whose identity is at present unknown, subdued the Konkan, overran the Kingdom of the Gangas of Mysore, and defeated Vishnuvardhana IV, the Eastern Chalukya ruler of Vengi. He assumed imperial titles. One of his greatest achievements was the building of the famous rock-cut temple of Siva at Ellora (Nizam's Dominions). Smith describes it as 'the most marvellous architectural freak in India'. Krishna was succeeded by his son Govinda II, who was hopelessly addicted to sensual pleasures. He was defeated and deposed by his younger brother Dhruva.

PERIOD OF RASHTRAKUTA GLORY

The period of Rashtrakuta imperialism begins with the reign of Dhruva *Nirupama* (*circa* 779-793 A.D.). The Ganga King was defeated, and his territories were annexed. The Pallava ruler of Kanchi was defeated. Dhruva then turned his attention to the North and came into conflict with the Gurjara-Pratiharas and the Palas.[1] The Northern expeditions did not

[1] For details, see p. 141.

result in the expansion of territory, but they undoubtedly demonstrated the rising greatness of the Rashtrakuta dynasty.

Dhruva's death or abdication (*circa* 793 A.D.) was followed by a war of succession, at the end of which the Rashtrakuta Kingdom came in the possession of his son Govinda III *Jagattunga* (*circa* 793-814 A.D.). He suppressed a rebellion in the Ganga territory annexed by his father, and defeated Dantivarman, the Pallava ruler of Kanchi. Then he turned his arms against the Gurjara-Pratiharas and the Palas of Northern India.[1] While he was busy in the North, a grand confederacy was formed against him in the South by the Cholas, the Pandyas, and the rulers of Kanchi, Gangavadi (*i.e.*, the Ganga Kingdom in Mysore), and Kerala. Govinda crushed this formidable coalition and asserted his suzerainty over Southern India.

Govinda III was succeeded by his son, who is known only by his epithet Amoghavarsha I (*circa* 814-877 A.D.). Probably his proper name was Sarva. He was a minor at the time of his accession. His guardian was Karkaraja-Suvarnavarsha of the collateral Gujarat branch of the family.[2] The minority of the ruler encouraged some of the tributary Princes to rebel, and the position became so serious that Amoghavarsha lost his throne. Within a short time he regained the throne, but he was still young, and too weak to undertake military expeditions. Later on he secured victories against the Chalukya ruler of Vengi. He is said to have extended his political influence over Eastern India (Bihar and Bengal), but there is hardly any historical foundation for this claim.[3] Indeed, Amoghavarsha's military weakness left the Palas and the Gurjara-Pratiharas free to fight among themselves for the mastery of Northern India. It seems that he was more interested in religion and literature than in military exploits. He was attracted towards Jainism, but it is probable that he did not give up his ancestral allegiance to Brahmanical Hinduism. He was a patron of letters, and, like Harsha, he was himself an author.

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[1] For details, see p. 142.

[2] This branch was founded by Indra, who was appointed governor of Lata (Southern Gujarat) by his elder brother Govinda III about the beginning of the ninth century. It lost its political authority towards the close of the ninth century.

[3] See pp. 143-144.

The Arab travellers and chroniclers describe the Rashtrakuta Kings by the epithet 'Balhara,' which is evidently an Arabic corruption of the Sanskrit term *Vallabharāja*. Sulaiman, an Arab merchant who travelled in Western India in the middle of the ninth century, speaks of 'the long-lived Balhara' (*i.e.*, Amoghavarsha I, who 'enjoyed one of the longest reigns recorded in history'), and states that he was acknowledged as one of the four greatest rulers of the world, the other three being the Caliph of Baghdad, the Emperor of China, and the Emperor of Constantinople. The Rashtrakutas maintained friendly relations with the Arabs of Sind and encouraged commerce with the Arab merchants. This pro-Muslim policy was probably due to the fact that the Gurjara-Pratiharas were the common enemies of the Rashtrakutas and the Arabs of Sind.

Krishna II *Akālavarsha* (*circa* 877-913 A.D.), who succeeded Amoghavarsha I, was not a very successful ruler. His clashes with the Eastern Chalukyas of Vengi and Bhoja Paramara of Malwa did not increase the power of the Rashtrakuta dynasty. He was succeeded by his grandson, Indra III *Nityavarsha* (*circa* 915-917 A.D.), who revived the military glory of Dhruva and Govinda III. He succeeded in humbling the pride of the Gurjara-Pratiharas of Kanauj.[1] His successors, Amoghavarsha II, Govinda IV, and Amoghavarsha III, whose reigns covered the period *circa* 917-939 A.D., were weak rulers.

The last great ruler of the Rashtrakuta dynasty was Krishna III (*circa* 939-968 A.D.). It is probable that he came in conflict with the Gurjara-Pratihara ruler Mahipala and wrested Kalanjara and Chitrakuta from him. In the south he occupied Kanchi and Tanjore. A Chola prince named Rajaditya, son of Parantaka I, was defeated by him in the famous battle of Takkolam (North Arcot district) in 949 A.D. He also humbled the pride of the Pandyas and the Keralas, and we are told that even the King of Ceylon paid homage to him.

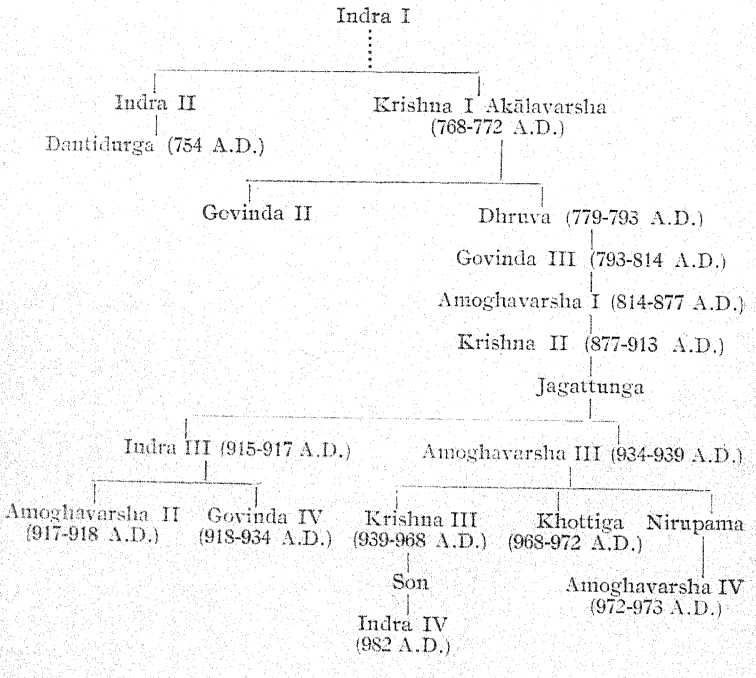
FALL OF THE RASHTRAKUTA DYNASTY

After the year 968 A.D. the fortunes of the Rashtrakutas sank to a very low level owing to the weakness of the successors of Krishna III. Manyakheta itself was plundered by the

[1] See p. 145.

Paramara King Siyaka-Harsha. Amoghavarsha IV, the last King of the dynasty, was defeated by the Western Chalukya ruler Tailapa in 973 A.D.

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE RASHTRAKUTA DYNASTY



EASTERN CHALUKYAS OF VENGI

Pulakesin II of Vatapi entrusted his younger brother Kubja-Vishnuvardhana with the government of the eastern portion of his dominions. Jayasimha I, the latter's son and successor, declared his independence. Thus an independent principality grew up with its centre at Vengi. The Eastern Chalukyas ruled over the Andhra country and some parts of Kalinga for more than four centuries. Vijayaditya II and Vijayaditya III, whose reigns covered almost the whole of the ninth century, are said to have defeated the Rashtrakutas, the Gangas, and the other neighbouring powers. Towards the last quarter of the tenth century the Eastern Chalukya Kingdom was overrun by the Chola ruler Rajaraja I. In the eleventh century the Eastern

Chalukyas entered into matrimonial relations with the Cholas. Rajendra Chola II, also known as Kulottunga I, united the Chola Kingdom with the Kingdom of Vengi.

THE KADAMBAS

The founder of the Kadamba dynasty was a Brahmin named Mayurasarman, who established a small principality in Karnataka about the middle of the fourth century A.D. The first important King of the dynasty was Kakusthavarman. Ravivarman, who ruled during the first half of the sixth century, made Halsi (Belgaum district, Bombay Presidency), his capital and secured victories against the Gangas and the Pallavas. Pulakesin I and Pulakesin II reduced the power of the Kadambas, and the Gangas conquered the southern part of their Kingdom. Some branches of the Kadamba dynasty ruled in different parts of Southern India till the close of the thirteenth century. Saivism and Jainism were the principal religions of the Kadamba territories.

THE GANGAS

It is difficult to ascertain the historical value of the legends concerning the origin of the Gangas. Their territories, generally known as Gangavadi, comprised a large part of Mysore. The dynasty was founded in the fourth century A.D. The capital was Talavanapura (Talkad on the Kaveri in the Mysore district). The greatest enemy of the Gangas was the Rashtrakuta dynasty of Manyakheta. The sovereignty of the Gangas was destroyed by the Cholas in 1004 A.D. Some Ganga Chiefs continued to rule small principalities as vassals of the Cholas and the Hoysalas. Jainism was a flourishing religion in Gangavadi.

POLITICAL HISTORY OF THE PALLAVAS

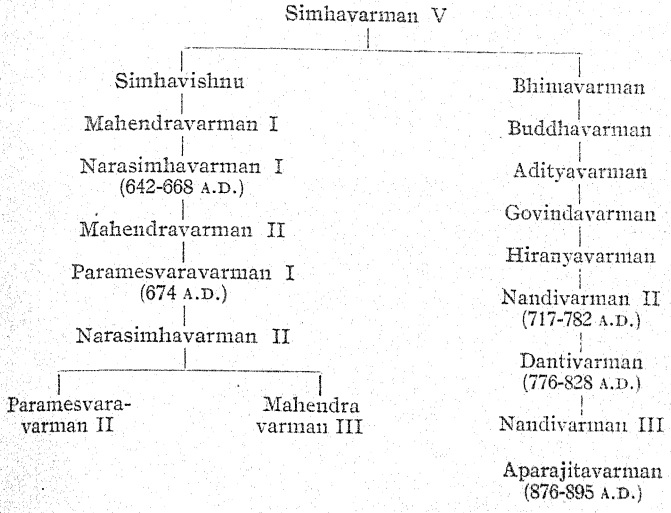
A brief account of the early history of the Pallavas has been given in a previous chapter.[1] Towards the close of the sixth century A.D. Simhavishnu founded a new dynasty and extended the Pallava Kingdom up to the Kaveri. He is said to have vanquished the Pandya, Chola, and Chera Kings, as well as the ruler of Ceylon. His son and successor, Mahendravarman I,

[1] See pp. 95-96.

whose reign roughly covered the first quarter of the seventh century, was defeated by the powerful Chalukya King Pulakesin II, who wrested from him the province of Vengi. He was succeeded by his son Narasimhavarman I, who was 'the most successful and distinguished member of this able dynasty.' In 642 A.D. he occupied Vatapi, the capital of the Chalukyas, and probably killed Pulakesin II himself. This victory made the Pallavas the dominant power in Southern India. Narasimhavarman sent two naval expeditions to Ceylon and placed a nominee of his on the throne of that island. It was during his reign that the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang visited Kanchi. He says, "The soil is fertile and regularly cultivated, and produces abundance of grain. There are also many flowers and fruits. It produces precious gems and other articles. The climate is hot, the character of the people courageous. They are deeply attached to the principles of honesty and truth, and highly esteem learning."

The rivalry between the Pallavas and the Chalukyas was a constant factor in the history of Southern India in the seventh and eighth centuries. The inscriptions of the rival dynasties claim victories for their own Kings, and it is difficult to extract the truth from their conflicting statements. Vikramaditya I, the Chalukya contemporary of Paramesvaravarman I, is said to have captured Kanchi and advanced as far south as the river Kaveri. The Pallava Kingdom was weakened by a war of succession in the second quarter of the eighth century. Vikramaditya II Chalukya occupied Kanchi soon after 733 A.D., but the Pallavas soon recovered their power. They had to fight against the Cholas, the Pandyas, and the Gangas. But they were defeated by Dantidurga, the founder of the Rashtrakuta dynasty. Epigraphic evidence indicates that Nandivarman ruled for at least 65 years. About the beginning of the ninth century Govinda III Rashtrakuta invaded the Pallava Kingdom and defeated its ruler Dantivarman (*circa* 776-828 · A.D.). Dantivarman and his successors had to fight against the Pandyas. A Pandya King was severely defeated about 880 A.D. The Pallava power was finally crushed by the Chola King, Aditya I, who defeated Aparajitavarman (*circa* 876-895 A.D.) and annexed Tondamandalam. Some Pallava Chiefs, however, continued to exist as local rulers down to the thirteenth century.

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE PALLAVA DYNASTY



RELIGION IN THE PALLAVA KINGDOM

Most of the Pallava Kings were Brahmanical Hindus devoted to the worship of Siva. Simhavishnu, the first important ruler of the dynasty, was probably a worshipper of Vishnu. Mahendravarman was at first a Jain, but about the middle of his reign he adopted the worship of Siva through the influence of Saint Appar, whose propaganda definitely improved the position of Saivism in the Pallava dominions. Mahendravarman was favourably disposed to other Hindu gods also, for he dedicated shrines to Brahma and Vishnu. In his later life, however, he became intolerant of Jainism and destroyed a large Jain monastery in South Arcot. The testimony of Hiuen Tsang proves that Buddhism was not altogether decadent in the Pallava Kingdom. At Kanchi he found hundreds of Buddhist monasteries and 10,000 Buddhist priests, all belonging to the *Mahāyāna* school. He also refers to the existence of many Nirgranthas (Jains). Vaishnavism flourished, probably due to the efforts of the Alvars, whose Tamil songs are remarkable for depth of feeling and true piety.

PALLAVA ART

Smith observes that "the history of Indian architecture and sculpture in the South begins at the close of the sixth

century under Pallava rule." Religion, as usual, supplied a powerful impetus to the development of art. Mahendravarman introduced the practice of excavating temples out of solid rocks. Narasimhavarman founded the town of Mamallapuram or Mahabalipuram, and constructed the so-called 'Seven Pagodas,' each of which is cut from a great rock boulder. The rocks at Mahabalipuram were decorated with beautiful relief sculptures. The temples built by the Pallavas are found at Dalavanur (South Arcot district), Pallavaram, Vallam (Chingleput district), Pudokottai, Trichinopoly district, and Kanchi. The Pallava school of architecture and sculpture is 'one of the most important and interesting of the Indian schools'. The Pallava style held the field in Southern India till the development of the Chola style.

LITERATURE IN THE PALLAVA KINGDOM

The Pallavas were patrons of Sanskrit. Most of their inscriptions are in Sanskrit, and even in the Tamil inscriptions the *prasasti* portions are in Sanskrit. Kanchi was a famous seat of Sanskrit learning from very early times. The temples were the centres of Sanskrit studies. Bharavi, the well-known poet who composed the *Kirātārjuniyam,* is said to have adorned the Pallava court in Simhavishnu's reign. Dandin, the celebrated author of a standard work on poetics, probably lived in the reign of Narasimhavarman II (end of the seventh century). Mahendravarman I himself was a well-known author ; he probably composed an interesting burlesque named *Mattavilāsaprahasana.*

FOR FURTHER STUDY

H. C. Raychaudhuri, *Political History of Ancient India.*

R. C. Majumdar, *History of Bengal,* Vol. I (Dacca University).

Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India.*

R. S. Tripathi, *History of Kanauj.*

R. G. Bhandarkar, *Early History of the Deccan.*

Altekar, *The Rashtrakutas and their Times.*

J. Dubreuil, *Ancient History of the Deccan.*

R. Gopalan, *History of the Pallavas of Kanchi.*

CHAPTER X

RAJPUT ASCENDANCY

SECTION I

ORIGIN OF THE RAJPUTS

IMPORTANCE OF THE RAJPUTS

V. A. Smith points out that from the eighth century onwards the Rajputs played a conspicuous part in the history of Northern and Western India. He observes, "They became so prominent that the centuries from the death of Harsha to the Muhammadan conquest of Hindostan, extending in round numbers from the middle of the seventh to the close of the twelfth century, might be called with propriety the Rajput period. Nearly all the Kingdoms were governed by families or clans which for ages past have been called collectively Rajputs."

The importance of the Rajputs does not consist merely in their political domination for centuries. In an age of Muslim aggression they were the defenders of Hindu faith, the patrons of Hindu culture, the protagonists of Hindu traditions. Tod paid an eloquent tribute to their heroism in the following words: "What nation on earth would have maintained the semblance of civilization, the spirit or the customs of their forefathers, during so many centuries of overwhelming depression, but one of such singular character as the Rajput? Rajasthan exhibits the sole example in the history of mankind, of a people withstanding every outrage barbarity can inflict or human nature sustain, and bent to the earth, yet rising buoyant from the pressure and making calamity a whetstone to courage."

CONTROVERSY ABOUT THE ORIGIN OF THE RAJPUTS

There is no agreement among modern scholars regarding the origin of the Rajputs. According to tradition, the Rajputs are the descendants of the ancient Kshatriyas belonging to the Solar and Lunar dynasties. In recent years this tradition has found an able champion in Pandit Gaurisankar Hirachand

Ojha, whose work on Rajput History (written in Hindi) has become a classic. But this tradition is rejected on historical grounds by many European and Indian scholars, whose views may be summarised in the following words: "The general thesis that some of the nobler Rajput septs are descended from Gurjaras or other foreigners, while others are closely connected with the autochthonous races, may be regarded as definitely proved."

THE TRADITIONAL VIEW

The supporters of the traditional view naturally emphasize the value of tradition, but in many cases the traditions current in Rajputana are not corroborated by epigraphic evidence. For instance, according to Mewar tradition the Ranas of Udaipur are the descendants of Rama, the hero of the *Rāmāyana*, but in the oldest inscriptions relating to the Guhilots the founder of the family is described as a Brahmin. When medieval and modern traditions cannot be reconciled with ancient epigraphs, the historian must accept epigraphic testimony in preference to tradition.

It is also pointed out by the supporters of the traditional view that the devotion of the Rajputs to the Hindu religion, and their long struggle with the Muslims in defence of Hindu faith and culture, amply demonstrate their Indian origin. Why should they fight so valiantly in defence of a religion to which they were but new converts? The advocates of the modern view point out that recent converts often show more zeal for their new religion than those among whom this religion might have taken its birth. Compare the Arabs with the Turks, and you will find the latter more zealous for the spread of Islam than the former.

Finally, anthropometric measurements taken in connection with the Census Report of 1901 show that the physical features of the Rajputs closely resemble those of the Aryans. If we accept this resemblance as a reliable test of racial affinity, we must subscribe to the traditional view regarding the origin of the Rājputs. But conclusions based on anthropometric measurements are seldom satisfactory from the historical point of view in a country like India where the mingling of different racial

elements has been a frequent phenomenon. Smith says, "I do not believe that anything worth knowing is to be learnt by measuring the skulls or noting the physical characters of individuals in a population of such mixed origin."

THE MODERN VIEW

Although Tod's great work was based primarily on the traditions current in Rajputana in his days, yet he rejected the traditional view regarding the origin of the Rajputs. He declared that the Rajputs were of Scythian origin. The theory of the foreign origin of the Rajputs is thus more than a century old. Some European and Indian scholars have strengthened it by their historical investigations.

The absorption of foreigners in Hindu society was not a novel phenomenon in the age when the Rajputs emerged from obscurity. There are historical instances showing that the Sakas entered into matrimonial relations with the Hindus.[1] The Huns, the Gurjaras, and the other allied tribes who poured into India during the fifth and sixth centuries, were surely not exterminated by the Hindus. It may be safely assumed that they gradually merged themselves within the Hindu society, just as the Greeks, the Kushans, and the Sakas had done in previous ages. The position of these foreigners in the social structure of the Hindus was determined by their occupation. Those families which carved out principalities for themselves came to be regarded as Kshatriyas or Rajputs. One of the Rajput clans mentioned by Tod bears the name 'Hun'. Sometimes change of occupation led to change of caste. For instance, the Guhilots of Mewar were originally Brahmins; they became Rajputs when they acquired political power. Such changes were not inconsistent with the ancient Hindu tradition. The *Dharmaśāstras* recognise the possibility of men of lower castes being elevated to higher castes. Even now a process of elevation is continually going on within the Hindu society.

The foreign origin of some of the Rajput clans is definitely proved by epigraphic evidence. For instance, the Gurjara-Pratiharas are described as 'sprung from the Gurjara lineage.' In some cases definite evidence is not available, but there are

[1] A Satavahana Prince married Rudradaman's daughter. See p. 101.

reasons to suspect that particular Rajput tribes are descended from the aborigines of India. Smith holds that the Chandellas were 'Hinduised Gonds'. The diversity of the cults and beliefs, manners and customs, prevalent among the Rajputs seems to indicate the diverse origin of the different clans. For instance, those Rajput tribes which are specially devoted to the worship of the Sun may be regarded as foreigners in origin, while those which worship the serpent (*Nāga*) are probably descended from the aborigines of this country.

SECTION II

THE ARAB CONQUEST OF SIND

EARLY MUSLIM RAIDS

Within a few years of Muhammad's death the Arabs made themselves masters of a vast Empire comprising Arabia, Syria, Palestine, Egypt, and Persia. According to Arnold, a leading authority on Islamic history, this wonderful expansion of the hitherto insignificant desert race was due not so much to their new-born religious spirit as to their desire to possess the lands and goods of their neighbours who were richer and more fortunate than themselves. There are other writers who think that it was 'genuine religious enthusiasm, the new strength of a faith now for the first time blossoming forth in all its purity, that gave the victory in every battle to the arms of the Arabs and in so incredibly short a time founded the greatest empire the world has ever seen.' It is probable, however, that in the case of India it was the fabulous wealth of this country rather than the desire to spread Islam that attracted the Arabs. The conquest of Persia made the transition to India a comparatively easy matter.

The first recorded Arab expedition (636-37 A.D.) was a naval enterprise intended to plunder the western coasts of India. Caliph Omar, during whose administration this expedition arrived at Thana near Bombay, disliked the sea and disapproved distant adventures. But his successors were less cautious. Under them the conquering zeal of the Arabs found better scope.

Expeditions were sent against Kirman and Makran, but military successes were not followed by annexation. Attempts were also made to occupy Afghanistan.

CONQUEST OF SIND

About the beginning of the eighth century the power of the Arabs reached its zenith. In the west their political supremacy reached Spain through North Africa ; in the west they conquered Bokhara, Khojand, Samarkand, and Farghana, and advanced as far as Kashgar. Hajjaj, who governed Iraq in the name of the Caliph, sent an army to punish the pirates of Debal (a seaport situated not very far from the town of Thatta) in Sind, who had plundered eight ships carrying presents for the Caliph sent by the ruler of Ceylon. The expedition failed, and the commander was killed. A fresh expedition, better planned and better organised, was sent under the charge of Muhammad bin Qasim.

Muhammad reached Debal in 712 A.D. and took the town by storm. A large booty fell into the hands of the conquerors, and all males of the age of 17 and upwards were killed if they refused to embrace Islam. Muhammad then proceeded towards the north, and on his way received the submission of the inhabitants of Nirun (near modern Jarak, to the south of Haidarabad). Dahir, the Brahmin King of Sind, collected a powerful army at Rawar, where, a Muslim historian says, "a dreadful conflict ensued, such as has never been heard of." Dahir died fighting, and his leaderless army suffered defeat after a valiant fight. Dahir's wife and son took shelter in the fortress of Rawar, which was defended by about 15,000 men, and resisted the onslaughts of the Muslims. When the fall of the fortress was imminent, the heroic queen and all other women living within the walls burnt themselves to escape dishonour. Muhammad occupied the fort, massacred about 6,000 men, and seized Dahir's wealth accumulated there. The army then advanced to Brahmanabad (now a ruined city to the north of Haidarabad), where the people submitted without resistance, as the inhabitants of Nirun had done. The capture of the fort of Aror (Alor) followed. The last stronghold of the Hindus was Multan, which was captured after a bitter struggle.

Muhammad's victorious career was, however, cut short, probably by the intrigues of his enemies in the Caliph's court. He was tortured to death by the order of Caliph Walid (705-715 A.D.), but the exact circumstances leading to this tragedy cannot be rescued from the myths created by later historians.

ARAB ADMINISTRATION IN SIND

The newly conquered province was divided into a number of districts (*iqtās*) held by Arab military officers on condition of military service. As regards the ordinary soldiers, some were given land, while others received fixed salaries. Land was also given to Muslim saints and heads of mosques. As a result of these measures a number of Arab military colonies gradually came into existence and some of them eventually grew into flourishing centres of commerce and culture.

The land tax and the *Jeziyah*[1] formed the principal sources of revenue. The former varied between $\frac{2}{5}$ and $\frac{1}{4}$ of the produce. There were some additional taxes, which were generally farmed out to the highest bidder.

There was no well-organised judiciary. The nobles took cognisance of all crimes committed within their jurisdiction and were entitled to inflict capital punishment in serious cases. The *Qāzīs* decided cases according to the principles of Islamic law even in cases in which the Hindus were involved. Punishments of exceptional severity were prescribed for the Hindus in certain cases. For instance, theft committed by the Hindus was punished by burning to death the members of the culprit's family. All disputes relating to marriage, inheritance, adultery etc., in which the Hindus alone were interested, were decided by the Hindus in their *panchayats*.

The conquest naturally began with the destruction of temples and the persecution of the unbelievers, but it was soon realised that Hinduism was too strong to be crushed by violence. Henceforth the Arabs pursued a policy of toleration. This policy was enunciated by Hajjaj in the following terms: "As they have made submission and have agreed to pay taxes to the

[1] Originally it was a tax levied on the *Zimmis* (non-Muslim subjects in a Muslim State) in lieu of military service.

Khalifa, nothing more can be properly required from them. They have been taken under our protection and we cannot, in any way, stretch out our hands upon their lives or property. Permission is given them to worship their gods. Nobody must be forbidden or prevented from following his own religion." At Multan Muhammad bin Qasim declared, "The temples shall be inviolate like the churches of the Christians, the synods of the Jews, and the altars of the Magians". It is difficult to say whether this declaration was faithfully obeyed by his successors.

DECLINE OF ARAB POWER IN SIND

Religious zeal and political greed united the Arabs during the early stages of the conquest, but the consolidation of their power was gradually followed by discord and disunion. Chief fought against chief ; the Sunnis persecuted the Shias and several heretical sects like the Kharijis and the Karmathians. As the power of the Caliphs declined, Sind became divided into a number of petty States which were practically independent. Towards the close of the ninth century Sind was, as a matter of fact, cut off from the Caliphate. Three centuries later Muhammad Ghuri conquered the whole of Sind—from Multan to Debal—and left it as a legacy to his successors in India.

EFFECTS OF ARAB RULE IN SIND ON INDIAN HISTORY

The Arab conquest of Sind has been described as 'an episode in the history of India and of Islam, a triumph without results'. The Arabs could not use Sind as a base for the conquest of India. Expeditions were sent against the Hindu princes of Rajputana, Gujarat, Kathiawar and Cutch ; but the Rajputs, specially the Gurjara-Pratiharas, were too strong to be vanquished. Sind under the Arabs remained an isolated unit in the political framework of India. Indeed, the extensive commercial operations carried on by the Arabs of Sind transformed this Indian province into a member of the Muslim family of nations and cut it off from the Hindu world beyond the desert of Rajputana.

Although the Arabs converted a section of the population of Sind, they could not permanently influence the language, art, traditions, customs, and manners of the country. The roads

and buildings constructed by them have not survived the ravages of time. On the other hand, the Arabs themselves were influenced to a considerable extent by their contact with Hindu civilisation. Indian music, painting, medicine, and philosophy gave many lessons to Islam in the impressionable years of its youth. It was from the Indians that the Arabs learnt the elements of astronomy. The cultural contact between the Hindus and the Arabs was rudely cut off by the fall of the Abbasid dynasty.

SECTION III

DYNASTIES OF NORTHERN INDIA

Most of the Hindu States which arose in Northern India after the death of Harsha were established by tribes claiming Rajput descent. The earliest as well as the most important of these Rajput dynasties was the Gurjara-Pratihara dynasty of Kanauj. The disintegration of the Pratihara Empire in the tenth century was followed by the rise of numerous Rajput dynasties, some of which exercised considerable power. The history of the more important dynasties is briefly described below.

THE CHAHAMANAS (OR CHAUHANS) OF SAMBHAR AND AJMER

According to the tradition preserved by the Rajput bards, the founders of the four fire-born races (*agni-kula*)—the Pratiharas, the Chahamanas, the Chaulukyas and the Paramaras—sprang from the fire-altar of the well-known sage Vasistha on Mount Abu in Rajputana. This story is not mentioned in the early inscriptions of the Chahamana dynasty. It seems that the Sakambhari (or Sambhar) region, situated on the borders of the present Jodhpur and Jaipur States, was the cradle-land of the Chahamanas. They were divided into several branches, of which the Sakambhari branch was undoubtedly the most important. Its founder was Vasudeva, but it is not possible to decide the exact time when he carved out his principality. Guvaka I was a feudatory of the Gurjara-Pratihara Emperor Nagabhata II. Guvaka II is said to have defeated and

slain a Tomara prince of the Delhi region[1]. Thus began a long struggle between the Chahamanas and the Tomaras, which ended in the occupation of Delhi by the former.

Vakpati I and Simharaja raised the prestige of the dynasty by military successes. Probably the Chahamanas completely freed themselves from the control of the Pratiharas before the reign of Vigraharaja II (*circa* 973 A.D.). He extended his conquests as far south as the Narbada and defeated Mularaja, the Chaulukya King of Gujarat. Ajayaraja defeated a general of the Paramara King of Malwa and conquered the country up to Ujjain. He was the founder of the famous city of Ajaya-meru or Ajmer. His son Arnoraja (*circa* 1139 A.D.) was defeated by Jayasimha and Kumarapala, the Chaulukya rulers of Gujarat. According to some Chahamana inscriptions, Govindaraja II, Ajayaraja and Arnoraja secured military successes against the Muslims, who may have been troops of Sultan Mahmud and his successors. The tradition of hostility against the Muslims was continued by Vigraharaja IV (*circa* 1153-1164 A.D.), who took advantage of the decline of the Yamini dynasty of the Punjab to annex the territory lying between the Sutlej and the Jumna. He also captured Delhi and the neighbouring region from the Tomaras. "The capture of Delhi and the land between the Jumna and the Sutlej made his dynasty the guardian of the gates to the Ganges-Jumna valley, and, as subsequent history shows, the Chahamanas had to bear the first shock of the revived Muslim power that was gradually issuing out from the hills of Ghur."

The last great member of the Sakambhari branch of the Chahamana family was Prithviraja III (*circa* 1179-1192 A.D.), whose name is well-known to all readers of Indian history. His career is described in detail in a Sanskrit poem entitled *Prithvīrāja-vijaya* composed probably by Jayanka, and in the famous Hindi epic, *Prithvīrāja-Rāso* of Chand Bardai. But Chand Bardai's work is of doubtful historical value. Its chro-

[1] The Tomaras (Tuars) were one of the 36 celebrated Rajput tribes. According to bardic tradition, the city of Delhi was founded in the eighth century by the Tomara prince Anangapala. The Tomaras were probably feudatories of the Gurjara-Pratiharas till the beginning of the tenth century. Then they became independent, but their power could not expand owing to the opposition of the Chahamanas. The capture of Delhi by the latter sometime before 1164 A.D. put an end to the Tomara dynasty.

nology is full of absurdities, and the famous story of Samyogita is too romantic to be true.

There are reliable references to Prithviraja's hostilities with the Chandellas of Jeja-bhukti and the Chaulukyas of Gujarat, but his claim to be regarded as the last great hero of Hindu India centres round his opposition to Muhammad Ghuri. The extinction of the Yamini dynasty of the Punjab (1186 A.D.) brought the dynasties of Ghur and Sakambhari face to face. No united effort was made by the Hindu Princes of Northern India to deal with the menace of foreign invasion. In 1191 A.D. Muhammad Ghuri met Prithviraja at Tarain. A Muslim chronicler says, "Defeat befell the army of Islam so that it was irretrievably lost". The Muslim army was, however, allowed to return to Ghazni. Muhammad Ghuri reorganized his forces and again appeared in the field of Tarain in 1192 A.D. Prithviraja was defeated, captured and killed. This disaster of the Hindus was due to the superior tactics of Muhammad, who made excellent use of his mobile cavalry.

The second battle of Tarain practically handed over the Chahamana Kingdom to the Muslims. Ajmer, Delhi and Meerut were occupied within a short time, and the troubles created by some relatives of Prithviraja were soon suppressed.

THE CHANDELLAS (OR CHANDRATREYAS) OF JEJA-BHUKTI (BUNDELKHAND)

The early history of the Chandellas is shrouded in obscurity. The descent of the family is generally traced to the Moon. The first historical person referred to in the inscriptions is Nannuka, who probably lived during the first quarter of the ninth century. Khajuraho was the earliest centre of Chandella power, and the early Princes of the dynasty were the feudatories of the Gurjara-Pratiharas. Although the official records of the Chandellas acknowledge the sovereignty of the Pratiharas till the year 954 A.D., it is probable that after the defeat of Mahipala by Indra III sometime after 915 A.D. the obedience of the Chandellas to the declining imperial power was nominal. Among the early members of the Chandella dynasty Harsha and Yasovarman were undoubtedly powerful rulers, but epigraphic references to their achievements are so vague and exaggerated that it is difficult to give concrete details about their careers.

The first great King of the dynasty was Dhanga (*circa* 954-1002 A.D.), who ruled over a considerable portion of Upper India, including Allahabad, Kalanjar, and Gwalior. He is said to have defeated many Princes of Northern India and the Deccan, but it is difficult to test the accuracy of these epigraphic statements. Some of the fine temples of Khajuraho were probably built during Dhanga's reign. He was succeeded by his son Ganda (*circa* 1002-1019 A.D.), who is identified, probably wrongly, with the powerful Prince 'Nanda', whom some Muslim chronicles describe as an antagonist of Sultan Mahmud. His son and successor, Vidyadhara, is described by Muslim chroniclers as 'the greatest of the rulers of India in territory'. He defeated and killed Rajyapala, the last ruler of the Imperial Pratihara family, and on him fell the task of defending the Ganges-Jumna valley against the invasions of Sultan Mahmud. He has been identified with the mighty Hindu Prince named 'Nanda' mentioned by the Muslim writers. The available information about 'Nanda's' encounters with Sultan Mahmud leaves no doubt that in the case of the Chandellas the great conqueror failed to repeat the success he had secured against other Hindu Princes.

The immediate successors of Vidyadhara were weak rulers, and the Chandella power was for sometime completely eclipsed by the victories of Lakshmi-Karna, the famous Kalachuri King. The power of the Chandellas was revived during the reign of Kirtivarman, whose general Gopala inflicted a severe defeat on Lakshmi-Karna. The blow dealt by the Kalachuri King was, however, so serious that the Chandella dynasty could never recover its predominant position in Northern India. The last powerful Prince of the dynasty was Madanavarman (*circa* 1129-1163 A.D.). He held sway over Kalanjar, Khajuraho, Ajaigarh and Mahoba, the four important places traditionally connected with the history of the Chandellas. He is said to have defeated the Paramara King of Malwa, the Kalachuri King of Dahala, and Siddharaja Jayasimha, the Chaulukya ruler of Gujarat. The Gahadavala King of Benares is said to have 'passed his time in friendly behaviour'. Madanavarman's grandson Paramardi (*circa* 1167-1202 A.D.) was defeated by Prithviraja III, the famous Chahamana King of Ajmer and Delhi. In 1202 A.D. Qutb-ud-din Aibak captured Kalanjar and compelled Paramardi

to 'place the collar of subjection' round his neck. His son Trailokyavarman (*circa* 1205-1241 A.D.) fought against the Muslims and probably recovered Kalanjar. Chandella Princes continued to rule over portions of Bundelkhand till the sixteenth century.

THE KALACHURIS OF THE CENTRAL PROVINCES

The Kalachuris claimed descent from the Haihaya Kshatriyas mentioned in 'Epic' and Puranic tradition. Their name appears in epigraphic records from at least the sixth century to the fifteenth century. Their principal branch, the Kalachuris of Dahala or Tripuri (modern Tewar near Jubbulpore, C. P.), traced their descent from Vishnu. The founder of the dynasty was Kokkalla (*circa* 875-925 A.D.), who probably ruled over the modern Jubbulpore Division of the Central Provinces. He formed matrimonial alliances with the Rashtrakutas and the Chandellas, and maintained friendly relations with the Gurjara-Pratiharas. The policy of contracting matrimonial alliances with the Rashtrakutas was continued for three generations. A Kalachuri King named Lakshmanaraja, who reigned during the second half of the tenth century, claims victories over the rulers of Bengal, Kosala, Gujarat, Kashmir, and the Pandya Kingdom. He may have led plundering raids into Bengal, Kosala and Gujarat, but it is difficult to connect him with Kashmir and the Pandya Kingdom. Yuvaraja II was defeated by the Paramara King Vakpati II (Munja), who occupied the capital city of Tripuri. Tripuri was soon recovered, but Taila II, the Chalukya King of Kalyani, probably defeated Yuvaraja II. His successor was probably defeated by the Chandella King Vidyadhara.

Gangeya Vikramaditya (*circa* 1030-1041 A.D.) revived the power of the Kalachuri dynasty. He is said to have defeated the rulers of Kira (in the Kangra valley), Bengal, Utkala and Kuntala. He extended his authority up to the Ganges in the north, occupying Allahabad and Benares. He was, however, defeated by the Paramara King Bhoja. His son Lakshmi-Karna (*circa* 1041-1070 A.D.) was a great conqueror. "For a time at least he dominated the whole region extending from the sources

of the Banas and the Mahi rivers in the west to the estuaries of the Hooghly in the east, and from the Ganges-Jumna valley in the north to the upper waters of the Mahanadi, Wainganga, Wardha and Tapti. Thus the mantle of imperialism which had fallen from the shoulders of the Gurjara-Pratiharas upon the Chandellas and the Paramaras was at last seized by the Kalachuris." Towards the close of his reign, however, this powerful King was defeated by Nayapala and Vigrahapala II of Bengal, by the Chandella ruler Kirtivarman, by the Paramara Prince Udayaditya, by the Chaulukya King Bhima I and by the Chalukya King Somesvara I of Kalyani.

His successor Yasah-Karna (*circa* 1073-1125 A.D.) was similarly defeated by the Paramara, Chandella and Chalukya rulers. It was probably during his reign that the Gahadavalas occupied the whole area from Benares to Kanauj, depriving the Kalachuris of some of their fairest districts in the Ganges-Jumna valley. His successor Gaya-Karna (*circa* 1151 A.D.) was probably defeated by the Chandella Prince Madanavarman. The Kalachuris of Tummana became independent and deprived Gaya-Karna of his hold over South Kosala. Very little definite information is available about his successors. During the second half of the thirteenth and the first half of the fourteenth century the Muslims extended their authority as far as the Bhanrer Range. The Kalachuris probably ruled in the Jubbulpore region till the establishment of the Gond power in that area towards the beginning of the fifteenth century.

THE GAHADAVALAS OF BENARES AND KANAUJ

The inscriptions of this dynasty trace its descent to one Yasovigraha, who does not appear to have been a person of the royal rank. The real founder of the greatness of the family was Chandra, who occupied Kanauj towards the close of the eleventh century. Benares was probably the early capital of the Gahadavalas. The extension of their power over the modern United Provinces must have been effected largely at the expense of the Kalachuris. Govindachandra (*circa* 1114-1154 A.D.) was the greatest ruler of the Gahadavala dynasty. We do not know many details about his struggle with the Yamini Sultans of the Punjab, the Pala Kings of Bihar, the Sena Kings of Bengal and

the Kalachuri Kings of Dahala. He maintained friendly relations with the Chandellas in Northern India and the Cholas in the Deccan. The struggle against the Yaminis was continued by his son Vijayachandra.

The next King Jayachchandra (*circa* 1170-1193 A.D.) is well-known to all readers of Indian history. Lakshmana Sena, the contemporary Sena King of Bengal, is said to have raised pillars of victory at Benares and Allahabad. If this claim is true, he must have defeated Jayachchandra. *Prithvīrāja-Rāso* of Chand Bardai contains the well-known story of Jayachchandra's rivalry with Prithviraja III and the romantic episode of the former's daughter Samyogita. We have already said that Chand Bardai's epic is not a reliable historical work. After the second battle of Tarain, Muhammad Ghuri's trusted general, Qutb-ud-din Aibak, invaded the Gahadavala dominions. Jayachchandra was defeated and killed in the battle of Chandwar (Etawah district, U.P.) in 1193 A.D. Asni (near Jaunpur or Fatehpur, U.P.), 'where the treasures of the Rai were deposited', was then plundered. The victorious Muslims then captured Benares and destroyed many temples.

Epigraphic evidence shows that, in spite of the capture of the chief cities of the Gahadavala Kingdom by the Muslims, Harishchandra, a son of Jayachchandra, continued to exercise independent authority over some portions of his father's dominions. Some bardic chronicles of Rajputana trace the descent of the Rathors of Jodhpur to Jayachchandra, and this tradition seems to be supported by epigraphic evidence.

THE PARAMARAS OF MALWA

Later bardic and epigraphic traditions trace the origin of the Paramaras from the mythical fire-pit on Mount Abu, but some of the earliest inscriptions of the dynasty connect it with the Rashtrakutas of the Deccan. The Paramaras appear in Gujarat as feudatories of the Rashtrakutas about the middle of the tenth century. The first historical person in the dynasty was probably Upendraraja, but Vakpatiraja I, a vassal of the Rashtrakutas, seems to have been the real founder of its greatness. The early Paramaras probably took part in the struggle between the Rushtrakutas and the Gurjara-Pratiharas. The

simultaneous decline of these two rival dynasties towards the close of the tenth century made it possible for the Paramaras to assert their independence in Malwa, where they had already transferred themselves from Gujarat.

Harsha, *alias* Siyaka II (*circa* 948-974 A.D.), was probably the first independent Paramara ruler. His successor, Vakpati II or Munja (*circa* 974-995 A.D.), was a powerful and ambitious prince. He repeatedly tried to oust the usurper Taila II from the throne of Kalyani. Yuvaraja II, the Kalachuri King of Dahala, was defeated by him. There are also references to his hostilities with the Keralas, the Cholas, the Chaulukyas of Gujarat, the Chahamanas of Nadol, and the Guhilots of Mewar. His life met with a tragic end in a war with Taila II. He was a patron of learning. Some famous scholars, including Padmagupta, the author of *Navasāhasānka-charita*, and Halayudha, the famous commentator on metrics, enjoyed his patronage. Probably Munja himself was a scholar and poet of some repute.

Bhoja (*circa* 1010-1055 A.D.), the greatest ruler of the Paramara dynasty, is famous in Indian legend and history. His military exploits are narrated in exaggerated language in contemporary inscriptions. There are authentic stories about his struggles with the Chalukyas of Kalyani and the Kalachuris of Dahala, and there are reasons to believe that in some of these Bhoja was the victor. But, as in the case of Vakpati II, his end was tragic. He died during a joint attack on his capital Dhara by Somesvara I *Ahavamalla*, the Chalukya King of Kalyani, Bhima I, the Chaulukya King of Gujarat, and Lakshmi-Karna, the famous Kalachuri King. Bhoja's relations with the Chandellas were probably unfriendly. His claim to greatness rests more on his patronage of arts and literature than on his political and military achievements. Epigraphic evidence refers to extensive building operations carried out by him. Unfortunately, however, very few specimens have survived. To this gifted King is ascribed numerous valuable works on philosophy, poetry, poetics, astronomy, architecture, medicine, grammar, lexicography, and similar subjects.

The fallen fortunes of the Paramara dynasty were revived by Udayaditya (*circa* 1058-1087 A.D.), who was probably assisted by the outbreak of a general war amongst the three allies (the Chalukyas, the Chaulukyas, and the Kalachuris)

who had overthrown Bhoja. Desperate attempts to revive the lost glory of the Paramaras were made by some succeeding members of the family ; but about the middle of the twelfth century a large portion of Paramara territory, including Ujjain, was occupied by Siddharaja Jayasimha of Gujarat. Internal dissensions aggravated the effects of those military and political disasters. Arjunavarman (*circa* 1211-1215 A.D.) was the last able Prince of the family. His successors had to stem the tide of repeated Muslim invasions. Malwa was finally conquered by the Muslims in the reign of Ala-ud-din Khalji.

THE CHAULUKYAS (OR SOLANKIS) OF GUJARAT

The Chaulukyas or Solankis ruled in Gujarat and Kathiawar for nearly three centuries and a half (*circa* 950-1300 A.D.). Some writers connect the Chaulukyas with the Chalukyas ; others, however, consider this connection dubious. Bardic traditions include the Chaulukyas among the famous *agni-kula* tribes, but Mularaja, the founder of the family, may have been the son of a princess of the Chapotkata dynasty which ruled in Gujarat during the eighth, ninth and tenth centuries.

The decline of the Gurjara-Pratiharas and the Rashtrakutas during the second half of the tenth century provided a political opportunity which was utilised by many ambitious Princes. Mularaja I (*circa* 961-996 A.D.) carved out a small principality in the Sarasvati valley and captured the city of Anhilvada (or Anahila-pataka) from the last ruler of the Chapotkata dynasty. The next powerful Prince of this dynasty was Bhima I (*circa* 1022-1064 A.D.). He fought against the Muslims of Sind, continuing in this respect the policy of his predecessors. As an ally of the Kalachuris and the Chalukyas of Kalyani he defeated Bhoja, the famous Paramara King. We are also told that he defeated the Kalachuri King Lakshmi-Karna.

Unfortunately neither the available inscriptions nor the Jain chroniclers refer to Sultan Mahmud's raid on Somnath during Bhima's reign. For the history of this important incident we must rely exclusively on Muslim sources. When Mahmud appeared before Anhilvada, Bhima I, taken by sur-

prise, probably left the city. As the mighty invader approached the gates of the great temple, the local commander also fled and took shelter in a boat on the sea. The priests, however, resisted the invader with the courage of despair. A contemporary Muslim chronicler says, "Fifty thousand infidels were killed round about the temple, and the rest who escaped from the sword embarked in ships and fled away". The conqueror plundered the temple and collected treasure valued by a modern writer at £10,500,000. We must reject the story, which made its appearance about six centuries after Mahmud's death, that he refused the priests' offer of gold in exchange of the idol, broke with a single blow of his mace 'the belly of Somnath which was hollow', and found precious stones of great value. Mahmud did not return by way of Anhilvada ; he took a less frequented route *via* Mansura. He was harassed on the way by an army sent probably by Bhima I. Mahmud did not make any attempt to capture any city or to occupy any part of Gujarat.

Bhima's successor, Karna I (*circa* 1064-1094 A.D.), had a peaceful reign. His son, Jayasimha Siddharaja (*circa* 1094-1144 A.D.), was one of the greatest Princes of his age. Epigraphic evidence shows that his dominions extended over large portions of Central India and Rajputana, besides Gujarat, Kathiawar, and Cutch. He defeated Yasovarman, the Paramara King of Malwa, and occupied some portions of the Paramara territory, including Ujjain. He also fought against the Chandellas, the Muslims of Sind, and some minor Princes. Like Bhoja Paramara he was a great builder. One of the structures attributed to him is the great artificial lake Sahasralinga at Patan. He established schools for the teaching of various *sāstras* and extended his patronage to many distinguished scholars.

Kumarapala (*circa* 1144-1173 A.D.) was a vigorous ruler. He defeated Arnoraja, the Chahamana King of Sakambhari. There are also references to his wars against the Paramaras of Malwa and Abu, the ruler of Konkan, and the Chief of Surashtra. Kumarapala was a Jain. He prohibited the slaughter of animals in his Kingdom and even sent envoys to Benares to suppress injury to animals. A reaction began in the reign of Ajayapala (*circa* 1173-1176 A.D.), who destroyed many Jain temples.

It was during the reign of Bhima II (*circa* 1178-1241 A.D.) that Muhammad Ghuri invaded Gujarat (1178 A.D.). Although Bhima was 'young in years', he had 'numerous forces and many elephants, and when the battle took place, the army of Islam was defeated and put to rout.' Muhammad Ghuri returned to Ghazni and did not threaten Gujarat for the next two decades. In 1195 A.D. Qutb-ud-din Aibak plundered Anhilvada. Two years later he led another expedition by way of Ajmer and Nadol, and temporarily occupied Anhilvada. It is also probable that Bhima II had to repel the invasions of the Paramaras of Malwa, the Chahamanas of Sakambhari, and the Yadavas of Devagiri.

These wars probably weakened the royal authority and encouraged the vassals and ministers to aim at independent authority. Towards the close of Bhima's reign Lavanaprasada, the head of the Vaghela branch of the Chaulukya family, carved out a principality round Dholka, between the Sabarmati and the Narbada. Towards the close of the thirteenth century Lavanaprasada's son Viradhavala became an independent ruler. The usurpation of the Vaghelas was completed during the reign of Visaladeva (*circa* 1244-1262 A.D.), who occupied Anhilvada and took his seat on the Chaulukya throne.

The last independent ruler of Gujarat, Karna II, ascended the throne in 1296 A.D. It was during his reign that Gujarat was annexed to Ala-ud-din Khalji's Empire.

THE GUHILOTS OF MEWAR

Although all students of Indian history are more or less familiar with the achievements of Rana Sangram Singh, Rana Pratap Singh, and Rana Raj Singh, very little authentic information is available about the early Princes of the Guhilot dynasty. Bardic tradition describes the Guhilots as the descendants of Rama, the hero of the *Rāmāyana*, but epigraphic evidence seems to indicate for them a Huna-Gurjara origin. The earliest inscriptions of the dynasty show that the ancestors of the Guhilots were originally Brahmins of foreign origin living at Anandapura in Gujarat.

The traditional founder of the dynasty is Bappa, but it is difficult to say whether Bappa is really a proper name. In the

earliest epigraphic record containing a genealogy of the family, the name of Bappa does not occur at all. The list begins with Guhadatta, from whom the word 'Guhilot' is derived. The early Princes of the dynasty probably held a small principality in the upper Sabarmati valley. Some of them were probably feudatories of the Paramaras and the Chaulukyas. When the Guhilots became fully independent we do not know, for it is difficult to trace the activities of these Princelings in the confused history of the period.

During the thirteenth century the rulers of Mewar, specially Jaitrasimha (*circa* 1213-1256 A.D.), had to resist some Muslim invasions. The culmination came in the reign of Ratnasimha. In 1303 A.D. Ala-ud-din Khalji invaded Mewar and captured the capital, Chitor.

THE SENAS OF BENGAL

The decline of the Palas was followed by the rise of the Senas in Bengal. According to epigraphic records, the Senas originally belonged to the well-known Brahma-kshatriya caste and came from Karnata (the Kanarese-speaking area in Mysore and Hyderabad States) in South India. The founder of the dynasty, Samanta Sena, is said to have settled in old age on the banks of the Ganges in Bengal, but there is no evidence to show that he was a ruling chief. A small principality was probably carved out by his son Hemanta Sena. His son, Vijaya Sena (*circa* 1095-1158 A.D.), conquered East Bengal from the Varmans and a part of North Bengal from the Palas. He may have invaded Kamarupa. He is said to have conquered Mithila and Kalinga, and one epigraphic record tells us that "his fleet in its play of conquest of the dominions in the west advanced along the course of the Ganges". He had two capitals —one at Vijayapura in Western Bengal, and one at Vikramapura in Eastern Bengal.

Vijaya Sena was succeeded by his son Ballala Sena (*circa* 1158-1179 A.D.). The final defeat of the Palas, and the completion of the conquest of North Bengal, may be ascribed to him. The traditional account of his campaign against Magadha is unsupported by epigraphic evidence. He was a learned scholar and author of repute. Two of his works, *Dānasāgara* and

Adbhutasāgara, have come down to us. He is said to have introduced social reforms of far-reaching significance, and to him is ascribed the revival of orthodox Hindu rites—probably a reaction against the prevalence of Buddhism under the Palas. Probably he ruled over the whole of modern Bengal and some portions of North Bihar.

The last notable ruler of the Sena dynasty was Lakshmana Sena (*circa* 1179-1205 A.D.), son and successor of Ballala Sena. Epigraphic records ascribe to him victories over the Kings of Gauda, Kamarupa, Kalinga, and Kasi. He is said to have planted pillars of victory at Puri, Benares, and Allahabad. It is very probable that he secured some military successes against the Gahadavalas, for the inclusion of the Gaya district in his dominions is proved by epigraphic evidence. If he really advanced up to Benares and Allahabad, it was a case of raid rather than of conquest. Towards the close of his reign the powerful Sena Kingdom was weakened by internal rebellions, which culminated in the establishment of independent principalities in South and East Bengal.

The process of disintegration was carried a step further by the invasion of Ikhtiyar-ud-din Muhammad *bin* Bakhtiyar Khalji, a Turkish soldier of fortune, who had come to India probably as a follower of Muhammad of Ghur. After the occupation of Magadha he 'led a cavalry force through unfrequented hills and jungles of Jharkhand, and by forced marches suddenly appeared before Nadiya, where Lakshmana Sena was staying at the time'. The old Sena King was probably altogether unprepared to face the daring invader. He fled to Eastern Bengal. Ikhtiyar-ud-din occupied 'Nadiya'; later on he transferred his head-quarters to Lakhnauati and established his authority in some parts of North Bengal. Lakshmana Sena continued to rule in Eastern Bengal at least for three or four years after the raid on 'Nadiya', and died sometime after 1205 A.D.

Although the success of the Turkish invader has eclipsed Lakshmana Sena's reputation, yet it must be recognised that his early career was eminently successful even from the military point of view, and we must not lose sight of his place in the cultural history of Bengal. He was a devout Vaishnava, although his predecessors were Saivas. Jayadeva, the greatest Vaishnava poet of Bengal, lived in his court. His patronage

was also enjoyed by other well-known poets, like Dhoyi, Sarana, and Govardhana. A great scholar named Halayudha was his chief minister and chief judge. Lakshmana Sena himself was an author of no mean repute. He completed his father's work, *Adbhutasāgara,* and some Sanskrit verses attributed to him are quoted in anthologies.

After Lakshmana Sena's death his two sons, Visvarupa Sena and Kesava Sena, ruled in succession. Their authority was probably confined to Eastern and Southern Bengal. There are epigraphic references to their struggle against the Muslims, but no details are available. We learn from the *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri* that the descendants of Lakshmana Sena ruled in Bengal at least up to 1245 A.D., and probably up to 1260 A.D.

"In spite of its ignoble end, the short period of Sena rule in Bengal constitutes an important landmark in its history. A succession of three able and vigorous rulers consolidated the whole province into a united and powerful kingdom such as probably it had never been since the death of Devapala three hundred and fifty years before. By their strong advocacy of the orthodox Hindu faith, the Senas helped it to attain the position of supremacy in Bengal which it had long ago secured in the rest of India. The Sena period also saw the high-water mark of development of Sanskrit literature in Bengal. . . . That Hindu society, religion, and culture in Bengal even partially succeeded in surviving the onslaughts of Islam is mainly due to the new vigour and life infused into them by the sturdy Hindu ruling family of Karnata".

SECTION IV

LATER DYNASTIES OF SOUTHERN INDIA

THE WESTERN CHALUKYAS OF KALYANI

The Western Chalukyas of Kalyani probably belonged to a collateral branch of the Chalukyas of Vatapi. Tailapa, the founder of the dynasty, was probably at first a feudatory of the Rashtrakutas. He defeated Amoghavarsha IV, the last Rashtrakuta King, and established his power on the ruins of the Rashtrakuta Kingdom. He conquered Lata (Southern Gujarat),

but his occupation of this province was temporary, for it was occupied by Mularaja Chaulukya of Anhilvada. He annexed Kuntala (the Kanarese country), and it is said that he defeated the Kalachuris and the Cholas. Vakpati-Munja, the famous Paramara King of Malwa, is said to have defeated him no less than six times, but he was eventually captured and killed by Tailapa. Tailapa died in or about 997 A.D. after a long reign of about twenty-four years.

About the beginning of the eleventh century the dominions of the Western Chalukyas were overrun by the Cholas under Rajaraja I, and Bhoja, the great Paramara King of Malwa, avenged the tragic death of his uncle by defeating the Chalukya King. Bhoja then organised a confederacy with his eastern and western neighbours—the Kalachuri King of Chedi and the Chaulukya King of Anhilvada—with a view to crush the Western Chalukyas, but this coalition was broken by Jayasimha II *Jagadekamalla* (*circa* 1015-1042 A.D.), who revived the fortunes of the Chalukyas.

Jayasimha's son and successor, Somesvara I *Ahavamalla* (1042-1068 A.D.), was a great conqueror. Bhoja had not yet recovered from the disastrous defeat inflicted on him by Jayasimha. Somesvara invaded Malwa and ravaged its chief cities—Mandu, Dhara, and Ujjain. After Bhoja's tragic defeat and death the Paramara throne was claimed by Jayasimha, whose success was mainly due to the assistance received from Somesvara. Thus the old rivalry between the Chalukyas and the Paramaras was replaced by a friendly alliance, which was undoubtedly a source of strength to the ambitious Chalukya monarch. He now turned his attention to the South and came into conflict with the Cholas. Rajadhiraja I, the famous Chola King, was killed in the battle of Koppam (1052 A.D.), and the Chalukya troops even stormed Kanchi, which was then an important seat of Chola power. Once more Somesvara diverted his attention to the North. The ruler of Kanauj submitted to him. The great Kalachuri King, Lakshmi-Karna, was defeated. Mithila, Magadha, Anga, Vanga, and Gauda were overrun; the Pala Kings were at that time too weak to repulse the triumphant Chalukya army. But in Kamarupa it found a worthy antagonist in Ratnapala, who successfully defended his

territory. Somesvara founded a new capital at Kalyana[1] (modern Kalyani in the Nizam's Dominions). Towards the close of his life he was defeated by Vira Rajendra Chola in the battle of Kudal-Sangamam. He committed suicide by drowning himself ceremoniously in the waters of the Tungabhadra[2].

Somesvara I was succeeded by his eldest son Somesvara II (1068-1076 A.D.), a tyrannical ruler who was overthrown after a brief reign by his younger brother Vikramaditya II[3] *Tribhuvanamalla* (1076-1127 A.D.). Vikramaditya (or Vikramanka) is the hero of Bilhana's *Vikramānka-charita*, one of the very few historical works in Sanskrit literature. He is undoubtedly the greatest ruler of the Western Chalukya dynasty. The military successes of Somesvara I's reign were due primarily to his leadership and enterprise. The year of his accession (1076 A.D.) is the initial year of the Chalukya era introduced by him. After his accession he successfully fought against the Chaulukyas of Anhilvada, the Cholas, and the Hoysala King Vishnuvardhana. But his long reign of half a century is no less remarkable for victories of peace. He was a patron of learning. His court was adorned by Bilhana, who was a Kashmiri, and by Vijnanesvara, the well-known author of the *Mitāksharā*, an authoritative work on Hindu law.

Vikramaditya II was succeeded by his son Somesvara III (1127-1138 A.D.), who was a patron of learning like his father, and himself an author. His suzerainty is said to have been acknowledged by the rulers of Andhra, Dravida, Magadha and Nepal. This is probably little more than conventional eulogy. His son *Jagadekamalla* II (*circa* 1138-1151 A.D.) occupied a portion of Malwa, fought against Kumarapala of Anhilvada, and kept the Hoysalas in check.

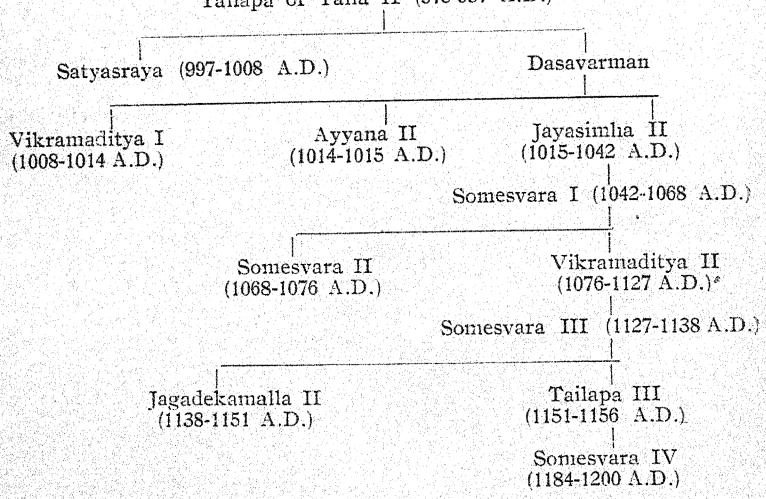
Jagadekamalla II's death was followed by the eclipse of the Western Chalukya power. In 1157 A.D. the throne of Kalyana was usurped by the Kalachuri minister of war, Vijjala or Vijjana. His reign occupies an important place in the religious history of Southern India. His minister Basava was the founder of a religious sect called *Vira Saiva* or *Lingāyat*. The followers of

[1] In 993 A.D. Tailapa's capital was Manyakheta.
[2] This practice is known as *Jalasamādhi*.
[3] He should be called Vikramaditya VI if the earlier Chalukya dynasty of Vatapi is taken into consideration.

this sect are still numerous in Mysore and the Kanarese country. It laid great stress upon *Bhakti* and preached the worship of Siva (in the *linga* form) and of his *vāhana* Nandin. The Lingayats did not recognise the authority of the Vedas and followed many anti-Brahmanical practices (*e.g.*, widow remarriage, renunciation of the sacred thread, etc.).

Towards the close of the twelfth century Somesvara IV, a Chalukya Prince, recovered a considerable portion of his ancestral dominions. The rise of the Yadavas of Devagiri, and the hostility of the Hoysalas, brought ruin upon the Western Chalukya dynasty.

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE WESTERN CHALUKYA DYNASTY



THE YADAVAS OF DEVAGIRI

The Yadavas claimed descent from Yadu, the ancestor of Sri Krishna, and an elaborate account of their genealogy is found in literature and inscriptions. They established their political power as feudatories under the Rashtrakutas and the Western Chalukyas. They came into prominence after the decline of the Western Chalukyas. Bhillama V, the first notable Yadava ruler, wrested from Somesvara IV a large part of the Chalukya territory to the north of the Krishna. He was, however, defeated, and perhaps killed, by the Hoysala King Vira

Ballala I. It was Bhillama who established his capital at Devagiri (modern Daulatabad in the Nizam's Dominions), which henceforth became one of the most important cities of Southern India.

The next King, Jaitrapala I or Jaitugi (*circa* 1191-1210 A.D.), placed his own nominee on the Kakatiya throne, and thereby extended the political influence of the Yadava dynasty. His son Singhana (*circa* 1210-1247 A.D.) was the greatest ruler of the Yadava dynasty. He defeated the Hoysala King Vira Ballala II and pushed the boundary of his dominions beyond the Krishna. He invaded Gujarat more than once in the time of the Vaghela Princes. He conquered the Silhara principality of Kolhapur. He also fought successfully against several neighbouring princes, like the rulers of Malwa and Chattisgarh (in C.P.), the Kadambas of Goa, and the Pandyas. He erected a column of victory on the Kaveri. During his reign a large part of Southern India came under the political control of the Yadavas. Like other great rulers of ancient India Singhana was a patron of learning. His court was adorned by Sarangadhara, who wrote a standard work on music, and by Changadeva, a celebrated astronomer, who founded a school for the study of astronomy.

The literary tradition established by Singhana was continued by his successors. Some well-known poetical and religious works were composed by scholars enjoying the patronage of the Yadava Kings. Hemadri, a well-known writer on *Dharmasāstra,* and Jnanesvara, a great Marathi saint who wrote a Marathi commentary on the *Gitā,* were patronised by Ramachandra (*circa* 1271-1309 A.D.), the last great ruler of the Yadava dynasty. It was during his reign that Ala-ud-din Khalji invaded Devagiri. The Yadava dynasty came to an inglorious end soon after Ramachandra's death.

THE HOYSALAS OF DVARASAMUDRA

Like the Yadavas, the Hoysalas[1] claimed descent from the ancient family established by Yadu. They were at first

[1] It is said that Sala, the founder of the dynasty, killed a tiger with an iron rod at the order of a saint. This circumstance (*Poy* Sala, *i.e.*, strike, Sala) is said to have been the source of the family name, *Poysala* or *Hoysala.*

feudatories under the Cholas or the Western Chalukyas, and ruled over a small principality in Mysore. The first notable ruler of the dynasty was Vishnuvardhana (*circa* 1110-1140 A.D.), who transferred the capital from Velapura (modern Belur, Hasan district, Mysore) to Dvarasamudra (modern Halebid). His military successes established his authority over a large tract of land, comprising almost the whole of Mysore and some adjoining districts. He is said to have defeated the Cholas, the Pandyas, the people of Malabar and South Kanara, and the Kadambas of Goa, and we are told that he advanced as far as the river Krishna. It is difficult to determine the historicity of these exploits, but there is no doubt that Vishnuvardhana was a powerful King. His aggressive policy was, however, resisted successfully by the Western Chalukya King Vikramaditya II. He came into close contact with Ramanuja and was attracted towards Vaishnavism.

Vishnuvardhana's grandson, Vira Ballala I (*circa* 1172-1215 A.D.), openly assumed sovereign titles, renounced the suzerainty of the Western Chalukyas, and defeated a general of Somesvara IV. The Yadava ruler Bhillama V was also defeated by him. His son and successor, Vira Ballala II, was defeated by Singhana, who extended the Yadava power beyond the Krishna.

The later Hoysala rulers were weakened by continuous warfare with the Cholas and the Pandyas. The last King, Vira Ballala III, lost his Kingdom as a result of Muslim invasion. The Hoysalas are still remembered as great builders of temples, some of which are still standing at Halebid and other places.

THE KAKATIYAS OF WARANGAL

The Kakatiyas claimed descent from the Solar race of the Kshatriyas mentioned in the *Rāmāyana*, but epigraphic evidence indicates that they were Sudras. Like the Yadavas and the Hoysalas they started their political career as feudatories of the Western Chalukyas. After the downfall of the suzerain power they assumed independence and ruled in Telingana (in the eastern part of the Nizam's Dominions) until its conquest by the Bahmani Sultan Ahmad Shah in or about 1425 A.D.

The first powerful ruler of the Kakatiya dynasty was Prolaraja (*circa* 1117 A.D.), who secured military successes against the

Western Chalukyas. Ganapati (*circa* 1199-1261 A.D.) was the greatest of the Kakatiya Kings. He is said to have defeated the Cholas as well as the rulers of Kalinga, Devagiri, Karnataka and Lata (Southern Gujarat). The weakness of his Chola contemporaries provided him with an excellent opportunity of political aggrandisement. He was succeeded by his daughter Rudramba, who governed the Kingdom successfully for about thirty years. Her successor, Prataparudra, submitted to Ala-ud-din Khalji. During the reign of Ghiyas-ud-din Tughluq, the Kakatiya Kingdom was subjugated by the Muslims. The Kakatiyas lost their political importance, but they continued to rule some portions of their ancestral Kingdom until the aggressive policy of the Bahmani Sultanate put an end to their political existence.

EARLY POLITICAL HISTORY OF THE CHOLAS

A brief account of the early history of the Cholas has been given in a previous chapter.[1] The decline of the Pallavas in the ninth century[2] provided an excellent opportunity which was fully utilised by the Cholas. Their fallen fortunes were restored by Vijayalaya (*circa* 846-871 A.D.), who probably began his reign in the neighbourhood of Uraiyur as a vassal of the Pallavas, but later on captured Tanjore from some subordinate allies of the Pandyas. Henceforth Tanjore became the capital of the Chola Kingdom. His son, Aditya I (*circa* 871-907 A.D.), was a powerful monarch. He defeated the Pallava King Aparajitavarman and annexed Tondamandalam. He is also said to have occupied Talkad, the capital of the Western Gangas. At the time of his death the Chola Kingdom extended from modern Madras in the north to the Kaveri in the south. During the reign of Parantaka I (907-953 A.D.) the Pandya territories were annexed, and the Pandya King Rajasimha had to take shelter in Ceylon. The victorious Chola monarch invaded Ceylon, but the expedition was unsuccessful. He then exterminated the remnants of the Pallava power and extended his authority as far as Nellore in the north. The Rashtrakutas took alarm at the rapid expansion of

[1] See p. 96.

[2] When the Cholas occupied the Pallava territory Kanchi became a subsidiary capital of the Chola Kingdom.

the Chola Power. Krishna III, assisted by the Ganga King, defeated the Cholas, killed Parantaka's eldest son Rajaditya in the battle of Takkolam (North Arcot district) in 949 A.D., and probably occupied Tanjore and Kanchi as well. The Cholas were temporarily crushed by this terrible blow, and for about three decades they could not recover the lost ground.

PERIOD OF CHOLA GREATNESS

It was Rajaraja I (*circa* 985-1016 A.D.) who once more placed the Cholas in a coveted position and almost earned for them the proud suzerainty of the South. He destroyed the naval power of the Cheras and brought the Chera Kingdom under his own suzerainty. Madura was occupied, and the Pandya King was captured. An invasion of Ceylon resulted in the occupation of the northern part of the island, which became a Chola province. A large portion of Mysore was conquered. Rajaraja's victories brought him into conflict with the Western Chalukyas. The Chola King overran the Chalukya territory, but he was eventually repulsed by Satyasraya. Rajaraja then invaded the Eastern Chalukya Kingdom of Vengi. His overlordship was acknowledged by Vimaladitya (1011-1018 A.D.) of Vengi, who gave his daughter in marriage to the conqueror. Rajaraja is further credited with the conquest of Kalinga and the occupation of 'the old islands of the sea numbering 12,000', which are usually identified with the Laccadives and the Maldives. His dominions included almost the whole of the modern Madras Presidency, parts of Mysore, Coorg, the northern part of Ceylon, and other 'islands of the sea'. He possessed a powerful fleet, and with its help he laid the foundations of the maritime Empire of the Cholas.

RAJENDRA CHOLA I

The Chola power was raised to its summit by Rajendra Chola I (*circa* 1016-1044 A.D.), Rajaraja's able son and successor. He had proved his worth as a conqueror during the closing years of his father's reign by successful raids across the Tungabhadra. Soon after his accession he conquered the whole of Ceylon. He entrusted to his son the viceroyalty of the Pandya and Kerala territories, thereby bringing that region under effective subjuga-

tion. The result of his struggle with the Western Chalukya King Jayasimha II cannot be precisely determined, but the territory to the north of the Tungabhadra remained under the control of the latter.

Rajendra Chola's ambition was not confined within the narrow limits of Southern India. Like the Rashtrakutas he directed his arms towards the North and secured victories which have immortalised his name. His army marched as far as the Ganges and overran the dominions of Mahipala, the Pala King of Bengal and Bihar. This expedition probably took place some time between 1021 and 1025 A.D. A Chola inscription tells us that Rajendra subjugated Orissa, South Kosala (in modern C.P.), Balasore, Midnapur, South and North Radha and Eastern Bengal. His troops may have devastated these regions, but we definitely know that he did not annex them to his own dominions. The only tangible results of his grand expedition were the settlement of some Carnatic Chieftains in Western Bengal, and possibly, the importation of some Saivas from the North to the South. In commemoration of his victories in the Gangetic delta Rajendra assumed the proud title of *Gangāikonda* and founded a new capital called Gangaikonda-Cholapuram (modern Gangakundapuram). An immense tank was excavated near the city; it was filled with water by channels from the Kolerun and Vellar rivers. The proud city is now a heap of ruins, and the bed of the magnificent tank is now a thick forest.

Like his father, Rajendra possessed a powerful fleet, which crossed the Bay of Bengal and conquered Pegu as well as the Andaman and Nicobar islands. The naval enterprises of the Cholas in the east were probably intended to promote commercial intercourse between South India on the one hand and Burma and the Malay Peninsula on the other.[1] On the west Rajendra maintained his hold on 'the old islands of the sea' conquered by his father.

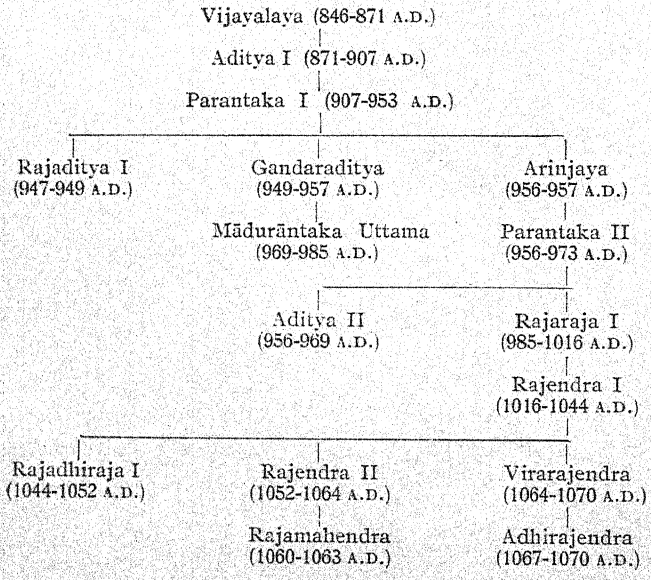
CHOLA-CHALUKYA RIVALRY

Rajadhiraja I (*circa* 1044-1052 A.D.), Rajendra Chola's son and successor, was an able ruler. He suppressed rebellions in

[1] See p. 199.

the Pandya and Kerala territories as well as in Ceylon, and celebrated his victories by the performance of an *Asvamedha* sacrifice. But his hostility with the Western Chalukya monarch, Somesvara I *Ahavamalla*, ended in a disaster: he lost his life in the battle of Koppam (1052 A.D.). His brother, Rajendra II (*circa* 1052-1064 A.D.), was crowned in the battle-field. He continued the struggle against Somesvara. While the Chola inscriptions claim victories for him, Bilhana declares that his patron stormed Kanchi. The same story was repeated in the reign of Vira Rajendra (*circa* 1064-1070 A.D.), who is said to have severely defeated Somesvara in the battle of Kudal-Sangamam (Kurnool district), near the confluence of the Krishna and the Tungabhadra. He also defeated Vikramaditya II, Somesvara's younger son, and restored his obedient ally Vijayaditya II to the throne of Vengi. He then subdued rebellions in the Pandya and Kerala territories. Vijayabahu of Ceylon made an attempt to liberate Ceylon from the Chola yoke, but Vira Rajendra successfully resisted him. The Chola monarch then sent a naval expedition to the East Indies.

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE IMPERIAL CHOLAS



THE CHOLA-CHALUKYA DYNASTY

After Vira Rajendra's death there was confusion in the Chola Kingdom, resulting in the death of his son Adhirajendra and the usurpation of the throne by Kulottunga I (*circa* 1070-1122 A.D.), through whose veins flowed the blood of the two great Southern dynasties, the Cholas and the Chalukyas. He united the Kingdoms of the Cholas and the Eastern Chalukyas under one sceptre. Vengi became a province of the Chola Kingdom, and it was usually governed by Princes of the royal blood. Like his Chola predecessors Kulottunga suppressed rebellions in the Pandya and Kerala territories. He fought against the Paramaras of Malwa and twice overran Kalinga. But he failed to maintain his hold on Gangavadi (Southern Mysore), where the Hoysalas were gradually rising into prominence. It is also probable that he lost the overseas possessions of the Cholas. Kulottunga is still remembered as an administrative reformer. One of his most remarkable achievements was the excellent arrangement made by him for surveying the land for taxation and revenue purposes.

Kulottunga was followed by a succession of weak rulers who failed to keep the extensive Chola Kingdom in tact. Ceylon, Kerala, and the Pandya Kingdom gradually shook off Chola authority. In the reign of Rajaraja III (*circa* 1216-1246 A.D.) Tanjore itself was sacked by the Pandya King, and the unfortunate Chola monarch was rescued from captivity by the Hoysalas. As the power of the Cholas declined the Hoysalas, the Kakatiyas, and the Pandyas divided their territories among themselves. During the reign of Rajendra IV (1246-1279 A.D.) Jatavarman Sundara Pandya overran the Chola territory and occupied Kanchi. The Cholas could not recover from this shock. Many subordinate Chiefs set up autonomous principalities, and the mighty kingdom of Rajendra Chola resolved itself into fragments.

CHOLA ADMINISTRATION

The inscriptions of the Chola Kings supply many interesting details about their system of administration. The Kingdom was divided into a number of provinces, some of which were governed by Princes of the royal blood ; in addition, there were

the principalities of the vassal Chiefs, who paid tribute and rendered military service in time of war. The provinces (*Mandalam*) were subdivided into divisions (*Kottam, Valanādu*), which were further subdivided into districts (*Nādu*). A district was composed of groups of villages (*Kurram*). The lowest unit of administration was the village.

Perhaps the most remarkable feature of the administrative system of the Cholas was a series of popular assemblies. There are references to the assembly of the people of a whole province. Districts and towns (*Nagaram*) had their own assemblies. Very little information is, however, available about the constitution and functions of these assemblies. The assemblies of the villages were of various types. In the *Ur* the local people assembled to discuss important matters without any formal rules or procedure. The *Sabhā* (or *Mahāsabhā*) was an assembly of the Brahmin villages. Under the supervision and general control of the royal officials the *Sabhās* enjoyed full powers in all the departments of local administration. They owned the village lands. They collected taxes. They disposed of petty criminal cases. They controlled primary education. All members were elected by lot, and held office for one year only. The meetings of the assembly were held in a temple or in a public hall.

The cultivated lands were carefully surveyed and all holdings were properly registered 'at least a century before the famous Domesday record of William the Conqueror'. The royal dues normally amounted to one-sixth of the gross produce, and were paid either in cash or in kind or in both. There were various imposts, *e.g.*, those levied on looms, oil mills, tanks, animals, markets, etc. Even an experienced Anglo-Indian administrator like Smith admits that "the administrative system was well thought out and reasonably efficient."

RELIGION OF THE CHOLAS

The Cholas were Brahmanical Hindus devoted to the worship of Siva. Some of them, like Rajaraja, built temples of Vishnu ; but Kulottunga I's hostility towards Vaishnavism compelled the celebrated Vaishnava reformer Ramanuja to take shelter in the Hoysala territories. Jainism and Buddhism were on the decline, but some Buddhist monasteries received gifts

from the Chola Kings. Generally, however, the royal gifts were monopolised by the Brahmins.

CHOLA ART

"The art of the Chola period is the continuation of that of Pallava times." The best examples of Chola architecture are the huge temples of Tanjore and Gangaikonda-Cholapuram. The figure sculpture in some of the temples is excellent. The chief features of the temples are the *vimānas* or towers, which were later on eclipsed by the richly ornamented *gopurams* or gateways.

The Cholas undertook extensive and fruitful irrigation works and built excellent roads.

THE PANDYAS

The early history of the Pandyas has been referred to in a previous chapter[1]. The greatness of the Pandyas began about the close of the sixth or the beginning of the seventh century A.D. The first great ruler of the Pandya Kingdom was Kadungon, whose history is still obscure. During the eighth century the territory of the Pandyas expanded on all sides at the expense, specially, of the Cholas and the Keralas. Sri-Mara-Sri-Vallabha (*circa* 815-862 A.D.) is said to have defeated the King of Ceylon as well as the Cholas, the Pallavas, and the Gangas. The Pallava King Aparajitavarman inflicted a crushing defeat on Varagunavarman about 880 A.D. The Chola King Parantaka I defeated Maravarman Rajasimha II, compelled him to take refuge in Ceylon, and occupied the Pandya territories.

For the next three centuries the Pandya Kingdom remained under the control of the Cholas, although the dispossessed Pandya Kings made frequent attempts to recover the lost ground. Rajendra Chola I reduced the Pandya Kingdom to the position of a mere province of the Chola Empire and appointed his son to govern this important province. As the Cholas lost their power after the death of Kulottunga I, the power of the Pandyas revived. The reign of Jatavarman Kulasekhara (*circa* 1190-1216 A.D.) may be regarded as an important land-mark in

[1] See pp. 96-97.

the history of the Pandyas. The revival begun under him was continued under Maravarman Sundara Pandya I (*circa* 1216-1238 A.D.), who overran the Chola Kingdom and plundered the cities of Tanjore and Uraiyur. The zenith of Pandya power was reached in the reign of Jatavarman Sundara Pandya (*circa* 1251-1272 A.D.), who crushed the political authority of the Cholas, occupied Kanchi, and subdued the Chera country as well as Ceylon. He defeated the Hoysalas, the Kakatiyas, and the Pallavas. These victories extended his dominions as far as Cuddapah and Nellore in the north. He performed many sacrifices.

Marco Polo, the well-known Venetian traveller, visited the Pandya Kingdom towards the close of the thirteenth century. He recorded many interesting details about the political, social, and economic conditions of the Pandya Kingdom at the height of its power. Kayal, on the river Tamraparni, was 'a great and noble city', a flourishing commercial centre. The King possessed immense wealth. These statements are confirmed by the Muslim writer Wassaf.

A war of succession in the Pandya Kingdom was the immediate occasion of Malik Kafur's invasion, which resulted in the downfall of the Pandya monarchy.

FOR FURTHER STUDY

H. C. Ray, *Dynastic History of Northern India,* Vol. II.

R. C. Majumdar, *History of Bengal,* Vol. I (Dacca University).

K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *The Cholas.*

K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *The Pandyan Kingdom.*

CHAPTER XI

INDIA AND HER NEIGHBOURS

It has been pointed out above[1] that the natural frontiers of India never isolated her from the rest of the world. It is probable that the neolithic inhabitants of India emigrated, both by land and sea, to Indo-China and the Indian Archipelago and played a leading part in the ancient history of South-Eastern Asia. There are good reasons to believe that the pre-historic civilisation of the Indus valley was closely connected with the contemporary civilisation of Western Asia[2]. Some scholars think that the Dravidians were immigrants from Western Asia.[3] The Aryans most probably came to India either from Central Asia or from some European country.[4] Even in the remote past India had trade relations with Mesopotamia, Syria and Egypt.

INDIA AND WESTERN ASIA

During the fourth century B.C. India established close contact with Western Asia. The invasions of Alexander the Great and Seleukos, followed by the establishment of a Greek embassy at Pataliputra, prepared the way for Asoka's missionary activities in Western Asia, Northern Africa, and South-Eastern Europe.[5] The Bactrian Greeks brought Hellenism to India and themselves succumbed to Indian influence in religion and culture.[6] Rome influenced India in the age of the Kushans, and about 26 B.C. a Pandya King sent a mission to Augustus.[7] In the first century A.D. the author of *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* recorded a graphic account of the trade relations between India and the Western countries. In those days some islands of the Arabian Sea, including Socotra, had colonies of Indian merchants. When the Islamised Arabs established their

[1] See pp. 3-4.
[2] See p. 30.
[3] See pp. 25-26.
[4] See p. 31.
[5] See pp. 82-83.
[6] See pp. 98-99, 107-108.
[7] See pp. 97, 103, 104.

political predominance they carried on an active trade with India. After the conquest of Sind they imbibed much of Indian learning and culture, and Indian medicine and the decimal notation in Arithmetic were carried by them from India to Europe.[1]

INDIA AND CENTRAL ASIA

The archaeological discoveries of Sir Aurel Stein in Central Asia have revealed ruins of Buddhist *stupas* and monasteries, images of Buddhist and Brahmanical gods, and many manuscripts written in Indian languages and scripts. It seems that during the Kushan period[2] and afterwards Buddhism was accepted by the nomadic peoples of Central Asia. There is also evidence to show that flourishing Indian colonies were established in the Khotan area. Buddhism as well as Indian culture survived in Central Asia till the days of Hiuen Tsang. The Mongols, who knocked at the north-western gates of India in the thirteenth century, professed a debased form of Buddhism. Far-reaching physical and historical changes in Central Asia have obliterated all traces of Indian influence in that vast area.

INDIA AND THE FAR EAST

Buddhism spread to China in the first century A.D.[3] Many Chinese scholars and religious enthusiasts came to India, both by land and sea, to collect Buddhist scriptures and images and to take lessons on Buddhism from Indian masters. Indian scholars also went to China as missionaries and helped their Chinese brethren in understanding and translating Buddhist scriptures.[4] The number of Buddhist texts translated into Chinese must have been very large ; we have many Chinese translations whose originals are not available in India. Buddhism also spread to Korea and Japan. Between India and China there was a regular traffic by way of the sea. There was

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[1] See p. 166.
[2] See p. 106.
[3] See p. 106.
[4] See pp. 123-124.

also political contact between these countries.[1] We may be sure that there were commercial relations too, although details are not available.

INDIA AND TIBET

Buddhism was introduced into Tibet by a powerful King named Srong-tsan Gampo[2] in the seventh century. He also introduced Indian alphabets used in Khotan. Thus a new era began in the cultural history of Tibet. The Pala Kings of Bengal maintained close friendly relations with Tibet. A great Bengali Buddhist monk, Atisa Dipamkara, went to Tibet in the eleventh century and helped towards the reform of Buddhism there. Many Tibetan monks came to India and studied in the monasteries of Nalanda[3] and Vikramasila. Many sacred texts of Buddhism were translated into Tibetan.

INDIA AND BURMA

It is probable that long before the first century A.D. large Hindu colonies were founded in Burma, both in the coastal region as well as in the interior. Although authentic details about these colonies are not available, yet there is substantial evidence in favour of the conclusion that "the entire culture and civilisation of Burma was of Indian origin, and although the Chinese were nearer neighbours of the Burmese, and more allied to them in blood and speech, they exercised no influence, worth speaking of, in this direction".

The principal inhabitants of Lower Burma are called Mons or Talaings. The name 'Talaing' probably reminds us of Telingana, although it is certain that all Indian colonists in Lower Burma did not come from that region. The Hinduised Talaing settlements were known collectively as Ramannadesa. To the north of the Talaing area in Lower Burma the Hinduised Pyus established a Kingdom with Srikshetra (modern Hmawza, near Prome) as its capital. The chronicles of Arakan refer to several Indian royal dynasties. There is epigraphic evidence to show that Buddhism, as well as Indian immigrants, were introduced

[1] See pp. 131-132, 136, 137.
[2] See p. 135.
[3] See p. 140.

in Arakan in the early centuries of the Christian era. In the fifteenth century a Buddhist King of Arakan, driven by the Burmese, fled to Bengal and afterwards regained his Kingdom with the help of the Sultan of Gaur.

The small principality of Pagan in Central Burma, founded in the ninth century, was raised into a powerful Kingdom by King Anawratha or Aniruddha (1044-77 A.D.). During his reign the Burmese adopted the religion and script of the Mons, which were Indian in origin. His son Kyanzittha (1084-1112 A.D.) maintained close contact with India and extended his patronage to many Buddhist and Vaishnava immigrants. Under the powerful rulers of Pagan Brahmanical Hinduism gradually disappeared in Burma and the *Theravāda* form of Buddhism became the dominating faith.

INDIA AND THAILAND

Thailand (or Siam) became the land of the Thais in the thirteenth century. For about one thousand years before the establishment of their power the country was inhabited largely by Hindu colonists. There were several Hindu colonies, none of which developed into a powerful Kingdom. But Indian religious and sacred texts as well as Indian language and literature exercised a predominant influence over the early civilisation of Thailand.

The Thais originally lived in southern and south-eastern China, where they established a powerful principality in the territory now known as Yunnan. This territory was called Gandhara, and a part of it was called Mithila. The Thais of Gandhara used an alphabet of Indian origin and were converted to Buddhism by Indian missionaries. Gandhara was conquered by Kublai Khan in 1253 A.D.

After the conquest of Siam the Thais succumbed to the Indian culture which they found flourishing in that country. The first important Kingdom established by them was called Sukhodaya ; its predominance was later on challenged by the Kingdom of Ayodhya. The rulers and peoples of both these Kingdoms were Buddhists, and Pali was their sacred language. The art of Siam was inspired by Indian ideas and technique.

INDIA AND THE MALAY PENINSULA

There were several Hindu colonies in the Malay Peninsula during the first five centuries of the Christian era. There are scanty remains of Hindu and Buddhist shrines, as well as a large number of inscriptions written in Sanskrit, in different parts of the peninsula. The report of the Archaeological Mission observes, "The available evidence justifies the assumption that the region around the Bay of Bandon was a cradle of Further Eastern culture, inspired by waves of Indian influence. . . ."

INDIA AND JAVA

The beginnings of Hindu colonisation of Java may be traced to the first century A.D. In 132 A.D. King Devavarman of Java sent an embassy to China. In the fifth or sixth century A.D. there was a powerful Hindu Kingdom in Western Java. In Central Java there was a Hindu Kingdom called Ho-ling or Kalinga. The powerful Kingdom of Mataram (in Central Java) arose about the beginning of the eighth century A.D. The expansion of the Sailendra Empire and, possibly, a volcanic eruption or violent epidemic gradually shifted the centre of political and cultural gravity to Eastern Java. The rise of Eastern Java may be said to have begun during the reign of Sindok (*circa* 929-47 A.D.). Towards the beginning of the eleventh century his Kingdom was destroyed by a calamity (*pralaya*), the exact nature of which is still unknown. After a long period of disruption political unity was restored in Java in the thirteenth century. During the reign of King Rajasa-nagara (1350-89 A.D.) Majapahit became the centre of a power-ful and prosperous Empire. Java lost its political power and importance in the fifteenth century as a result of civil war, volcanic eruption and famine. Early in the sixteenth century the Muslims established their ascendancy in Java.

INDIA AND SUMATRA

The earliest Hindu Kingdom in Sumatra, known as Sri-Vijaya (Palembang), was founded about the fourth century A.D. and became very powerful towards the close of the seventh century A.D. I-tsing, the well-known Chinese traveller,

describes Sri-Vijaya as a great centre of Buddhist learning. Another Hindu Kingdom in Sumatra, called Malayu (modern Jambi), which once formed a part of Sri-Vijaya, became powerful after the fall of the Sailendra Empire and of Java. Marco Polo's account shows that Malayu was a prosperous commercial centre towards the close of the thirteenth century. The account of Ibn Batuta, who visited Sumatra towards the middle of the fourteenth century, reveals the rising influence of Islam in that island.

INDIA AND BORNEO

Epigraphic evidence proves the existence of Hindu colonies in Borneo in the fourth century A.D. Brahmanical Hinduism was the dominant religion and the Brahmins formed an important element in the population. Antiquities pointing towards India have been discovered at Muara Kaman (on the Mahakam river) and in the cave of Kombeng.

INDIA AND BALI

The island of Bali is the only surviving Hindu colony in the Far East: Islam has failed to establish its hold there. A prosperous Hindu Kingdom existed in Bali as early as the sixth century A.D. I-tsing refers to the prevalence of Buddhism in Bali. For several centuries Bali formed a part of the dominions of the Javanese Kings. The Dutch established their suzerainty over Bali in 1839 and the reign of the last Hindu King came to an end in 1911.

THE SAILENDRA EMPIRE

In the eighth century A.D. most of the small States in the islands of the Far East were united under the sceptre of a powerful dynasty known as the Sailendras. The Hindu Kingdoms of Sumatra, Java and the Malay Peninsula formed parts of the Sailendra Empire. Probably the original centre of their power was either in Java or in the Malay Peninsula. Several Arab writers refer to the Sailendra Empire as *Zabag* or *Zabaj* (the Empire of *Mahārāja*) and give a glowing account of its prosperity. It was the leading naval power in Indonesia.

The decline of this powerful Empire began in the ninth century A.D. with the loss of Kambuja and Java. In the eleventh century A.D. the Sailendras were engaged in a long struggle with the Cholas[1]. Rajendra Chola sent a successful naval expedition against his Sailendra rival and established his authority on the eastern coast of Sumatra as well as the central and southern districts of the Malay Peninsula. His successors maintained their hold on the far off oversea dominions for about half a century ; but towards the close of the eleventh century the Cholas gave up the attempt to dominate over Indonesia. The Empire created by the Sailendras gradually recovered its former position, but no definite information about the dynasty itself is available from the twelfth century onwards. In the thirteenth century a successor of the Sailendras, named Chandrabhanu, led two naval expeditions against Ceylon. About 1264 A.D. he was defeated and killed by the Pandya King Jatavarman Vira Pandya. Towards the close of the fourteenth century the remnants of the Sailendra Empire were conquered by Java. The last Hindu ruler of this once powerful Empire embraced Islam in 1474 A.D.

The Sailendras not only gave political unity to a large part of Indonesia ; their patronage developed its culture and gave it a new shape. The *Mahāyāna* form of Buddhism received a new vigour. Splendid monuments such as Chandi Kalasan and Barabudur in Java testified to the progress of art. A new kind of alphabet was introduced.

The Sailendras had friendly relations with the Palas of Bengal. Towards the close of the eighth century a Bengali scholar named Kumaraghosha was the religious preceptor of the Sailendra Kings. About the middle of the ninth century Balaputradeva built a monastery at Nalanda, the expenses of which were met from the revenues of five villages granted by Devapala.[1]

A SURVEY OF THE HINDU COLONIES

As regards religion, both Brahmanical Hinduism and Buddhism were prevalent in the Hindu colonies mentioned above. In Java the former established its ascendancy as early

[1] See pp. 187-188.
[2] See p. 144.

as the eighth century. Siva was the principal god worshipped there, although almost all the gods of Hindu pantheon were known. So far as Buddhism is concerned, the *Hīnayāna* form was predominant in the seventh century A.D., but under the Sailendra dynasty the *Mahāyāna* form almost ousted it from Sumatra and Java. Java became an important centre of Buddhistic studies and attracted great scholars like Atisa Dipamkara. The close association of Buddha with Siva was an important characteristic of the religious life of this island.

In this connection reference may be made to old Javanese literature. Its greatest monument is the *Rāmāyana,* which is an independent work, not a translation of the 'Epic' attributed to Valmiki. There is also a prose translation of the *Mahābhārata.* These works popularised the great Indian 'Epics' in Java and prepared the ground for the composition of numerous works dealing with kindred subjects.

The social life of the Hindu colonies was generally based on the Indian pattern. The caste system was well established in Java and Sumatra. There are references to the four traditional castes, but marriage among different castes was not prohibited. Untouchability was unknown ; but the slaves formed a distinct caste in Bali. In that island the burning of widows was prevalent, except among the Sudras.

Art, as in India, was the hand-maid of religion. Unfortunately, fairly preserved religious structures have survived only in Java ; in other islands there are ruins, but they are not of much historical value. There are several groups of Brahmanical and Buddhist temples in Central Java. The colossal structure known as Barabudur was probably constructed within the period 750-850 A.D. under the patronage of the Sailendra dynasty. Sculpture also made remarkable progress in Java.

INDIA AND ANNAM

Modern Annam (excluding Tonkin and Cochin-China) was comprised within the ancient Hindu Kingdom of Champa. Probably the first historical Hindu King of Champa ruled in the second century A.D. The city of Champa is now represented by Tra-Kien ; in its neighbourhood there are two great groups of temples. Indravarman III (911-972 A.D.) is said to have

mastered the six systems of Hindu Philosophy, Buddhist Philosophy, Sanskrit Grammar and other subjects. For nearly a century after his death Champa suffered from a series of Annamite invasions, which weakened and disintegrated the once flourishing Hindu Kingdom. A long struggle with Kambuja and China followed. The Hindu Kingdom virtually collapsed in the fifteenth century, but it survived in name till 1822. Thus "brave sons of India, who planted her banner in far off lands and maintained its honour and dignity for more than 1500 years, at last vanished into the limbo of oblivion".

A Hindu society modelled on the orthodox Indian type grew up in Champa. The Brahmins occupied a high place, but the rank of the Kshatriyas was hardly inferior to theirs. Sanskrit was the official language and there was considerable literary activity. Of all Hindu gods Siva occupied the most prominent place; Vaishnavism also played an important part in the religious life of Champa. Buddhism enjoyed the patronage of several rulers. The remains of the monuments, which were usually built of bricks, testify to the artistic skill of the people.

INDIA AND CAMBODIA

Ancient Kambuja roughly corresponded to modern Cambodia and Cochin-China. The earliest Hindu Kingdom in Kambuja is known as Fu-nan and was founded probably not later than the first century A.D. Hinduism as well as Buddhism flourished there. Indian philosophy and Sanskrit language were cultivated. The caste system was introduced.

Fu-nan sank into obscurity after the seventh century A.D. and the Kingdom of Kambuja gradually replaced it as the leading State in Cambodia. The early history of Kambuja is obscure, but it was undoubtedly a powerful Kingdom in the seventh century A.D. After a period of decline and submission to Java Kambodia rose into prominence again in the ninth century A.D., when foundations were laid of the great Kambuja Empire and the capital was transferred to the Angkor region. Under the dynasty of Indravarman (877-1001 A.D.) the political influence of Kambuja extended probably to Yunnan, the Malay Peninsula and Siam. Suryavarman II (*circa* 1113-45 A.D.), the

builder of the famous Angkor Vat, invaded Annam and Champa and maintained diplomatic relations with China. The Kambuja Empire reached its greatest extent during the reign of Jayavarman VII (accession 1181 A.D.), who conquered Champa and a part of Lower Burma, founded a new capital (Angkor Thom) and maintained many religious foundations as well as works of public utility. The decline of Kambuja began in the fourteenth century under the pressure of the Thais of Siam and the Annamites. It became a French Protectorate in 1854.

Hinduism, specially Saivism, was the predominant religion in Kambuja, although Buddhism occasionally enjoyed royal patronage. The Sanskrit inscriptions of Kambuja are composed in beautiful *Kāvya* style and reveal a thorough acquaintance with Sanskrit literature. There were a large number of *āsramas* founded and maintained by royal munificence and private charity, which served as centres of Hindu religion and culture. In Kambuja we notice a remarkable development of architecture, of which the Angkor Vat, dedicated to Vishnu, is the greatest monument.

INDIA AND CEYLON

The earliest inhabitants of Ceylon belonged to the Vadda race, but large sections of the present population of the island are descended from Dravidian and Aryan invaders and immigrants. "The stream of immigration from the Dravidian regions of India, especially the Tamil country, has been constant since the dawn of history . . . . ; but the Sinhalese language, though marked by traces of Dravidian influence, is Aryan, and is descended from a Sanskritic tongue closely akin to the Vedic." It is probable that "at some early date an invading band of Aryans, conquering part or the whole of Ceylon, imposed its language and perhaps something of its culture and institutions upon the mixed Vadda-Dravidian population".

According to tradition, Vijaya, son of Simhavahu who reigned in Gujarat (or Magadha or Kalinga), seized the island of Ceylon from the *Yakshas* shortly before the demise of Gautama Buddha. This story probably refers to the coming of Aryan immigrants belonging to the *Simhalas*, or 'Lion-tribe', who gave to their new home the name of *Simhala*. However,

in the reign of *Devānampiya* Tissa (*circa* 247-207 B.C.) the missionaries sent by Asoka introduced Buddhism in Ceylon.[1] About the middle of the second century B.C. a Chola prince named Elara conquered Ceylon.[2] In the first century B.C. some portions of Ceylon were occupied successively by five Tamil invaders. In the first century A.D. a prince belonging to the Lambakarna clan occupied the throne. It is said that this clan was connected with the Imperial Mauryas of Magadha. In the second century A.D. a Chola King named Karikala raided Ceylon. Gajabahu I (113-135 A.D.) of Ceylon led a counter-invasion of the Chola country. During the reign of Meghavarna, a contemporary of Samudra Gupta,[3] the famous Tooth Relic of the Buddha was brought to Ceylon from Dantapura in Kalinga. During the reign of Mahanama (412-434 A.D.) the great Pali commentator Buddhaghosha, who was probably a North Indian Brahmin, settled the doctrines of Buddhism which now prevail in Ceylon, Burma, Siam, and Cambodia. About the middle of the fifth century A.D. Ceylon had to submit to Tamil invaders who probably came from the Pandya country. The fortunes of Ceylon were again linked up with the Tamil country in the days of the Imperial Cholas.[4]

FOR FURTHER STUDY

R. C. Majumdar, *Ancient Indian Colonies in the Far East*, Vols. I, II.

R. C. Majumdar, *Hindu Colonies in the Far East.*

B. R. Chatterji, *Indian Cultural Influence in Cambodia.*

Eliot, *Hinduism and Buddhism*, Vol. II.

N. Ray, *Brahmanical Gods in Burma.*

N. Ray, *Sanskrit Buddhism in Burma.*

Codrington, *History of Ceylon.*

[1] See p. 83.
[2] See p. 96.
[3] See p. 112.
[4] See pp. 185, 186, 188.

CHAPTER XII

THE TURKISH CONQUEST OF NORTHERN INDIA

SECTION I

THE GHAZNAVIDS

RISE OF GHAZNI

We have seen that, with the exception of the frontier province of Sind, India remained unaffected by the tide of Arab conquest. The establishment of Muslim rule in India was the work of the Turks, and the process was begun by the Turkish rulers of Ghazni in Afghanistan.

The principality of Ghazni was founded in 963 A.D. by an adventurer named Alptigin. He started his career as a slave of the Samanids, whose power at one time extended from the Jaxartes to Baghdad and from Khwarizm to the borders of India. Alptigin died within a few months of achieving the crowning success of his life, and after an interval of about 14 years, his slave and son-in-law, Sabuktigin, occupied his throne (977 A.D.). The new ruler was an enterprising military leader eager for conquests. His attention was naturally turned to the neighbouring principality of Jaipal, the Hindu Shahi[1] King, whose authority extended from Laghman to the river Chenab.

SABUKTIGIN AND JAIPAL

Hostilities were begun by Subuktigin with a raid into Jaipal's territory. Jaipal then advanced with a large force to attack Ghazni (986-87 A.D.), but he was met on his way by his adversary. A sudden snow storm disorganised Jaipal's army; he was compelled to purchase peace by promising to pay a large indemnity, to give 50 elephants, and to cede some forts and towns on the frontier. On his return to his own territory he repudiated these humiliating terms. Sabuktigin retaliated by

[1] The Hindu Shahi dynasty was founded in the third decade of the ninth century by Lalliya. Jaipal's reign roughly covered the period 965—1002 A.D.

devastating Laghman. Jaipal invited and received assistance from some Princes of Northern India, and marched on Ghazni at the head of a powerful army. Once again he was defeated ; the districts between Laghman and Peshawar were annexed and Islamised by Sabuktigin.

FALL OF THE HINDU SHAHI DYNASTY

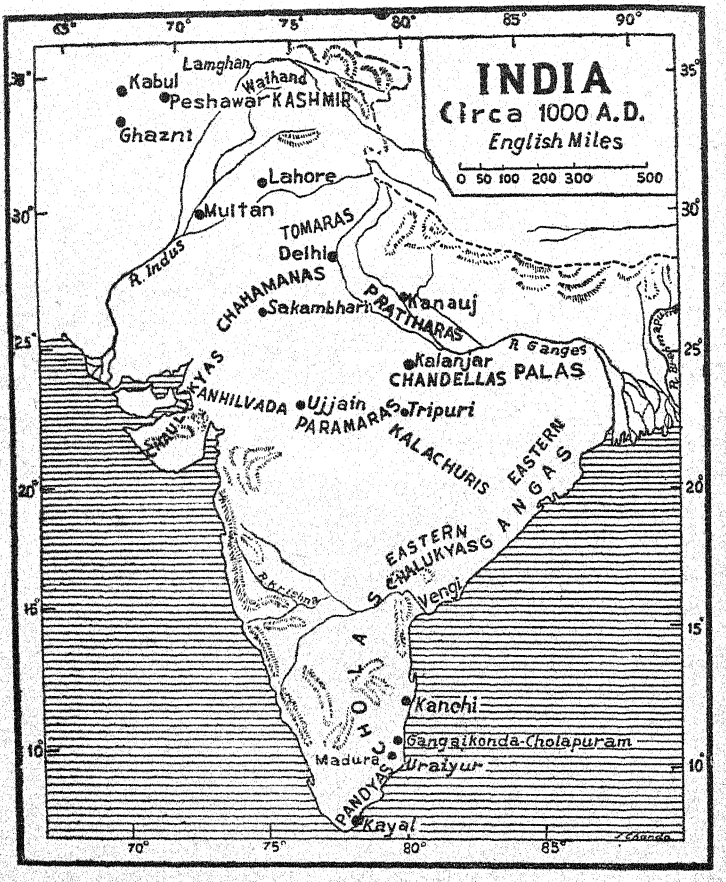
Shortly before his death (997 A.D.) Subuktigin nominated Ismail, a younger son by a daughter of Alptigin, as his successor. This arrangement was naturally resented by his eldest son, Mahmud, who defeated his rival brother and occupied the throne (998 A.D.).

Soon after his accession Mahmud was recognised as an independent sovereign by the Caliph of Baghdad (999 A.D.). His position was quite secure now ; so he decided to continue his father's policy of aggression towards India. A contemporary Muslim writer says, "He made it obligatory on himself to undertake every year an expedition to Hind". From this statement it is not clear whether Mahmud intended to give any religious complexion to his Indian expeditions.

Mahmud's first Indian expedition took place in 1000 A.D. and resulted in the occupation of some frontier forts. Next year Mahmud arrived near Peshawar at the head of a powerful army and defeated Jaipal in a keenly contested engagement, in which the Muslim cavalry played the decisive part. The victors got hold of spoils 'beyond all bounds of calculation'. Jaipal himself, with his sons and grandsons, was taken prisoner. He was released on promise to pay a large ransom and to surrender 50 elephants. Mahmud advanced to Waihand (Udabhandapur, modern Hund), the capital of Jaipal, and ravaged the adjoining districts. The proud Hindu King escaped further humiliation by burning himself to death (*circa* 1002 A.D.).

Jaipal was succeeded by his son Anandpal. In 1006 A.D. Mahmud wanted to pass through his territories on his way to Multan, but instead of complying with Mahmud's demand, Anandpal took up the cause of the Muslim ruler of Multan and marched towards Peshawar to resist the invader. Mahmud defeated him and compelled him to take shelter in the hills of Kashmir.

Anandpal then collected a large army which was probably further strengthened by the troops sent by some of the neighbouring princes anxious to stem the tide of the Muslim invasions. While this army was proceeding towards Peshawar,



[This map shows the political condition of India at the time of Sultan Mahmud's invasion.]

Mahmud crossed the Indus, and met the Hindus in the plain opposite Waihand (1009 A.D.). The victory of the Muslims in this battle was due solely to Mahmud's skill as a military leader. The defeated Hindus fled towards the fort of Nagarkot (near

Kangra). Mahmud pursued them, and the fort fell after three days of gallant resistance. Spoils 'beyond the limit of calculation', including gold, silver, and precious clothes, were captured by the invaders. The whole strip of territory from the Indus to Nagarkot was probably annexed by Mahmud.

Even these repeated reverses did not crush Anandpal's spirit. He established his capital at Nandana (situated on the northern spur of the Salt Range) and consolidated his authority in the Salt Range region. He was succeeded by his son Trilochanpal. In 1014 A.D. Mahmud captured the fort of Nandana (which had been heroically defended by Trilochanpal's son, Bhimpal) and advanced towards Kashmir where Trilochanpal had succeeded in securing the assistance of Sangramaraja. Tunga, the commander of the Kashmir troops, was defeated. Trilochanpal made an unsuccessful attempt to retrieve his fortune. Although Mahmud did not consider it prudent to penetrate into the inhospitable mountain regions in the heart of Kashmir, yet his military successes increased his prestige and induced many of the hill chiefs to submit to him. Islam was introduced, and mosques were built for new converts.

After his failure in Kashmir Trilochanpal retired to the eastern part of the Punjab and probably established himself in the Siwalik hills. He entered into an alliance with the powerful Chandella Prince Vidyadhara. Once more Mahmud came to India (1019 A.D.) and defeated Trilochanpal in a battle on the river Rahut (Ramaganga). Sometime later (1021-22 A.D.) Trilochanpal was assassinated by some of his followers. His son Bhimpal succeeded to a very precarious inheritance. With his death in 1026 A.D. the Hindu Shahi dynasty came to an end.

CONQUESTS OF SULTAN MAHMUD

The province of Multan was under the rule of the Carmathians who did not pay allegiance to the Caliphs of Baghdad. They maintained friendly relations with Sabuktigin, but there was a breach with Mahmud at the time of his expedition to Bhatinda. It is probable that Daud, the ruler of Multan, opposed the passage of Mahmud's army through his territories. In 1006 Mahmud marched across the Punjab to Multan ; Daud fled, but the garrison of Multan did not submit without resist-

ance. The citizens were spared on payment of a heavy fine, but the Carmathians were massacred. The charge of Multan was left in the hands of Sukhpal, a grandson of Jaipal, who had gone to Ghazni as a hostage and embraced Islam. Within a short time, however, he abjured Islam and raised the standard of revolt. Mahmud came to Multan in 1008, subjugated Multan, and kept Sukhpal in confinement. Daud also was captured and imprisoned.

The strong fort of Bhatinda (called Bhatiya by the Muslim writers) guarded the passage from the north-west into the rich Ganges valley. In 1004 Mahmud started from Ghazni to take this fort. It was defended by the local ruler (called Baji Rai by the Muslim writers) with great tenacity, but Mahmud succeeded in capturing it. The booty captured was immense. Only those inhabitants of the fort who embraced Islam escaped the general massacre.

In 1009 Mahmud captured Narayanpur (in Alwar State). The Hindu ruler of the place became his vassal. Narayanpur was a place of some commercial importance ; we are told that the establishment of friendly relations between Mahmud and the ruler of Narayanpur gave a great impetus to the trade between India and Khurasan.

The city of Thaneswar was held in great veneration by the Hindus for its great temple of Chakraswamin. In 1014 Mahmud started from Ghazni with the intention of capturing it. Trilochanpal offered to deliver 50 elephants if he spared the holy city, but Mahmud refused to give up his plan. On his way to Thaneswar Mahmud encountered serious opposition from a Hindu prince, and although he was successful, his loss on the field of battle was heavier than that of the Hindus. At Thaneswar, however, there was no opposition. The town was plundered and the image of Chakraswamin was transported to Ghazni, where it was cast into the public square.

Mahmud twice invaded Kashmir and tried unsuccessfully to capture the hill-fort of Lohkot (modern Loharin). The first expedition (1015) aimed at punishing Sangramaraja for his assistance to Trilochanpal. The failure of the second expedition (1021) compelled Mahmud to abandon the idea of conquering Kashmir.

Towards the close of 1018 Mahmud appeared in the Punjab at the head of a large army, and directed his march towards the Ganges-Jumna Doab. His progress was 'a round of sieges, assaults and victories following each other in quick succession'. His first notable achievement in this expedition was the capture of Mathura, a well-protected city beautified by imposing temples. The garrison made no attempt to defend the city and the shrines. The conqueror destroyed many temples after getting hold of the immense treasure accumulated there. Mahmud then proceeded to Kanauj, the citadel of North Indian Imperialism since the days of Harsha. Rajyapal, the last Gurjara-Pratihara ruler, fled as soon as he heard the news of the invader's approach. The city was occupied after a short siege; plunder and massacre crowned the victor's success. On his way back to Ghazni Mahmud captured some small forts.

A Chandella prince—either Ganda or Vidyadhara[1]—organised a league of some Hindu rulers to defend the liberty and faith of the Hindus. Rajyapal, the Gurjara-Pratihara ruler who had fled from Kanauj, was defeated and killed by the allies. Mahmud thought it necessary to crush the Chandella power and left Ghazni towards the close of 1019. On his way he was opposed by the Shahi King Trilochanpal. Mahmud defeated him and advanced towards the Chandella territory. The Chandella ruler (either Ganda or Vidyadhara) met him at the head of a large army, but due to some undiscovered reason he suddenly fled from the field under cover of night. Mahmud, who had given way to despair at the sight of the large and well-equipped Chandella army, naturally took full advantage of this unexpected good luck. Instead of prolonging the struggle he returned to Ghazni.

In 1022 Mahmud returned to India to crush the power of the Chandellas. On his way to Kalanjar, one of the formidable citadels of the Chandellas, he tried in vain to capture the fort of Gwalior, which was under the rule of one of their feudatories. Kalanjar was then besieged. According to the Muslim historians, the Chandella prince saved himself by promising to pay annual tribute, and even composed a verse in praise of Sultan Mahmud.

[1] See p. 169.

Mahmud's last great exploit was the capture of the temple of Somnath, a famous shrine of undoubted antiquity. It was situated on the sea-shore within the territory of the Chaulukyas of Anhilvada. A contemporary Muslim writer says, "When Sultan Mahmud was gaining victories and demolishing temples in India, the Hindus said that Somnath was displeased with those idols, and that if it had been satisfied with them no one could have destroyed or injured them. When the Sultan heard this, he resolved upon making a campaign to destroy this idol". It is probable that the fabulous wealth accumulated in this temple excited his curiosity and greed. Towards the close of 1025 he left Ghazni with an army of 30,000 regular cavalry and many volunteers. Passing through Multan and the desert of Rajputana he appeared before the temple of Somnath in January, 1026. The temple was occupied and plundered.[1]

CAMPAIGNS OUTSIDE INDIA

Sultan Mahmud was the ruler of a vast Empire which included the wide region from Iraq and the Caspian Sea to the river Ganges, and from the Aral Sea and Trans-oxiana to the Rajputana desert. Its greatest length from east to west was about 2000 miles and its greatest width from north to south was about 1400 miles. This Empire was practically created by him, for at the time of his accession he was the ruler of the provinces of Ghazni, Bust and Balkh only. Naturally the creation of such a large Empire involved numerous campaigns in Central Asia, Iran, Sistan, and the adjoining lands. The story of these campaigns lies outside the scope of Indian history.

ACHIEVEMENTS OF MAHMUD

Sultan Mahmud ruled over his vast dominions as an absolute despot. The supreme executive, legislative, and judicial authority in the Empire was concentrated in his hands. He naturally consulted his ministers on state affairs, and in practice not only consultation but also delegation of powers must

[1] For details, see pp. 174-75.

have been found necessary. The Sultan's will had the force of law. He was the highest court of appeal for his Empire. He was his own commander-in-chief, and in most cases he personally led the campaigns. The fact that he successfully maintained order throughout his scattered dominions shows that he was gifted with considerable administrative ability.

A genius for war he undoubtedly possessed. It did not consist in new inventions of military value ; it consisted in the infusion of a new life into the old system which he had inherited. He was essentially a leader of men. His army was made up of diverse racial and religious groups—Arabs, Afghans, Turkomans, Hindus ; but his capable leadership organised them into a harmonious whole. He displayed his military capacity not only against the Hindus, but also against the hardy people of Central Asia and the traditional valour of Iran.

Mahmud was a poet and scholar of some reputation. His intellectual alertness and religious interests led him to take part in the religious and literary discussions of the scholars at his court. His patronage was enjoyed by many Muslim scholars and poets, among whom Al-Biruni, Firdawsi, Ansari and Farrukhi deserve special mention. He invited scholars and collected literary works from all parts of the Muslim world. He founded a university at Ghazni.

Mahmud was a worshipper of genuine piety, and he punctiliously performed his religious duties. In the case of his Muslim subjects he never allowed any deviation from belief in the orthodox Sunni doctrines. The persecution of the Carmathians was a necessary result of this policy. The Hindus were, however, granted toleration. Separate quarters were assigned to them in Ghazni, and they were permitted free observance of their religious ceremonies. The destruction of Hindu temples in India was a part of his military programme, the chief incentive being provided by the wealth accumulated by the priests.

Mahmud did not make any systematic attempt to annex Indian territories ; the annexation of the Shahi Kingdom was almost an accident originating from geographical and military factors. As long as this kingdom retained its independent

existence Mahmud could not proceed to the Ganges-Jumna Doab, the most flourishing region in Northern India. When the power of the Shahi Kings was crushed, Mahmud brought their territory under his own administration, and thus ensured the safety of his route to Northern and Western India. Mahmud may have clearly grasped the fact that his Empire had already become unwieldy, and that the addition of other Indian territories would make it altogether unmanageable. He was undoubtedly conscious of the administrative problems created by the vast size of his Empire, for before his death he divided it between his two sons instead of safeguarding its unity. Moreover, Mahmud must have realised the difficulty of exterminating the rule of such powerful dynasties as the Chandellas and the Chaulukyas. The occupation of their territory was far more difficult than the plunder of isolated cities and temples. Still Mahmud may rightly be regarded as the founder of the Turkish power in India and the forerunner of Muhammad of Ghur and Babur.

SUCCESSORS OF MAHMUD: THE YAMINIS OF GHAZNI AND LAHORE

Sultan Mahmud's death was followed by a war of succession between his sons, Masud and Muhammad. Masud gained the upper hand; Muhammad was blinded and imprisoned. During Masud's reign (1030-1040 A.D.) the administration of the Punjab was disorganised by the disloyalty and inefficiency of his Muslim officers. Masud was loyally served by Mahmud's Hindu minister Tilak. In 1040 he suffered a crushing defeat near Merv at the hands of the Saljuqs, and fled towards Lahore. On the way his troops dethroned him and handed him over to his blind brother Muhammad, the new Amir, whose son put him to death. Sometime later Muhammad and his sons were defeated and put to death by Masud's son Maudud.

Maudud (1040-1049 A.D.) was not a capable ruler. His death was followed by the succession, one after another, of four princes, whose reigns were short and inglorious. The growing power of the Saljuqs was a standing menace to the Ghaznavids. The Princes of Ghur were also gathering strength. It was from Ghur that the final blow came.

SECTION II

MUHAMMAD OF GHUR

RISE OF GHUR

The little principality of Ghur lay in the hills between Ghazni and Herat. The Princes who ruled there are generally regarded as Afghans, but some modern historians describe them as eastern Persians. In 1009 Sultan Mahmud reduced this principality to obedience. After his death the long struggle between the Ghaznavids and the Saljuqs provided the rulers of Ghur with a good opportunity of reviving their power. A dynastic feud began between the ruling houses of Ghur and Ghazni early in the twelfth century. In 1173 Ghiyas-ud-din Muhammad of Ghur occupied Ghazni, and appointed his younger brother, Muizz-ud-din Muhammad, to the government of that province. Nothing could disturb the cordiality of the relations between these two brothers, and until his death Ghiyas-ud-din enjoyed the loyalty and devotion of the younger brother who might, if he had so willed, have dispensed with formal allegiance to an elder brother far inferior to himself in strength and reputation.

EXTINCTION OF THE GHAZNAVIDS

Muizz-ud-din, who is known in Indian history as Muhammad of Ghur, was a born conqueror, and the traditional hostility between the ruling houses of Ghur and Ghazni naturally attracted his attention to the weak Ghaznavids of Lahore. The conquest of India, which he seems to have selected as the aim of his life, also required the subjugation of the Punjab which held the key to the heart of Hindustan.

In 1179 Muhammad of Ghur defeated the Ghaznavid governor of Peshawar and occupied that important city. In 1181 he invaded Lahore at the invitation of the Hindu ruler of Jammu. Khusrau Shah was compelled to acknowledge defeat and to surrender his son as a hostage. In 1185 Muhammad occupied Sialkot and built a fort there. After his return to Ghur Khusrau Shah made an unsuccessful attempt to capture this fort. In 1186 Muhammad came back to India, treacher-

ously imprisoned Khusrau Shah and occupied Lahore. The unfortunate Ghaznavid prince and his son were put to death in 1192.

INDIAN EXPEDITIONS OF MUHAMMAD OF GHUR

Muhammad's first expedition into India (1175) was directed against Multan. He captured the city and suppressed the Ismailian heretics. The strong fortress of Uch was then taken by stratagem. It is said that the wife of the Hindu Prince of Uch entered into a conspiracy with the invader, murdered her husband, and surrendered the city.

In 1178 Muhammad led an unsuccessful expedition into Gujarat.[1] In 1182 he compelled the Sumra ruler of Lower Sind to acknowledge his suzerainty.

After the fall of the Ghaznavids Muhammad was confronted by the powerful Chahamana Kingdom of Sakambhari. Prithviraja III was a powerful ruler, and as the master of Ajmer and Delhi he was the natural protector of the Ganges-Jumna valley against the Muslim invaders. The second battle of Tarain[2] decided the fate of North India. Important places like Hansi, Samana (in the Patiala State), and Kuhram were easily captured. Muhammad proceeded towards Ajmer, which was occupied and plundered. The conqueror "destroyed the pillars and foundations of idol temples, and built in their stead mosques and colleges, and the precepts of Islam, and the customs of the Law were divulged and established". The city was, however, left in the hands of a son of Prithviraja, probably because it was not yet considered safe enough for the residence of a Muslim governor. Delhi remained in the hands of the Tomara Rajputs. Muhammad then left India, entrusting the management of his new conquests to his able and trusted slave, Qutb-ud-din Aibak.

The expansion of the Turkish Empire in India after the fall of Prithviraja III was mainly due to Qutb-ud-din's military ability and political insight. In 1192 he captured Baran and Meerut. Delhi was captured from the Tomaras in 1193 and became the head-quarters of the conquerors. From this date

[1] See p. 176.
[2] See p. 168.

we may trace the greatness of this obscure city established by the Tomaras in the eighth century. Kol (Aligarh) was captured in 1194. In the same year Muhammad returned to India and led an expedition against the powerful Gahadavala ruler, Jayachchandra, who was defeated and killed in a severely contested battle at Chandwar (on the Jumna, between Kanauj and Etah). The rich cities of Asni and Benares were plundered, but Kanauj was not occupied till 1198-99. Several attempts made by the Rajputs to reoccupy Ajmer failed. In 1195 Qutb-ud-din placed a Muslim officer there; Prithviraja's son was posted at Ranthambhor. In 1195-96 Muhammad returned to India, captured Bayana, and forced the Hindu prince of Gwalior to pay tribute. In 1196 the Mers living around Ajmer revolted against the Muslims, and Bhima II of Gujarat sent an army to help them. Qutb-ud-din went to Ajmer, and remained besieged in the city until the news of the impending arrival of a large army from Ghazni caused the besiegers to retreat. Qutb-ud-din then marched towards Gujarat, defeated Bhima's army at the foot of the Abu hills, and once more plundered Anhilvada.[1] In 1202 he captured Kalanjar and compelled the Chandella prince Paramardi to 'place the collar of subjection round his neck'. But the terms accepted by him were not respected after his death by his minister. Qutb-ud-din captured Kalanjar and plundered it; 50,000 captives were carried off as slaves, and the temples were converted into mosques. The famous city of Mahoba was then captured.

OCCUPATION OF BENGAL AND BIHAR

While Qutb-ud-din was occupying the Ganges-Jumna valley, Ikhtiyar-ud-din Muhammad *bin* Bakhtyar Khalji, another follower of Muhammad of Ghur, was extending Turkish supremacy over Eastern India. He began his career as a troop-leader under the governor of Benares and Oudh. He held some fiefs between the Ganges and the Son. The present province of Bihar, then almost unprotected as a result of the fall of the Gahadavalas, naturally attracted him. He occupied 'the fortified city of Bihar'. A semi-contemporary Muslim historian says, "The great number of the inhabitants of that

[1] See p. 176.

place were Brahmans, and the whole of those Brahmans had their heads shaven, and they were all slain. There was a good number of books there, and when all these books came under the observation of the Musalmans, they summoned a number of Hindus, that they might give them information respecting the import of those books ; but the whole of the Hindus had been killed. On becoming acquainted (with the contents of those books), it was found that the whole of the fortress and city was a college, and in the Hindi tongue they call a college Bihar''. It seems that there was no effective ruling dynasty in Magadha at this time, for there is no reference to Ikhtiyar-ud-din's fight with any King. The Pala dynasty was probably extinct. The Sena Kingdom lay to the east.

After this successful raid, which probably took place about 1203, Ikhtiyar-ud-din led an expedition into Bengal and occupied 'Nadiah', the capital of Lakshmana Sena. Eastern Bengal remained under the rule of the Sena Kings. Ikhtiyar-ud-din established his head-quarters at Lakhnauti (near Gaur, in Malda) and consolidated his authority, roughly speaking, in the present districts of Malda, Dinajpur, Murshidabad and Birbhum. He then advanced towards 'Tibet'. Neither his aim nor his destination is clear ; but he marched towards the north-east and pushed through inhospitable mountain defiles. Nothing could be accomplished. On his return journey the hostility of the ruler of Kamrupa led to the destruction of his army. He managed to return to Lakhnauati, but he was soon murdered by an officer named Ali Mardan Khalji (1206 A.D.). After some intrigues this unscrupulous officer persuaded Qutb-ud-din to appoint him Governor of Bengal.

ESTIMATE OF MUHAMMAD OF GHUR

In 1205 A.D. Muhammad suffered a severe defeat at the hands of the Turkomans. When this news reached India, the Khokars and some other tribes to the north of the Salt Range rose in rebellion. Muhammad and Qutb-ud-din jointly defeated the rebels. On his return towards Ghazni Muhammad was assassinated on the bank of the Indus (1206), either by the Khokars or by the Shiahs of the Ismaili sect.

Muhammad of Ghur was one of the most remarkable figures

in medieval Asiatic history. With the limited resources of a petty state at his disposal he succeeded in establishing a large Empire which extended from Afghanistan to Bengal. He was undoubtedly a good military leader—without extraordinary military qualities nobody could establish an Empire in those days,—but his political qualities are more attractive to the modern historian. He realised the political rottenness of India and courageously dealt blow after blow till the decadent structure completely collapsed. His clear vision was not obscured by the lure of gold ; so he lives in history not as a raider but as an Empire-builder. He had no time to organise an administrative system ; the work of conquest was hardly over when the knife of the assassin laid him low. Moreover, he could not concentrate his attention on India ; the affairs of Khurasan frequently diverted his energy to that region. So the Indian territories had to be left in the charge of 'military fief-holders', whose rudimentary duties included the collection of the revenue from Hindu chiefs and landholders and the prevention of rebellion. Such a system was perhaps rendered indispensable by the pressing necessity of satisfying those military adventurers, like Ikhtiyar-ud-din, without whose active assistance the subjugation of Northern India could not have been effected within so brief a period. Amidst constant war and strife Muhammad followed the old tradition of patronising learning, and Firishta, writing about four centuries after his death, describes him as 'a just monarch, fearing God, and ever having the good of his subjects at heart'.

SECTION III

THE SLAVE KINGS OF DELHI

QUTB-UD-DIN AIBAK (1206—10)

Muhammad of Ghur died without a male issue. At Ghazni he was succeeded by Ala-ud-din, of the Bamian branch of his family, who was soon overthrown by Mahmud, the son of Ghiyas-ud-din. His Indian territories came in the possession of his lieutenants. Probably this was in accordance with his

wishes. The semi-contemporary historian Minhaj-ud-din tells us that he regarded his slaves as 'so many thousand sons'. Qutb-ud-din, who had rendered signal services to the conqueror and acted as his viceroy in India, was the obvious choice for the throne of Delhi. His assumption of the title of 'Sultan' was approved by the Turkish Amirs and generals in India and acquiesced in by the Sultan of Ghur. So with his accession (June 24, 1206) the history of the Sultanate of Delhi begins.

Like many prominent Muslims of those days Qutb-ud-din Aibak[1] began his career as a slave. His first master was the Qazi of Nishapur, who gave him a good literary education and also trained him in horsemanship and archery. After the Qazi's death he was sold by his sons to a merchant who took him to Ghazni and re-sold him to Muhammad of Ghur. His qualities soon attracted Muhammad's notice. Gradually he rose high in his service, till he became his master's deputy in Hindustan.

There were two other powerful slaves of Muhammad of Ghur, Nasir-ud-din Qubacha, Governor of Multan and Uch, and Taj-ud-din Yilduz, Governor of Kirman. The latter occupied Ghazni on his master's death, but in 1208 the intrigues of the Khwarizm Shah compelled him to leave that city. Qutb-ud-din then occupied Ghazni. Within about a month, however, the citizens of Ghazni, maltreated by Qutb-ud-din's troops, secretly invited Taj-ud-din to come back. Taj-ud-din occupied Ghazni by a surprise attack, and Qutb-ud-din retreated to Lahore without striking a blow.

Not long after this disgraceful retreat Qutb-ud-din died (November, 1210) from a fall from his horse while he was playing *chaugan* (polo). During his brief rule he did nothing to enhance his reputation: he made no fresh conquest, nor did he make any attempt to construct a better administrative system. Muslim chroniclers speak very highly of his benevolent administration and even-handed justice, but this is probably little more than conventional praise. He was undoubtedly

[1] The meaning of this word is not clear. Some writers say that it means 'weak-fingered'. Sir Wolseley Haig says that it "means either 'Moon-lord' and may indicate that he was born during an eclipse, or 'Moon-face', an epithet which in the East suggests beauty, though we learn that he was far from comely". Another writer suggests that Aibak was the real name of Qutb-ud-din.

generous, for he is usually described as *'lakh bakhsh'* (giver of *lakhs*). Two mosques built by him, one at Delhi and another at Ajmer, testify to his devotion to Islam and love of art.

ILTUTMISH (1211-36)

Qutb-ud-din was succeeded by Aram Shah, who is sometimes described as Aibak's adopted son. He was the nominee of the Turkish nobles of Lahore, who were anxious to fill up the vacant throne immediately 'for the sake of restraining tumult'. The Turkish nobles of Delhi, who did not participate in the election of Aram Shah, invited Iltutmish, Governor of Budaun and son-in-law of Qutb-ud-din, to occupy the throne. Iltutmish marched to Delhi, defeated and captured Aram Shah, and ascended the throne (1211).

Iltutmish was a Turk of noble birth, but early in his life he had been sold into slavery by his brothers. He was purchased by Qutb-ud-din, whom he subsequently gave complete satisfaction by his devotion and efficiency. He held, in succession, the fiefs of Gwalior, Baran (Bulandshahr), and Budaun, till the voice of the nobles of Delhi called him to the throne.

FALL OF YILDUZ AND QUBACHA

It was a precarious inheritance that Iltutmish secured by his victory over Aram Shah. Ali Mardan Khalji ceased to acknowledge the suzerainty of Delhi after Qutb-ud-din's death. Nasir-ud-din Qubacha established himself at Multan, occupied Lahore and tried to extend his authority over the whole of the Punjab. Taj-ud-din Yilduz claimed suzerainty over India as the successor of Muhammad of Ghur and pretended to count Iltutmish as his viceroy. Even some of the powerful 'military fief-holders' of Northern India almost openly defied the authority of the new Sultan.

Iltutmish wisely proceeded with caution. His first task was to bring the recalcitrant 'military fief-holders' under subjection. His authority was effectively established in the districts of Delhi, Budaun, Oudh, and Benares, and in the Siwalik hill tract. He was now able to deal with his stronger rivals.

Sometime before 1215 Taj-ud-din occupied Lahore and extended his authority over the greater part of the Punjab. In 1215 the Khwarizm Shah expelled him from Ghazni. He fell back on Lahore and renewed his claim to suzerainty over Delhi. In 1216 Iltutmish defeated and captured him in a battle near Tarain. Taj-ud-din was sent to Budaun, where he was put to death sometime later. Lahore, which remained in Nasir-ud-din's possession, was occupied by Iltutmish in 1217. Nasir-ud-din remained confined to Sind, but his power was seriously weakened by the Mongol invasions. In 1228 Iltutmish annexed Multan and Uch. Nasir-ud-din drowned himself in the Indus.

THE MONGOL MENACE

In 1221 the Mongol menace made its first appearance on the north-western frontier of India. The word 'mong', from which the name 'Mongol'[1] is derived, means brave. The Mongols were ferocious savages. The celebrated poet Amir Khusrau, who was once taken prisoner by the Mongols, gives the following description of those fierce warriors:

"Headstrong and fierce in battle, they wore cotton garments over their bodies of steel. They had hats of wool over their faces of fire, and it looked as if the fire would set the wool aflame. Their heads were shaved. . . . Their eyes were like two crevices in a basin of silver, and their eye balls like flints lying in the cracks of rocks. They stank worse than rotting carcasses, while their heads were bowed as low as their backs. Their skin was crumpled and wrinkled like the moist leather of a kettle-drum. Their nostrils stretched wide from cheek to cheek, and their mouths from one side of their hat to the other. Yes, their nostrils looked like desolated graves or like ovens full of stinking water. . . . They devoured pigs and dogs with their ugly teeth . . . they drank the water of sewers and ate tasteless grasses". The terror inspired by the Mongols in India is clear from the following statement of the poet: "I was also taken prisoner, and from fear that they would shed my blood, not a drop of blood remained in my veins".

Chingiz Khan made the Mongols the greatest political and

[1] For details about the Mongols, see Howorth, *History of the Mongols*, and Elias and Ross, *A History of the Moghuls of Central Asia*.

military power in Asia. He overran China, Central Asia, and Western Asia. At Bukhara he horrified the Muslims by throwing the Quran under his horse's feet to be trodden upon. He overthrew the Kingdom of Khwarizm and compelled Jalal-ud-din, the heir of the last Shah of that State, to seek refuge in Lahore. Fortunately for Iltutmish, Chingiz Khan marched back through the Hindukush in 1222. Unable to secure the assistance of Iltutmish, who cautiously avoided all complications likely to offend Chingiz Khan, Jalal-ud-din entered into an alliance with the Khokars, and with their assistance realised large sums of money from Nasir-ud-din Qubacha. He then plundered Sind and the northern districts of Gujarat. In 1224 he left India and took shelter in Persia. The Mongols plundered Sind and western Punjab, but repelled by the terrible heat of the Punjab, they did not advance into the heart of India. After Qubacha's downfall the territories of Iltutmish came into direct contact with the Mongols operating from Afghanistan.

CONQUESTS OF ILTUTMISH

Freed from the Mongol menace, and elated at the discomfiture of Nasir-ud-din Qabacha at the hands of Jalal-ud-din, Iltutmish turned his attention to Bengal. Ali Mardan Khalji did not long survive his assumption of the style of royalty. His violence and oppression alienated some Muslim nobles, who killed him and raised to the throne an able officer named Hisam-ud-din Iwaz. About 1211 Hisam-ud-din assumed the title of Sultan Ghiyas-ud-din Khalji. He is said to have subjugated Jajnagar, Kamarupa, Tirhut, and Gaur. In 1225 Iltutmish led a large army against him. Ghiyas-ud-din submitted without resistance, renounced the royal title, acknowledged allegiance to Delhi, gave up his claim on Bihar, and offered tribute. Iltutmish accepted these terms ; but as soon as he returned to Delhi, Ghiyas-ud-din reasserted his independence and occupied Bihar. In 1226 Nasir-ud-din Mahmud, the Sultan's son, who was then Governor of Oudh, invaded Bengal, captured Lakhnauti, and killed Ghiyas-ud-din. He now assumed the Governorsnip of Bengal, but his promising career was cut short by early death in 1229. Balka, probably a son of Ghiyas-ud-din, usurped the supreme power in Bengal. In 1230-31

Iltutmish defeated and killed Balka ; Bengal was brought under the control of Delhi.

The important fortress of Ranthambhor was in the possession of a Chahamana prince. In 1226 Iltutmish occupied it. Next year he took Mandor (in Marwar). In 1232 he captured Gwalior from a Hindu Prince named Mangal Deva. In 1234 he invaded Malwa and plundered the cities of Bhilsa and Ujjain. The famous temple of Mahakala at Ujjain was destroyed, but there was no annexation.

ESTIMATE OF ILTUTMISH

Iltutmish was a devout Muslim. In 1229 he was glad to receive the Caliph's confirmation of his royal title. Some fanatics of the Ismaili sect, probably irritated by persecution, tried to assassinate him in 1234. The conspiracy failed, the only result being the extermination of the adherents of that sect in Delhi. In 1231-32 Iltutmish built the Qutb Minar in honour of the famous saint Khwaja Qutb-ud-din Bakhtyar Kaki, who died in Delhi in 1235. Iltutmish died in April, 1236.

Iltutmish is generally regarded as the greatest of all the Slave Kings of Delhi. He consolidated the conquests of Muhammad of Ghur, and gave the new-born Turkish Empire in India a cohesion which it had not found under Qutb-ud-din. Had Iltutmish been a weak ruler, the Empire would in all probability have dissolved itself into a number of independent principalities ruled by princes who acknowledged no central authority. So he deserves to live in history as a sturdy Empire-builder, although, true to the tradition established by his two predecessors, he made no attempt to evolve a system of civil administration. His generosity and patronage of learning are extolled in exaggerated terms by the contemporary historian Minhaj-ud-din, who says, "Never was a sovereign of such exemplary faith and of such kindness and reverence towards recluses, devotees, divines and doctors of religion and law, from the mother of creation ever enwrapped in swaddling bands of dominion."

RAZIYYA (1236—40)

Before his death Iltutmish had nominated as his successor his daughter Raziyya, superseding the claims of his sons, whom

he regarded as incompetent to bear the burden of the Empire. But the nobles, unwilling to recognise a woman as their sovereign, placed on the throne Rukn-ud-din Firuz, the eldest surviving son of Iltutmish, who was notorious for his weakness and licentiousness. The Sultan devoted himself to debauchery and tomfoolery, and the management of public business slipped into the hands of his unscrupulous mother, Shah Turkan, who was originally a handmaid in the *harem*. Foreign invasion and internal rebellion at once followed. Malik Saif-ud-din Hasan Qarlugh, a Turk who ruled over Ghazni, Kirman, and Bamian, invaded Lower Sind and attacked Uch ; but he was driven out of India by the Governor of Uch. Ghiyas-ud-din Muhammad, a younger son of Iltutmish, raised the standard of rebellion in Oudh. The Governors of Budaun, Multan, Hansi, and Lahore revolted. Izz-ud-din Tugril-i-Tughan Khan, who had been ruling Bengal since 1233, did not acknowledge the authority of Delhi. Raziyya skillfully exploited Shah Turkan's unpopularity and instigated the infuriated mob of Delhi to capture her. Raziyya was proclaimed Sultan; Rukn-ud-din was seized and put to death (November, 1236) after a brief reign of a little more than six months.

Raziyya was confronted with a very difficult task. The Governors of Budaun, Multan, Hansi and Lahore, who had been joined by Rukn-ud-din's *Wazir*, Nizam-ul-Mulk Muhammad Junaidi, were marching on Delhi ; they were not prepared to recognise her accession. They besieged Raziyya in her capital. She was not strong enough to give them battle, but her diplomacy sowed germs of dissension in their camp. The confederacy broke up ; the rebel nobles fled in different directions, and some of them were killed. Now "from Lakhnauti to Debal all the Maliks and Amirs tendered obedience and submission". The ruler of Bengal voluntarily resumed his allegiance to Delhi, and Uch was placed under a loyal governor.

Although the sovereignty of women was not unknown to or unrecognised by the Islamic world, yet there was some prejudice against Raziyya on that ground. She seems to have given offence to orthodox Muslim opinion by casting off female garments and the seclusion of the *zenana*. She dressed as a man and openly transacted public business both in the court and in the camp. A more substantial complaint against her was

that she showed some preference to an Abyssinian official named Jamal-ud-din Yaqut. The Turkish nobles of those days formed an exclusive oligarchy and claimed the monopoly of power and office. They were not prepared to give up their racial privileges, nor were they in a mood to submit to monarchical autocracy.

The first powerful Amir who openly protested against Raziyya's new policy was Kabir Khan Ayaz, the Governor of the Punjab. In 1240 Raziyya marched against him. Ayaz submitted without fighting. Soon after her return to Delhi Raziyya was confronted with a more serious rebellion. Ikhtiyar-ud-din Altuniya, the Governor of Bhatinda, raised the standard of rebellion at the instigation of the Turkish nobles, whose leader was Ikhtiyar-ud-din Aitigin, the *Amir-i-Hajib*. Raziyya marched at the head of a large army to reduce the rebels to obedience. When she reached Bhatinda Yaqut was murdered; she was captured and placed in the custody of Altuniya. Arrangements were made for placing on the throne Muizz-ud-din Bahram, a younger son of Iltutmish. Bahram became Sultan in April, 1240, and the King-makers compelled him to transfer all the powers of royalty to their leader, Aitigin. In July, 1240, Aitigin was murdered at Bahram's instigation: the over-mighty Regent could not be tolerated by the Sultan. Meanwhile Altuniya, whose exclusion from the rewards of successful rebellion was, naturally, a bitter disappointment to him, had turned to the captive Queen. He released her from prison, married her, and marched on Delhi with the object of restoring her to the throne. In October, 1240, Altuniya was defeated by Bahram's troops, and he and Raziyya were murdered by some Hindu robbers.

Raziyya was the only woman who ever sat on the throne of Delhi. She ruled for three and half years. Although her adversaries ultimately proved too strong for her, yet she was certainly a remarkable woman. Minhaj-ud-din describes her as a "great sovereign and sagacious, just, beneficent, the patron of the learned, a disposer of justice, the cherisher of her subjects, and of warlike talent, and endowed with all the admirable attributes and qualifications necessary for a King". But, laments the historian, "Of what advantage were all these excellent qualifications to her?"

MUIZZ-UD-DIN BAHRAM SHAH (1240-42)

After the murder of Aitigin, Bahram conferred the post of *Amir-i-Hajib* on Badr-ud-din Sunqar, an influential member of the powerful group known as "the Forty"[1]. He was, however, soon put to death for treachery. His violent death, says Minhaj-ud-din, "totally changed the disposition of the Amirs, and all of them became frightened and apprehensive of the Sultan, and not one among them placed any further confidence in him". While the nobles were thus intriguing for weakening the central authority, the Mongols crossed the Indus. Under their leader, Bahadur Tair, the lieutenant of Hulagu Khan, they captured Lahore (December, 1241). Many citizens were killed and the city-walls were razed to the ground. The Sultan sent an army to assist the Governor of Lahore, but it returned to Delhi from the banks of the Sutlej owing to the intrigues of the disloyal *Wazir,* Nizam-ul-Mulk. On its return to the capital this rebel army besieged the Sultan's fort. The fort was occupied, and the Sultan put to death, in May, 1242.

ALA-UD-DIN MASUD SHAH (1242—46)

The victorious nobles now raised to the throne Ala-ud-din Masud Shah, a very young son of Rukn-ud-din Firuz Shah. Nizam-ul-Mulk's treachery and arrogance resulted in his murder a few months after the new Sultan's accession. Tughan Khan, Governor of Bengal, did not acknowledge the authority of Delhi ; he annexed Bihar and even ventured to invade Oudh. In Bihar the Hindus made themselves practically independent. Kabir Khan Ayaz and his son Abu Bakr ruled independently at Multan and Uch. In 1245 Multan was captured by Saif-ud-din

[1] "During the reign of Iltutmish the leading Turks formed themselves into a college of forty, which divided among its members all the great fiefs of the empire and all the highest offices in the State. The commanding genius of Iltutmish preserved the royal dignity intact, but in the reigns of his children the power of the Forty was ever increasing. . . . . There can be no doubt that the throne itself would ordinarily have been the prize of one of the Forty had not the jealousies of all prevented them from yielding precedence to one". (Sir Wolseley Haig, *Cambridge History of India,* Vol. III, p. 62).

Hasan Qarlugh. The Upper Punjab, ravaged by the Mongols, was practically under the occupation of the Khokars. In 1246 the Mongols under Mangutah occupied Multan and besieged Uch, but they fled when they heard that the Sultan's army under the command of Balban was coming to meet them. The result was the restoration of the Sultan's authority in Sind.

NASIR-UD-DIN MAHMUD (1246—65)

Masud's incompetence and arrogance displeased 'the Forty'. The result was his deposition (June, 1246) and death. The throne was occupied by the nominee of the nobles, Nasir-ud-din Mahmud, a younger son of Iltutmish, then a youth of seventeen or eighteen. Unlike his immediate predecessors, he was able to reign for a long period and died a natural death. Exaggerated stories about his piety and simplicity are recorded by Muslim chroniclers, but there are reasons to doubt their authenticity. Probably Nasir-ud-din lived a comparatively unostentatious life and remained satisfied with the mere form of royalty, leaving the management of public affairs to able and strong nobles whom he could not control.

Ulugh Khan, better known as Ghiyas-ud-din Balban, is undoubtedly the most dominating figure in the history of Nasir-ud-din's reign. He was a Turk, and his father was the chief of 10,000 families. In his youth he was captured by the Mongols who sold him at Baghdad. His master took him to Delhi, where he was purchased by Iltutmish in 1233. His intelligence and loyalty were rewarded with rapid promotions. He became a member of 'the Forty.' Under Raziyya he became *Amir-i-shikar*. He co-operated with the nobles who deposed her, and Bahram Shah rewarded him with the important fiefs of Rewari (Gurgaon district in the Punjab) and Hansi. He was the organiser of the expedition which compelled the Mongols to raise the siege of Uch in 1246. It is probable that he was largely responsible for Masud's deposition and Mahmud's quiet succession.

Balban almost arrogated to himself the position of the *de*

facto ruler of the Empire. In 1249 his daughter was married to the Sultan, and soon afterwards he formally assumed the office of the Sultan's deputy (*Naib-i-mamlikat*). His relatives and friends held all the key posts. Naturally this usurpation of authority caused resentment in the minds of other Turkish nobles. In 1253 a Hindu convert named Imad-ud-din Raihan persuaded the Sultan to dismiss Balban from the court. Balban accepted this disgrace without protest, and for more than a year Raihan ruled in Delhi as the Sultan's principal adviser. Raihan's arrogance displeased the Turkish Amirs, and the rebellion of the Sultan's younger brother, Jalal-ud-din, alarmed the Sultan. The way was thus prepared for Balban's recall. Jalal-ud-din was recognised as the independent ruler of Lahore.

Balban's first task was to consolidate his master's authority in the different provinces of the Empire. In the north-west the restoration of the Central Government's authority towards the close of Masud's reign proved to be short-lived, owing to the continuing pressure of the Mongols and the disloyalty of the local officers. In 1249 Saif-ud-din Hasan Qarlugh reoccupied Multan, which was, however, brought under Delhi soon afterwards. Some years later Kashlu Khan, Governor of Multan and Uch, threw off his allegiance to Delhi and became a vassal of Hulagu, the Mongol ruler of Iran. In 1257 he tried to capture Delhi with the assistance of another rebellious Governor, Qutlugh Khan of Oudh. The project failed. In 1259 envoys from Hulagu came to Delhi and probably assured Balban that the Delhi frontier would be respected. Some years later we find Sind governed by Balban's son, but in the Punjab the Mongols proved difficult to dislodge. In 1254 Lahore is described as a Mongol dependency. It is probable that even towards the close of Mahmud's reign the larger portion of the Punjab lay within the Mongol sphere of influence.

It was not only in the north-west that Balban had to deal with disloyal Governors. Tughan Khan was compelled to give up Bengal ; he was later compensated with Oudh. One of his successors in Bengal, Yuzbak-i-Tughril Khan, assumed the regal title and struck coins in his name about 1255. He led an expedition to Kamarupa, where he was defeated and killed. The

authority of Delhi seems to have been restored in Bengal after his death in or about 1257. But within three or four years Arslan Khan, Governor of Kara, occupied Lakhnauti and continued to rule independently. Among Governors holding provinces nearer the capital there was one powerful rebel, Qutlugh Khan, whose alliance with Kashlu Khan of Multan has been referred to above.

One of Balban's most difficult tasks was to resist the repeated attempts of Hindu chieftains to recover the lost ground. In 1247 he suppressed a Hindu chief of the Kalanjar region. In 1251 he led an expedition against the Hindu ruler of Gwalior. No attempt was, however, made to establish Muslim rule in Malwa and Central India. Several expeditions were led against Ranthambhor. The lawless tribes of Mewat (modern Alwar) were suppressed. Balban also succeeded in subjugating the disaffected Hindus of the Doab.

No authentic information is available regarding the last few years of Mahmud's reign (from the middle of the year 1260), for the *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, our primary authority for the period, comes to an abrupt end at this point, and the account of Barani opens with Balban's accession. Mahmud's death probably took place in 1265. As he did not leave any male issue he was succeeded by Balban.

GHIYAS-UD-DIN BALBAN (1265-87)

Balban's long political experience had shown him that the primary duty of the Monarchy was to destroy the pretensions of the Turkish nobility. The selfish intrigues of the nobles were responsible for the weakness of the central authority, which, in its turn, accounted for the disorders prevailing after the death of Iltutmish. Barani describes the condition of the country at the time of Balban's accession in the following words: "Fear of the governing power, which is the basis of all good government, and the source of the glory and splendour of States, had departed from the hearts of all men, and the country had fallen into a wretched condition." Balban was determined to restore 'fear of the governing power' in 'the hearts of all men.'

EXALTATION OF MONARCHY

It is difficult to give a strictly chronological account of Balban's reign, for Barani's *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi,* our primary authority for this period, is very indifferent to chronology. The measures adopted by Balban to weaken the nobility may be classified into two groups. In the first place, he exalted the Kingly office by introducing the Persian ceremonial at his court. He made it clear that the King was nobody's equal. Balban claimed descent from the mythical Turkish hero, Afrasiyab, and declared, "It is the King's superhuman awe and status which can ensure the people's obedience". "His court was an austere assembly where jest and laughter were unknown, whence wine and gambling . . . were banished, partly because they were forbidden by the Islamic law but chiefly because they promoted good fellowship and familiarity, and where no detail of punctilious ceremony was ever relaxed." Naturally the Turkish nobles, especially 'the Forty,' resented this isolation of the Monarchy, but Balban rigidly adhered to the new ceremonial and succeeded in creating a new tradition.

Balban did not remain content with indirectly lowering the position of the nobles at the court. He took effective measures to crush them whenever he found a good opportunity to strike. He distributed even-handed justice ; even the most powerful noble could not expect any favour. Indeed, it may be suspected that in the case of 'the Forty' he was unusually and unnecessarily strict. Malik Baqbaq, a powerful noble who governed Budaun, caused one of his servants to be beaten to death. For this offence he was flogged to death by the Sultan's order. Haibat Khan, Governor of Oudh, killed a man in a fit of drunken rage. Balban caused him to be flogged, and then surrendered him to the murdered man's widow. Another member of 'the Forty' was hanged because he was defeated by rebels. It is believed that Balban secretly poisoned his own cousin, Sher Khan Sunqar, a powerful noble who governed Bhatinda, Bhatnair, Samana, and Sunam. Balban employed many news-writers (*Barid*) and spies, through whom he collected detailed information about the views and activities of the nobles. Ferocious punishment was meted out to any news-writer or spy who failed in his duty. The news-writer who had omitted to

report Malik Baqbaq's offence to the Sultan was hanged over the city-gate of Budaun.

MILITARY REFORM

An important measure of military reform introduced by Balban was calculated to increase the efficiency of the army. Iltutmish had granted land to many soldiers on condition of military service. The successors of those soldiers continued to enjoy their lands, although they were very irregular in performing their military duties. They even claimed that the lands had been granted to them unconditionally and in perpetuity. Balban held an enquiry into the history of these service tenures and divided the grantees into three classes: (1) old men who were unfit for military service; (2) youngmen who were fit for military service; (3) widows and orphans. Balban ordered that the lands enjoyed by old men, widows, and orphans were to be resumed, but pensions were to be provided for their maintenance; young men were enlisted in the regular army, but the revenue of their villages was to be collected by Government officials. At the intercession of the aged *Kotwal* of Delhi the Sultan cancelled his order relating to the resumption of the lands of old men.

SUPPRESSION OF INTERNAL REBELLIONS

Balban ruthlessly suppressed all rebellions and disorders within the Empire. The turbulent tribes of Mewat not only plundered travellers on the roads but even carried their depredations into the heart of Delhi. Balban exterminated the robbers, cleared the jungle which gave them shelter, and made adequate military and police arrangements for the protection of the citizens of Delhi. The Hindus of the Doab were no less turbulent; they had entirely closed the roads between Delhi and Bengal. Balban suppressed them through ruthless military measures; lands were given to powerful nobles and Afghan soldiers, who were expected to enforce peace and order within their domains. The rebel Hindus of Katehr (Rohilkhand) were then terribly punished; all males (except children) were put to death, and the women were carried off into slavery. In 1268-69 Balban led an expedition into the Salt Range, punished

the recalcitrant Hindus, and collected many horses for his army.

REBELLION IN BENGAL

The most serious internal rebellion in the reign of Balban occurred in Bengal. We have seen how the Governors of Bengal made frequent attempts to free themselves from the control of Delhi. Barani says, "The people of this country (*i.e.*, Bengal) had for many long years evidenced a disposition to revolt, and the disaffected and evil disposed among them generally succeeded in alienating the loyalty of the governors."

In 1279 Tughril Khan, Governor of Bengal, 'allowed the egg of ambition to be hatched in his head'; his evil counsellors persuaded him to raise the standard of rebellion. He was probably encouraged by the growing age of the Sultan and the re-appearance of the Mongol menace on the north-western frontier. He assumed the title of Sultan, struck coins, and caused the *Khutba* to be read in his own name. Lavish distribution of money secured for him many followers.

Balban sent Amin Khan, Governor of Oudh, to reduce Tughril to obedience. Amin Khan was defeated by Tughril, whose gold had allured many officers and troops from the royal army. Balban ordered Amin Khan to be hanged over the city-gate of Oudh and sent another army under Tirmiti, who was no more successful than his predecessor. Now Balban decided to march on Bengal in person. Accompanied by his second son, Bughra Khan, he appeared in Bengal at the head of a large army, probably 200,000 strong. He found Lakhnauti almost deserted, for Tughril had already fled with his troops and adherents towards East Bengal. Balban continued his march and reached Sonargaon (near Dacca). Tughril's troops fled panic-stricken ; he himself was captured and beheaded. On his return to Lakhnauti Balban took a terrible revenge on Tughril's adherents. "On either side of the principal bazar, a street more than two miles in length, a row of stakes was set up and the family and the adherents of Tughril were impaled upon them. None of the beholders had ever seen a spectacle so terrible and many swooned with terror and disgust." Balban entrusted the government of Bengal to Bughra Khan and re-

minded him of the scene at the bazar: "Understand me and forget not that if the Governors of Hind or Sind, of Malwa or Gujarat, of Lakhnauti or Sonargaon, shall draw the sword and become rebels to the throne of Delhi, then such punishment as has fallen upon Tughril and his dependants will fall upon them, their wives, their children, and all their adherents." On his return to Delhi the Sultan ordered gibbets to be erected again for the execution of deserters who had joined Tughril. At the intercession of the *Qazi* of the army Balban modified his plan. Of the captives, those who were men of no consequence were pardoned, those who enjoyed a slightly better status than these were banished for a time, those who held responsible positions were imprisoned, and the chief officers were mounted on buffaloes and paraded in the streets of Delhi.

MONGOL INVASIONS

The ever-present threat of Mongol invasions was a vital factor in determining Balban's policy. Once his courtiers urged him to conquer Malwa and Gujarat; he replied that he had no intention of exposing Delhi to the fate of Baghdad.[1] He realised the importance of concentrating his military strength on the defence of the vulnerable north-western frontier; so he did not divert his attention to the expansion of the Empire. Internal consolidation was the keynote of his policy.

The important frontier province of Multan-Dipalpur was at first under the control of Balban's cousin, Sher Khan Sunqar, whose courage inspired the dread of the Mongols and the turbulent frontier tribes, like the Khokars. His death removed a competent warden of the marches. Balban filled up the gap by appointing his eldest son, Muhammad Khan, as Sher Khan's successor. The Prince was an able warrior, but what attracted the contemporary chroniclers most was his patronage of learning. Both Amir Khusrau and Amir Hasan began their literary careers under his care. He invited the great poet Sadi to come to India; the poet excused himself on the ground of old age. The Prince compiled an anthology of Persian verse which contained about 30,000 couplets. The frontier district of Sunam-Samana was

[1] In 1258 Hulagu captured Baghdad and brutally murdered the Caliph, Mustasim.

placed under the charge of Muhammad's younger brother, Bughra Khan. These arrangements effectively protected the frontier against Mongol aggressions.

About the year 1279 the Mongols ravaged the Upper Punjab and even crossed the Sutlej. A large army, composed of the contingents of Muhammad from Multan, Bughra Khan from Samana, and Malik Betkars from Delhi, proceeded against the invaders and inflicted a severe defeat. But in 1286, says Amir Khusrau, "suddenly a bolt fell from the blue ; the Day of Doom was enacted on earth." A Mongol army under Tamur Khan invaded Multan and slew Muhammad in an ambush. The old Sultan, who loved the Prince dearly and concentrated on him all his hopes for the future, wept for him bitterly at night, although throughout the day he transacted public business with his usual dignity. Even towards the close of his reign his western boundary did not extend much further than the Beas. Balban re-occupied and rebuilt Lahore.

ESTIMATE OF BALBAN

After Muhammad's death Balban summoned Bughra Khan from Bengal and nominated him as his heir. But Bughra Khan returned to Bengal without the Sultan's permission. On his death bed Balban designated as his heir Kai-khusrau, son of Muhammad. After his death his "faithful servants" paid no heed to his last wishes ; they put on the throne young Kaiqubad, son of Bughra Khan.

Balban was undoubtedly a very able ruler. For about four decades (1246-87) he was the *de facto* ruler of the large Turkish Empire in India. He proved his ability by restoring peace and order within, and by defending the north-western frontier against the powerful Mongols. He revealed his stern sense of realities by abstaining from wars of aggrandisement. Consolidation was the need of the hour, and Balban wisely concentrated his attention upon consolidation. His ruthlessness sometimes excites our disgust, but it should not be forgotten that his lot was cast in a faithless age. By exalting the Monarchy and degrading the nobility he gave a new colour to the Turkish State in India. He punctually discharged all the religious duties of an orthodox Sunni. His patronage was extended to many refugees from Central Asia, whom the Mongols had com-

pelled to leave their homeland. Balban's relations with learned and pious Muslims were cordial ; we are told that he always dined in their company and conversed on law and religion.

KAIQUBAD (1287-90)

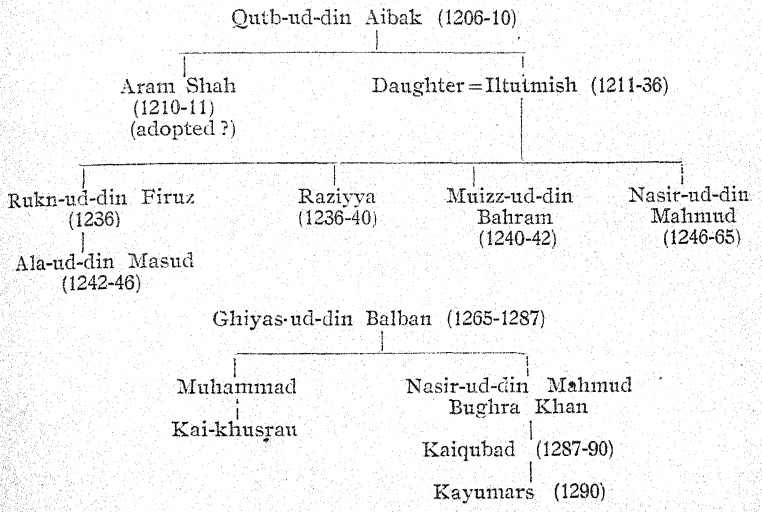
Kaiqubad, who succeeded Balban in 1287, was a dissolute young man, quite incompetent to bear the burden which had exhausted his stern grand-father. Bughra Khan did not oppose his son's accession, but assumed in Bengal the royal title of Nasir-ud-din Mahmud Bughra Shah. Kaiqubad became a puppet in the hands of an officer named Nizam-ud-din. A large Mongol army under Tamur Khan invaded the Punjab and advanced almost as far as Samana. Malik Muhammad Baqbaq defeated the Mongols near Lahore and carried more than a thousand prisoners to Delhi. These were either beheaded or crushed under the feet of elephants. Even the so-called 'New Muslims' (Mongols who had embraced Islam and settled in Delhi) did not escape punishment.

Meanwhile Bughra Khan, probably exasperated by his son's follies, advanced at the head of a hostile army as far as the Gogra (1288). Kaiqubad proceeded against him with an army. A meeting between father and son brought about a reconciliation. Bughra Khan gave his son wholesome advice on many points, and then returned to Bengal. Kaiqubad made a sudden attempt to restore his own authority by poisoning Nizam-ud-din. Jalal-ud-din Firuz Khalji was given the important fief of Baran and appointed to the command of the army. His elevation offended the powerful Turkish nobles, who looked down upon the Khalji tribe.[1] Soon after this Kaiqubad was struck down with paralysis. The Turkish nobles put on the throne Kaiqubad's infant son, who was given the title of Shams-ud-din Kayumars. Jalal-ud-din Khalji occupied Delhi, caused Kaiqubad to be murdered, and ascended the throne (March, 1290). Thus the so-called Slave Dynasty came to an end, and, according to Barani, sovereignty passed from the Turks for ever.

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[1] The Khaljis were generally regarded as Afghans, although they were really Turks. They lived for many years in the *Garmsir* (hot region) of Afghanistan, and naturally adopted some Afghan manners and customs.

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE SLAVE DYNASTY



FOR FURTHER STUDY

Raverty, *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri* (English translation).
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CHAPTER XIII

THE CLIMAX AND FALL OF THE SULTANATE OF DELHI

SECTION I

THE KHALJIS

JALAL-UD-DIN FIRUZ KHALJI (1290-96)

Although Jalal-ud-din occupied the throne by an act of naked violence, he was not able to overcome the hostility of the people, nor could he secure the willing obedience of the powerful Turkish nobles, who were not prepared to tolerate the rule of a Khalji. He crowned himself at Kilokhri, and for some time after this ceremony he could not even enter Delhi. He completed the building at Kilokhri left unfinished by Kaiqubad, and compelled his courtiers to build their residences near his new palace. Thus a new city grew up near Delhi.

Although the Sultan naturally favoured his sons and relatives in the distribution of fiefs and offices, he tried to conciliate the Turks by limited concessions. Malik Chhajju, the sole surviving member of Balban's family, received Kara-Manikpur and was thus removed from the capital, where he might have created troubles. Fakhr-ud-din, who had for years been *Kotwal* of Delhi, was allowed to retain that important office. The Sultan's mildness and sentimental respect for Balban's memory gradually removed the prejudice against him, and he secured the confidence and loyalty of the older generation, although younger men wondered whether a man who wept before Balban's throne room could govern the Empire.

Jalal-ud-din's weakness gradually became clear to all. In the second year of the reign, Chhajju assumed the royal title at Kara-Manikpur and secured the support of Hatim Khan, Governor of Oudh. The rebels were defeated near Budaun by the Sultan's eldest son, Arkali Khan, but when the captives, including Malik Chhajju, were brought in chains before Jalal-

ud-din, he wept, released them, and even entertained them at a wine party. When the Sultan's loyal officers protested against this dangerous exhibition of clemency, he replied that he could not imperil his fate in the next world by shedding Muslim blood. On one occasion more than a thousand *Thags*[1] were arrested, but, instead of punishing them, the Sultan sent them to Bengal, where they were set free. Only on one occasion did Jalal-ud-din depart from his policy of leniency: a Muslim saint of Delhi, Sidi Maula by name, was trampled by an elephant, on the alleged ground that his disciples intended to raise him to the throne as Caliph. This unfortunate murder, followed by a serious famine, created an impression among the people that the Sultan was a victim of divine wrath.

The only noteworthy military enterprise of the Sultan was an expedition against Ranthambhor. But he returned to Delhi without besieging the famous fort, and silenced his angry courtiers by saying that he could not imperil the life of even a single true believer for the sake of earthly possessions. Against the Mongols, however, he showed more energy. In 1292 a large Mongol army crossed the Indus under the command of a grandson of Hulagu and advanced as far as Sunam. The Sultan energetically proceeded against the invaders and defeated them. Some of the officers, including a descendant of Chingiz Khan, with their troops embraced Islam, entered the Sultan's service, and settled in Delhi. They came to be known as the 'New Muslims.'

ALA-UD-DIN'S EXPEDITION TO DEVAGIRI (1294)

After his accession to the throne Jalal-ud-din conferred an important post upon his favourite nephew and son-in-law, Ala-ud-din. After Malik Chhajju's rebellion the fief of Kara-Manikpur was given to Ala-ud-din. Ala-ud-din was an ambitious man. Instigated by Malik Chhajju's adherents and disgusted with the conduct of his wife and mother-in-law, who tried to poison the Sultan's ears against him, he resolved to try his luck in a new sphere. In 1292 he invaded Malwa with the Sultan's permission, plundered Bhilsa, and carried an

[1] As Barani uses this word, it is clear that the history of the *Thags* does not begin in the eighteenth century.

immense booty to Delhi, where the Sultan rewarded him with the charge of Oudh, in addition to the important fief he already held. At Bhilsa Ala-ud-din had heard of the prosperity of the Yadava Kingdom of Devagiri. He now decided to cross the Vindhyas—a feat of arms which no Muslim ruler or general had yet accomplished—and collected troops under the pretence of leading another expedition to Malwa for the conquest of important places like Chanderi. He took cautious measures for allaying the suspicions of the Sultan, and started for the Deccan in 1294.

The ruler of the Yadava Kingdom, Ramachandra,[1] was taken by surprise, so sudden and unexpected was the arrival of the Muslim army near his capital. He met Ala-ud-din at Lasura, 12 miles from Devagiri, and suffered a defeat, which was mainly due to numerical inferiority. He tried to take refuge within the citadel, but he could not collect provisions. Ala-ud-din's force consisted of about 8,000 cavalry, but he created a false impression about his strength by spreading a rumour that a much larger force was coming to join him immediately. The Hindus were panic-stricken. Ala-ud-din plundered the city and collected a large number of horses and elephants. Ramachandra made peace, and the successful invader was allowed to take an enormous quantity of gold and many precious jewels.

Ramachandra's discomfiture was primarily due to the fact that his eldest son, Sankar, was away from the capital with the greater part of his army at the time of Ala-ud-din's invasion. On the eve of Ala-ud-din's triumphant departure from Devagiri Sankar returned to the capital and at once attacked the invaders. Ala-ud-din defeated him, once again besieged the citadel, and compelled the garrison to surrender. He now demanded, and received, the cession of the province of Ellichpur (in Berar) and a large indemnity. "The booty was enormous, but it was the reward of an exploit as daring and impudent as any recorded in history. Ala-ud-din's objective, the capital of a powerful kingdom, was separated from his base by a march of two months through unknown regions inhabited by peoples little likely than otherwise to be hostile."

[1] See p. 183.

ACCESSION OF ALA-UD-DIN (1296)

Ala-ud-din returned to Kara safely with his treasure, without encountering any opposition on the way. During his absence from Kara the loyal officers of the Sultan tried to convince the latter that Ala-ud-din was too ambitious to be trusted. But the Sultan declared that he loved his nephew as a son, and his credulity was encouraged by the smooth words of Ulugh Khan, Ala-ud-din's brother, who looked after the adventurer's interests in Delhi. Ulugh Khan persuaded Jalal-ud-din to go to Kara to meet his successful nephew, who was represented as anxious to present to the Sultan the enormous wealth he had brought from the South. The Sultan disregarded the protests of his officers, came to Kara, and met Ala-ud-din. A shocking tragedy followed: at a pre-arranged signal from Ala-ud-din two ruffians killed the Sultan. His head was placed on a spear and publicly shown in the districts under Ala-ud-din's control. Ala-ud-din was proclaimed Sultan on July 19, 1296.

Jalal-ud-din's eldest son, Arkali Khan, was a strong man, but his chances to frustrate Ala-ud-din's ambition were destroyed by the old Sultan's widow. Arkali Khan was then at Multan, and the royal lady considered it necessary to fill up the throne at once, lest Ala-ud-din should march on Delhi and occupy the capital. So she raised to the throne a younger son of the old Sultan, under the title of Rukn-ud-din Ibrahim. This unwise step divided the legitimists; the adherents of Arkali Khan refused to recognise the Queen's nominee. Ala-ud-din advanced on Delhi at the head of a large army, conciliating the people on the way by a lavish distribution of gold. An army sent from Delhi met him near Budaun, but the officers were won over, and there was no fighting. On Ala-ud-din's arrival near Delhi Rukh-ud-din fled towards Multan. Ala-ud-din ascended the throne in the Red Palace of Balban on October 3, 1296. A large army was sent to Multan under Ulugh Khan, who captured the city and blinded Jalal-ud-din's sons and their faithful officers. The old Sultan's widow was placed in confinement. Those nobles who had espoused Ala-ud-din's cause for the lure of gold were then severely punished, for Ala-ud-din was convinced that those who deserted one master could not be safely trusted by another.

CONQUEST OF GUJARAT (1297)

When Ala-ud-din found his authority consolidated in Delhi, he turned his attention to the extension of the Empire. After the death of Iltutmish no serious attempt had yet been made to annex new provinces to the Sultanate. The incapacity of his successors and the cautious policy of Balban were responsible for this. Ala-ud-din broke this tradition, and once again the legions of Delhi started a whirlwind of conquest and plunder.

Ala-ud-din's first victim was the rich province of Gujarat, which was then ruled by the Baghela[1] (Chaulukya) King Karna. Ulugh Khan and Nusrat Khan, Ala-ud-din's principal lieutenant in his Devagiri adventure, were sent to Gujarat in 1297 at the head of a large army. The capital was besieged and captured. Karna fled to Devagiri with his daughter, Devala Devi, and found shelter in Ramachandra's court. Karna's wife, Kamala Devi, was captured by the invaders and subsequently taken to Ala-ud-din's *harem*. Nusrat Khan plundered the flourishing port of Cambay, where he found the famous slave Kafur, who later on played so distinguished a part in the history of the reign. Gujarat was placed under the charge of a Muslim Governor. The victorious army returned to Delhi, but while it was on its way the 'New Muslims' revolted as a protest against the inequitable distribution of the spoils. The rebellion was suppressed with terrible cruelty, and the sins of rebels were visited on the heads of their innocent wives and children.

SOME ABSURD PROJECTS

Ala-ud-din was so much elated by his numerous successes that he seems to have lost, temporarily, his sense of political realities. He considered himself competent to emulate Alexander as a conqueror of the world, and even to establish a new religion like Muhammad. Fortunately there was in his court at least one person who could tell him the truth. His faithful officer, Ala-ul-Mulk, the *Kotwal* of Delhi, plainly told him that the establishment of a new religion could not be accomplished without Divine grace, and added that dreams of world conquest were foolish so long as a large part of India remained unconquered, and the

[1] See p. 176.

Empire was constantly exposed to Mongol raids. He advised the Sultan to avoid wine and chase and to devote more time to public business. Ala-ud-din appreciated the wisdom of the *Kotwal's* words, and although he described himself on his coins as 'the second Alexander', he made no attempt to rival Muhammad or Alexander.

CONQUEST OF RANTHAMBHOR (1299-1301)

The great fort of Ranthambhor was at this time under the rule of a Chauhan Prince named Hamir, who claimed descent from Prithviraja III. The strategic position of the fort made it unsafe for the Sultans of Delhi to leave it in the hands of a Rajput. Moreover, Hamir had given shelter to some rebel 'New Muslims'. So in 1299 Ala-ud-din sent Ulugh Khan and Nusrat Khan to capture Ranthambhor. The Rajputs slew Nusrat Khan and compelled Ulugh Khan to retreat. On hearing this Ala-ud-din left Delhi to take charge of the campaign ; on his way he halted for some days to enjoy the chase. An unsuccessful attempt on his life was made in this interval by his nephew Akat Khan, who was captured and put to death. Ala-ud-din then came to Ranthambhor, and while the siege was in progress, he heard that his sister's sons, Amir Umar and Mangu Khan, had revolted in Budaun and Oudh. The rebellion was suppressed by the Sultan's officers ; the rebels were sent to Ranthambhor and blinded there. This was followed by a serious rebellion in Delhi, organised by a disgruntled officer named Haji Maula. Ala-ud-din heard the news, but he continued the siege without wavering. Haji Maula was, however, defeated and killed by a loyal noble, Malik Hamid-ud-din. Ranthambhor was occupied after one year's siege with the assistance of Hamir's treacherous minister, who received death instead of reward from the crafty Sultan. Hamir was put to death, and the fort was placed under the charge of Ulugh Khan.

REGULATIONS FOR THE PREVENTION OF REBELLION

Three successive rebellions within a brief period convinced Ala-ud-din that strong measures must be taken to prevent such disturbances in the future. In consultation with his confidential advisers he concluded that rebellions were due to four main

causes: (1) Inadequate use of the espionage system, which left the Sultan in the dark about the conditions of the Empire and the sentiments of the people. (2) Excess in wine, which destroyed judgment and fostered treason. (3) Inter-marriages between aristocratic families, which provided opportunities for intimacy and conspiracy. (4) General prosperity of the people, which offered sufficient leisure for idle dreams and intrigues.

On his return from Ranthambhor Ala-ud-din introduced some radical preventive measures. The first blow was aimed at the possession of wealth by nobles and officers. All religious endowments were withdrawn, almost all grants of rent-free land were confiscated, and tax-collectors were instructed to collect as much gold as they could. Secondly, an elaborate system of espionage was organised. The spies kept a close watch upon the conduct and talk of the officials and nobles, and everything considered important was reported to him. "The system of reporting went to such a length that nobles dared not speak aloud even in the largest places, and if they had anything to say they communicated by signs." Thirdly, the use of intoxicating liquor was prohibited. Ala-ud-din himself gave up drinking: "jars and casks of wine were brought out of the royal cellars, and emptied . . . . . in such abundance, that mud and mire were produced as in the rainy season." But drinking was too common to be absolutely stopped. Some time later Ala-ud-din modified his original orders and permitted the nobles to drink individually at home, but the public sale of wine and its use in social parties remained forbidden as before. Fourthly, the nobles were forbidden to organise social parties in their houses and to settle marriages between members of their families without the Sultan's special permission. These tyrannical measures could not be evaded, for the Sultan's spies were always at work.

The wealthy Hindu chiefs and revenue collectors were impoverished and humiliated by special ordinances directed against their wealth and influence. Consulted by the Sultan, Qazi Mughis-ud-din, an eminent divine, delivered the following opinion on the position of the Hindus in the Empire: "They are called payers of tribute, and when the revenue officer demands silver from them, they should, without question and with all humility and respect, tender gold. If the tax collector chooses to spit in the mouth of a Hindu, the latter must open

his mouth without hesitation. . . . God himself has commanded their complete degradation inasmuch as the Hindus are the deadliest foes of the Prophet. The Prophet has said that they should either embrace Islam or they should be slain or enslaved, and their property should be confiscated to the state."

Ala-ud-din could not slay or enslave the Hindus, who constituted the vast majority of the population in his Empire ; but he took effective steps to confiscate their property. They had to pay half the gross produce to the Sultan's exchequer. The burden was made heavier by the imposition of a grazing tax and a house tax. So rigorously were these measures enforced that "the *Chaudhuris, Khuts,* and *Muqaddams* (i.e., Hindu revenue officials) were not able to ride on horseback, to find weapons, to get fine clothes, or to indulge in betel." Barani says that the wives of the *Khuts* and *Muqaddams* were compelled to work as maid servants in the houses of their Muslim neighbours. Sharaf Qai, the deputy *Wazir,* is said to have brought all provinces of the Empire under one revenue law as if they were all one village. As a result of his strong administration the landholders were reduced to such a condition that 'a single *chaprasi* of the revenue department would seize some twenty landed proprietors, chiefmen and agents and minister kicks and blows to them.' Barani adds that the officials of the revenue department became objects of public hatred, so much so that nobody wanted to give his daughter in marriage to any of them.

CONQUEST OF CHITOR (1303)

The Guhilot rulers of Mewar[1] came into conflict with the Sultans of Delhi on different occasions during the thirteenth century, but no predecessor of Ala-ud-din made any serious attempt to annex this small principality well-protected by Nature. Ala-ud-din personally invaded Mewar, besieged Chitor, and captured the fort on August 26, 1303. According to Tod, the famous chronicler of the Rajputs, Ala-ud-din's principal motive was to secure Padmini, the beautiful wife of Rana Bhim Singh. But we know definitely that the Rana's name was Ratan

[1] See pp. 176-177.

Singh, and there are many grounds to disbelieve the story of Padmini, which is unknown to contemporary evidence. In any case, it is probable that the cause of Ala-ud-din's expedition was his natural desire to subdue a strong principality lying so near Delhi. The poet Amir Khusrau, who accompanied the Sultan, has left for us a valuable account of the campaign. The Rajputs offered determined resistance, but they could not save the fort of Chitor. Chitor was named Khizrabad and placed under the charge of the Sultan's eldest son, Khizr Khan. Some years later Ala-ud-din placed Chitor under the control of a Rajput chief named Maldev, from whom it was subsequently recaptured by Rana Hamir.

CONQUEST OF MALWA

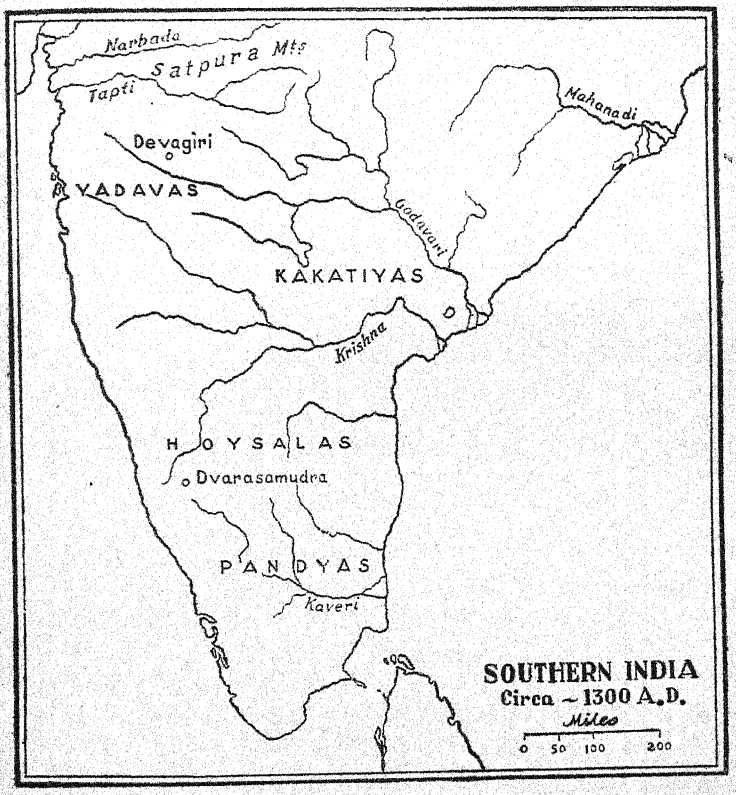
The occupation of two strong forts in Rajputana—Ranthambhor and Chitor—diverted Ala-ud-din's attention to the neighbouring province of Malwa. In 1305 Ain-ul-Mulk Multani was sent to conquer Malwa. He was opposed by a Hindu Prince whose relationship with the Paramaras, if any, is at present unknown. The Muslims were victorious, and the important cities of Mandu, Ujjain, Dhar and Chanderi were reduced. Ain-ul-Mulk was appointed Governor of Malwa.

FIRST DECCAN EXPEDITION OF KAFUR (1306-7) : DEVAGIRI

By 1305 Ala-ud-din found himself the master of the whole of Northern India, except Kashmir, Nepal, and Assam. His imagination was now once more fired by the wealth accumulated in the rich cities of the Deccan. Soon after the fall of Ranthambhor Ulugh Khan made some preparations for an expedition to the Deccan, but he died before the enterprise could be undertaken. When Ala-ud-din was proceeding towards Mewar he sent an expedition under Chhajju for the conquest of Telingana. Chhajju marched to Warangal, the capital of the Kakatiya Kingdom, through Bengal and Orissa. There the army suffered a defeat, and the expedition failed to accomplish its purpose.

In 1306 Malik Kafur, who then occupied the exalted office of *Naib* (deputy of the state), was despatched to the Deccan

at the head of a large army. He was instructed to reduce to obedience Raja Ramachandra of Devagiri, who had for three successive years failed to send his tribute to Delhi and given refuge to Karna, the fugitive ex-King of Gujarat. Another object of the expedition was to bring to Delhi Raja Karna's daughter, Devala Devi, who was wanted by her mother, Kamala Devi, now an inmate of Ala-ud-din's *harem*.



Karna seems to have established a petty principality in the Baglana region. Malik Kafur passed through Malwa and requested Alp Khan, Governor of Gujarat, to join him. Alp Khan's attempt to co-operate with Kafur's army was frustrated by Karna, who had already rejected Kafur's request to send

his daughter to Delhi. Conscious of his own weakness, Karna arranged Devala Devi's marriage with Sankar, Ramachandra's son, and she was escorted towards Devagiri. Unfortunately Alp Khan's troops surprised the escort and captured Devala Devi, who was sent to Delhi and married to Khizr Khan[1]. About the same time Alp Khan's army defeated Karna in his mountain shelter and compelled him to flee to Devagiri. What happened to him afterwards, we do not know.

Kafur proceeded through Ellichpur, which was placed under the charge of Muslim officers, arrived at Devagiri, and there received the humble submission of the Yadava King. Ramachandra went to Delhi, satisfied the Sultan by presents of enormous value, and received from him the title of *Rai-i-Rayan* (chief of chiefs). He was re-instated as a vassal ruler, and the district of Navasari was conferred upon him as a personal fief.

SECOND DECCAN EXPEDITION OF KAFUR (1308-10) : WARANGAL

The Yadava Kingdom occupied the western part of the Deccan ; the eastern part was included in the Kakatiya Kingdom[2] of Warangal. The capital city was surrounded by two strong walls. Prataparudra II, the reigning King, had already defeated Chhajju's expedition in 1303. But he found it more difficult to deal with Malik Kafur, who started from Delhi in 1308 with instructions to drain the Kakatiya Kingdom of its wealth, but not to annex it.

On his way to Telingana Kafur halted at Devagiri and received valuable assistance from Ramachandra. He ravaged the country through which he passed, and appeared before Warangal. Prataparudra shut himself up in his impregnable fortress, but after a prolonged siege, which the outer line of defence failed to stand, he submitted in 1310. A large booty, including horses, elephants, and jewels, was offered, and the payment of an annual tribute was promised.

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[1] Devala Devi's beauty and her love for Khizr Khan are commemorated in one of Amir Khusrau's poetical works. After Ala-ud-din's death Qutb-ud-din Mubarak murdered Khizr Khan and forcibly married Devala Devi. Later on the usurper Khusrau, who murdered Qutb-ud-din Mubarak, took her into his own *harem*.

[2] See pp. 184-185.

THIRD DECCAN EXPEDITION OF KAFUR (1310-11): HOYSALAS AND PANDYAS

The subjugation of Devagiri and Warangal, followed by the capture of a large booty, created a new sense of confidence in Ala-ud-din's mind and fired him with the ambition of bringing the whole of Southern India under his suzerainty. In 1310 Malik Kafur and Khwaja Haji were again sent across the Vindhyas at the head of a large army.

Once again Kafur passed through Devagiri, where Sankar had succeeded Ramachandra, in 1309 or 1310. His loyalty was probably not above suspicion; so Kafur secured his rear by establishing a garrison at Jalna, on the Godavari. Then he rapidly marched towards Dvarasamudra, the capital of the powerful Hoysala[1] King Vira Ballala III. The ruins of the capital may still be seen at Halebid, in the Hasan district of Mysore. The Kingdom lay to the south of the Krishna and included, in addition to other districts, the whole of the modern Mysore State. Like Ramachandra in 1294, Vira Ballala was caught unprepared, and defeated; his capital was occupied by the invaders. Some temples were plundered. The Hoysala King paid an enormous war indemnity and became a tributary vassal of Delhi.

From Dvarasamudra Kafur proceeded towards the Pandya Kingdom[2] in the Far South. After the death of Kulasekhara the succession was disputed by his two sons, Sundara Pandya and Vira Pandya. In 1310 Sundara Pandya, defeated by Vira Pandya, went to Delhi, and sought the Sultan's help for the recovery of his throne. Amir Khusrau's *Tarikh-i-Alai* contains a vivid description of Kafur's march through the unknown and inhospitable regions ruled by the Hoysalas and the Pandyas. In the early part of the year 1311 Kafur appeared at Madura, which he found deserted. That famous city was plundered and a large booty, including 500 *maunds* of jewels, was captured. Kafur advanced as far as Rameswaram, where he destroyed the great temple, a centre of Hindu pilgrimage, and built a mosque. Leaving a Muslim Governor at Madura, he started for Delhi,

[1] See pp. 183-184.
[2] See pp. 191-192.

where he reached in October, 1311, and met with a welcome which he richly deserved.

FOURTH DECCAN EXPEDITION OF KAFUR (1313): YADAVAS AND HOYSALAS

Sankar of Devagiri had always been restless under the Muslim yoke. After Kafur's return to Delhi he stopped the payment of the customary tribute. In 1313 Kafur re-appeared at Devagiri; Sankar was defeated and killed. Marching southwards, Kafur captured Gulbarga, Raichur, and Mudgal; the whole of the territory lying between the Krishna and the Tungabhadra fell under his control. Then he marched westwards, overran the Hoysala dominions once again, and captured the important seaports of Dabhol and Chaul. The whole of Southern India was thus brought under the effective suzerainty of Delhi; the Turkish Empire reached the zenith of its extent and power. But subsequent events showed that the policy of ruling Southern India through tributary Hindu Princes was a failure.

MONGOL INVASIONS

Ala-ud-din's success as a conqueror must not divert our attention from the Mongol menace on the north-western frontier. The Mongol fury was as dangerous as it had been in the days of Balban, and the fact that it did not compel Ala-ud-din to give up the policy of territorial expansion merely shows that he was an abler and more adventurous ruler than the strong man of the Slave Dynasty.

Like Sher Khan Sunqar in the reign of Balban, Zafar Khan was a very able warden of the north-western frontier in the early part of Ala-ud-din's reign. Even after his death his name remained a terror to the ferocious invaders. He repulsed a Mongol invasion near Jullundur soon after Ala-ud-din's accession. In 1299 an army of 200,000 Mongols under Qutlugh Khwaja encamped on the banks of the Jumna and threatened Delhi. It was a peculiarly dangerous crisis for Ala-ud-din, for the Mongols were on this occasion bent upon conquest, not mere plunder. Zafar Khan defeated the Mongols but lost his

life. Instead of regretting the loss of so able a servant Ala-ud-din felt relieved at the removal of a powerful military chief who might have grown dangerous.

When Ala-ud-din was engaged in the siege of Chitor (1303) a Mongol army of 120,000, led by Targhi, came to India and encamped near Delhi. Ala-ud-din was able to return to Delhi before their operations began, but they successfully prevented the contingents of the North Indian fief-holders from joining the Sultan in the capital. Unable to attack the Mongols for want of a sufficiently strong force, Ala-ud-din shut himself up in the fortress of Siri, allowing the enemy to plunder Delhi and the neighbouring districts. Fortunately the Mongols suddenly raised the siege and made an unexpected retreat, which was probably 'due to their inexperience of regular sieges.'

This dangerous experience compelled Ala-ud-din to take effective measures for the protection of the Punjab. He repaired old forts and built and garrisoned new forts. The numerical strength of the army was increased. In 1305 the government of the Punjab was entrusted to Ghazi Malik (afterwards Ghiyas-ud-din Tughluq) who ably defended the frontier for many years.

In 1304 there was another Mongol raid. The invaders advanced as far as Amroha, ravaging the country through which they passed. Malik Kafur and Ghazi Malik were sent against them. About 8,000 Mongols, including two leaders, were captured and sent to Delhi. The leaders were trampled to death by elephants ; the common soldiers were beheaded and their heads were built into the walls of the fortress of Siri. Ghazi Malik was rewarded with the Governorship of the Punjab.

In 1306 a Mongol army under Kabk crossed the Indus near Multan, marched towards the Himalayas, and plundered the intervening country. While returning homewards the Mongols found their retreat cut off by Ghazi Malik, who killed and captured about 50,000 invaders, including Kabk. The captives were either trampled by elephants or executed, and their wives and children were sold as slaves.

In 1307-8 a Mongol chief named Iqbalmand crossed the Indus, but he was defeated and killed. During the remaining years of Ala-ud-din's reign the Mongols did not venture to trouble him again.

MASSACRE OF 'NEW MUSLIMS'

The 'New Muslims' (*i.e.*, those Mongols who had embraced Islam and settled in India) were looked upon with suspicion by Ala-ud-din and his courtiers and debarred from lucrative appointments and other privileges. They retaliated by rebellions and intrigues. Towards the close of Ala-ud-din's reign they organised a conspiracy to murder him. The conspiracy was detected. Ala-ud-din ordered that all 'New Muslims', living either at Delhi or in the provinces, should be put to death. About 30,000 'New Muslims' were killed.

MARKET REGULATIONS

A large standing army was a necessity for a large and expanding Empire, and such an army required huge sums of money for its maintenance. Ala-ud-din tried to keep down the military expenditure. He fixed the pay of a soldier at 234 *tankas*, and in order to enable the soldiers to meet their expenses he regulated the prices of commodities and thus indirectly reduced the cost of living. The prices of all commodities required for daily use were fixed by the Sultan, and his orders were enforced by a high officer called *Shahna-i-Mandi* (Superintendent of the market) with the assistance of a strong staff. In the *Khalsa* villages of the Doab the revenue was to be realised not in cash but in kind. Grain was to be stored in the royal granaries in Delhi, so that in times of scarcity the Government could provide adequate supplies. All merchants had to register themselves in the office of the *Shahna-i-Mandi*, who also supervised the movements of all caravans. No one was allowed to hoard grain or to sell it at an enhanced price. Barani says that in times of drought the *Shahna-i-Mandi* suggested that the price of grain might be slightly increased, and for this offence he received 21 stripes. This gives us an idea about the rigour with which the regulations were enforced. Whatever opinion we may hold about the economic and political justification of these regulations, they were temporarily successful in achieving their purpose. Barani says that even in times of drought no scarcity of grain was felt.

The prices of wheat, barley, rice, cloth, sugar, *ghee*, oil, salt and other articles were fixed, and even animals like horses

and cattle were brought within the purview of the regulations. The prices of slaves and maid servants naturally fell. The brokers were so strictly controlled that they could no longer manipulate the prices. If any shop-keeper cheated a customer as regards the weight of the commodity sold, an equal quantity of flesh was cut off from his body. The reduction in the cost of living enabled Ala-ud-din to maintain a large standing army without putting too severe a strain on his treasury.

LAST YEARS OF ALA-UD-DIN

Towards the close of his reign Ala-ud-din, shattered in health and neglected by his wife and children, became a puppet in the hands of Malik Kafur, whose intrigues created a vicious atmosphere in the court and the *harem*. Khizr Khan was sent to the prison fortress of Gwalior ; his mother was imprisoned at old Delhi. Alp Khan, Governor of Gujarat, who was suspected of connection with Khizr Khan's party, was murdered. The results of these tyrannical measures were disastrous. Alp Khan's troops in Gujarat rose in rebellion. In Devagiri Harapal, a son-in-law of Ramachandra, occupied some Muslim military posts and declared his independence. Nothing was done to bring the rebels under control. Ala-ud-din died on January 2, 1316. It was generally believed that Kafur hastened his death by administering poison. In the words of a Muslim historian. "Fortune proved, as usual, fickle ; and destiny drew her poniard to destroy him."

ESTIMATE OF ALA-UD-DIN

Ala-ud-din was the typical strong man of his age. He was ruthless by nature, and neither friend nor foe could expect mercy from him. Some amount of ruthlessness was certainly necessary in that age of treachery and strife, but Ala-ud-din probably exceeded the limit. So his success contained within itself the germs of reaction : the mighty structure raised by him through a policy of blood and iron almost collapsed before his eyes and he helplessly 'bit his own flesh with fury.'

But the history of Ala-ud-din's reign has two features of permanent interest. In the first place, he was the first Muslim ruler of Delhi to create an Empire embracing the larger portion of India. Political unity was restored after many centuries of disintegration, and trans-Vindhyan India was once again linked up with the North. The South was as yet a very uneasy partner, for the local dynasties were deeply rooted in the soil, and the destruction of temples intensified the resentment of the people against the invader. But Ala-ud-din prepared the way for the Bahmani Kingdom and, through it, for the establishment of Mughal rule in the Deccan. Secondly, Ala-ud-din gave some sort of administrative uniformity to the Turkish Empire, which had so long been little more than a collection of 'military fiefs.' He was a real Empire-builder, for in building up an Empire he did not confine his attention to military force alone. He deliberately freed himself from the domination of the orthodox *Ulemas* and decided that in secular matters secular considerations must prevail. To an enthusiastic *Qazi* he observed, "I do not know whether this is lawful or unlawful (*i.e.*, whether it is sanctioned by Islamic law or not) ; whatever I think for the good of the State, or suitable for the emergency, that I decree". It was the enunciation of a new policy, an anticipation of the principle followed by Muhammad Tughluq.

Ala-ud-din was probably illiterate. Barani says that he had 'no acquaintance with learning', but Ferishta says that he learnt the art of reading Persian after his accession. He was, however, interested in literature. Both Amir Khusrau and Mir Hasan Dehlvi enjoyed his patronage. Ala-ud-din was also an enthusiastic builder of forts and mosques.

QUTB-UD-DIN MUBARAK KHALJI (1316-20)

Before his death Ala-ud-din disinherited Khizr Khan and nominated as successor his minor son, Shihab-ud-din Umar. This arrangement was most probably made under Malik Kafur's influence. Kafur put the minor on the throne and became the *de facto* ruler of the Empire. Khizr Khan and his younger brother, Sadi Khan, were blinded. Ala-ud-din's widow was forcibly married by Kafur, and then she was thrown into prison. An

attempt was made to blind Ala-ud-din's third son, Mubarak, who, however, bribed Kafur's men and induced them to murder the hated eunuch. After Kafur's death Mubarak became regent for Shihab-ud-din Umar. But in April, 1316, the minor was blinded and Mubarak formally ascended the throne as Sultan.

Mubarak began his reign well. He released many prisoners, restored the confiscated lands to their owners, and repealed the harsher regulations enforced by his father, including the compulsory tariff. The murderers of Malik Kafur, who claimed extravagant privileges, were punished. The sudden liberalisation of the administration encouraged lawlessness and this unfortunate development was further encouraged by the Sultan's licentiousness. He rapidly became a puppet in the hands of a vile favourite named Khusrau, originally belonging to an unclean Hindu caste, later on converted to Islam.

The rebellion in Gujarat was suppressed by Ain-ul-Mulk, and the government of the province was entrusted to the Sultan's father-in-law, Zafar Khan. In 1317 Mubarak himself started for the Deccan in order to suppress the revolt in Devagiri. Harapal fled as soon as the Sultan approached Devagiri, but he was captured and tortured to death. Muslim officers were placed in different parts of the former Yadava Kingdom, at Gulbarga, and even at Dvarasamudra. A great mosque was built at Devagiri, the materials of demolished temples being utilised for its construction. Khusrau was sent on an expedition to Madura.

A serious conspiracy against Mubarak's life was brought to light before it could be put in action ; the conspirators and their relatives suffered death. Khizr Khan and Shihab-ud-din Umar were murdered and Devala Devi, Khizr Khan's unfortunate wife, was brought to the Sultan's *harem*. Elated by success, Mubarak gave himself up to 'the grossest licentiousness and the most disgusting buffoonery'. His pretensions knew no bounds ; he assumed the pontifical title of *al-Wāsiq-billāh*, thereby shaking off the traditional allegiance to the Khilafat.

Zafar Khan was recalled from Gujarat and Hisam-ud-din, Khusrau's brother, was sent to take his place. This ungrateful man tried to raise a rebellion soon after his arrival in Gujarat,

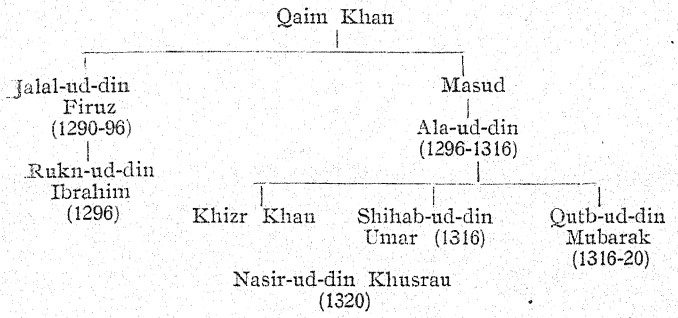
but the local nobles seized him and sent him to Delhi. Instead of punishing him, Mubarak restored him to favour. After this Malik Yaklaki, whom Mubarak had left as Governor of Devagiri, declared his independence. An army sent from Delhi defeated and captured him. In Delhi he suffered the comparatively light punishment of the mutilation of the nose and ears, but shortly afterwards he was restored to favour and appointed Governor of Samana.

Meanwhile Khusrau had collected a large booty at Madura and come to Telingana. The fortress of Warangal was besieged, and the Hindus were reduced to such a condition that they made peace on humiliating terms. Five districts were ceded and a heavy annual tribute was promised. Khusrau began to consider the possibility of establishing himself as an independent ruler in the South. His treacherous designs were reported to the Sultan, who unwisely overlooked them and asked the favourite to return to Delhi without delay. On his return to the capital Khusrau surrounded himself with a large body of armed men of his own caste. The Sultan was warned, but he was too infatuated to listen to real friends. In April, 1320, Mubarak was murdered by Khusrau's men.

RISE AND FALL OF KHUSRAU (1320)

Khusrau now ascended the throne with the title of Nasir-ud-din Khusrau Shah. Many loyal nobles and officers were murdered, and no scion of the Khalji dynasty was left alive. Devala Devi was dragged into Khusrau's *harem*. Special favours were conferred upon his relatives and men of his caste. These low-born adventurers offended the Muslim aristocracy by defiling mosques and performing idolatrous worship at court. Ghazi Malik, Governor of Dipalpur, now took upon himself the task of punishing the infidel traitor. He was directly or indirectly supported by many powerful and influential nobles. In September, 1320, he defeated Khusrau near Delhi. The adventurer was captured and beheaded. The successful conqueror was hailed as Sultan by the assembled nobles and came to be known as Ghiyas-ud-din Tughluq Shah. Barani says, "Islam was rejuvenated and a new life came to it. Men's minds were satisfied and their hearts contented."

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE KHALJI DYNASTY



SECTION II

THE TUGHLUQS[1]

GHIYAS-UD-DIN TUGHLUQ (1320-25)

The founder of the new dynasty was a Qarauna Turk of humble origin. Firishta tells us that his father was a Turki slave of Balban and his mother was a Jat woman of the Punjab. His successes against the Mongols raised him to prominence in Ala-ud-din's reign. At the time of his accession he was a fairly aged and experienced warrior. He conciliated all old officials with lands and employments. Suitable marriages were arranged for the surviving girls of the Khalji family. The money distributed by Khusrau to his favourites and supporters was confiscated, but nothing could be recovered from the famous saint, Shaikh Nizam-ud-din Auliya, who replied that he had spent in charity the enormous sum he had received from the usurper. The Sultan ordered an enquiry into his religious views and practices, but the court theologians stood by him. The relations between the Sultan and the Shaikh remained strained.

Ghiyas-ud-din Tughluq was a careful administrator. Agriculture was encouraged. Canals were excavated for irrigation. The royal share of the gross produce did not exceed one-tenth or one-eleventh. But with regard to the Hindus the oppressive policy of Ala-ud-din was followed: "There should

[1] Some writers say that 'Tughluq' is a tribal name. According to others, it is a personal name.

be left only so much to the Hindus that neither, on the one hand, they should become arrogant on account of their wealth, nor, on the other, should they desert their lands and business in despair." Proper arrangements were made for the collection of revenue and the auditing of accounts. The departments of justice and police were also reformed. Excellent postal arrangements were made. In the army strict discipline was enforced and adequate steps were taken to prevent the officers and troopers from cheating the Government.

FALL OF THE KAKATIYA DYNASTY

In the Deccan Prataparudra II of Warangal did not acknowledge the suzerainty of the new dynasty. In 1321 Jauna Khan, the Sultan's eldest son and heir-apparent, was sent at the head of a large force to subjugate the Kakatiya King. On his arrival at Warangal he besieged the fort. After desperate fighting the Hindus sued for peace, but their terms were rejected. Some mischief-mongers in the Prince's camp spread a rumour that the Sultan was dead in Delhi. Jauna Khan believed the story, raised the siege, and discovered the truth on his way to Delhi.

Two years later he led another expedition to Warangal and compelled Prataparudra to surrender with his family, dependants, and the principal officers of the State. The Hindu King was sent to Delhi ; the ancient Kakatiya dynasty came to an inglorious end. Warangal was named Sultanpur, and Telingana was placed under the administration of Muslim officers.

After the subjugation of Telingana Jauna Khan led a raid into Orissa (Jajnagar) and captured some elephants.

REBELLION IN BENGAL

Shams-ud-din Firuz Shah of Bengal, a grandson of Balban, died in 1318. He was succeeded at Lakhnauti by his son Shihab-ud-din Bughra, whose claim was, however, disputed by his brothers, Nasir-ud-din and Ghiyas-ud-din. Ghiyas-ud-din, who had been enjoying practical independence for some years as Governor of Sonargaon (Eastern Bengal), overthrew Shihab-ud-din and occupied the throne of Lakhnauti in 1319. Nasir-

ud-din appealed to Ghiyas-ud-din Tughluq, who personally proceeded towards Bengal. In Tirhut he was met by Nasir-ud-din, and Zafar Khan, a capable officer, was sent to Lakhnauti. Ghiyas-ud-din was defeated, captured and sent as a prisoner to Delhi. Nasir-ud-din was recognised as the vassal ruler of Western Bengal ; Eastern Bengal was placed under the direct administration of Delhi. The Sultan returned to Delhi with a large booty.

DEATH OF GHIYAS-UD-DIN (1325)

On his return from Bengal Ghiyas-ud-din Tughluq was received at Afghanpur near Delhi by his son, Jauna Khan, in a specially constructed pavillion, which was 'so designed as to fall when touched in a certain part by the elephants'. At his son's request the Sultan allowed the elephants brought from Bengal to be paraded around the pavilion. As soon as the elephants came into contact with the tender part of the structure, it fell, and the old Sultan was crushed. According to Ibn Batutah, this apparent accident was the culmination of Jauna Khan's carefully prepared plan. The Sultan was soon followed to the grave by his enemy, Shaikh Nizam-ud-din Auliya, and also by Amir Khusrau, the poet, who had enjoyed his patronage.

A few miles to the south of Shah Jahan's Delhi lie the ruins of Tughluqabad, the fortress capital built by Ghiyas-ud-din. Ibn Batutah says, "Here were Tughluq's treasures and palaces, and the great palace which he had built of gilded bricks, which, when the sun rose, shone so dazzlingly that none could gaze steadily upon it. There he laid up great treasures, and it was related that he constructed there a cistern and had molten gold poured into it so that it became one solid mass. . ."

CHARACTER OF MUHAMMAD TUGHLUQ

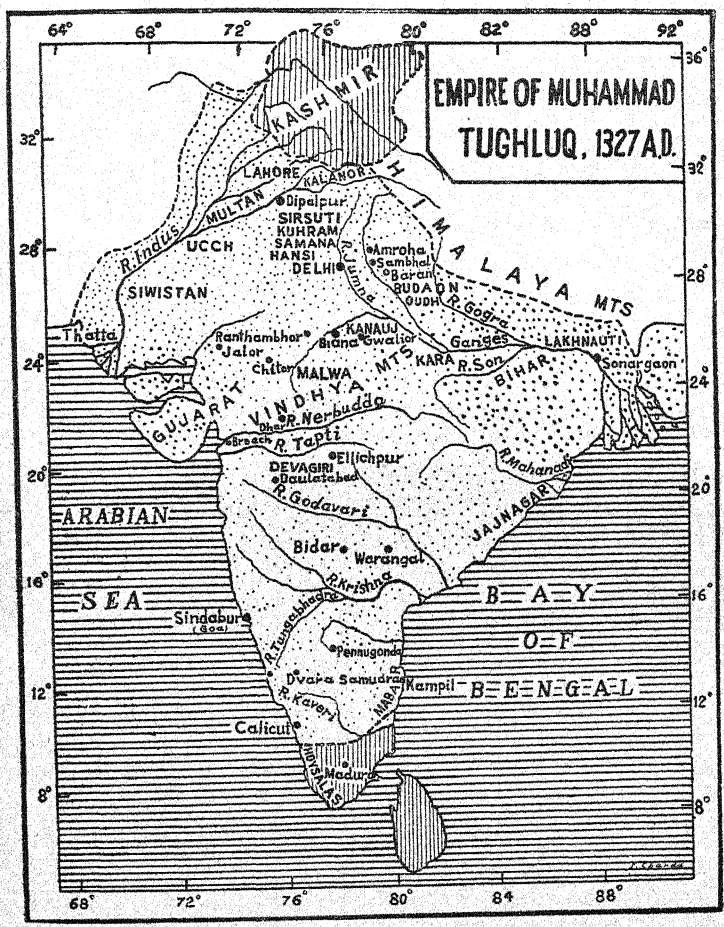
Jauna Khan, who succeeded Ghiyas-ud-din Tughluq under the title of Muhammad Tughluq, was a strange man. Barani, who knew him intimately, observes, "I cannot help remarking that Sultan Muhammad was one of the wonders of the creation. His contradictory qualities were beyond the grasp of knowledge and common sense". He was a skilled sportsman and an excellent warrior. His generosity became a tradition. Barani

says that what Hatim and others gave in a year, he gave away at one time. In an age of drunkenness and debauchery he was singularly free from these vices. Although he offended the orthodox Muslim divines by encroaching upon their political influence, he was a devout Sunni ; but his orthodoxy did not reach the level of Aurangzeb's puritanism. Barani, an unfavourable critic, admits that he was devoted to God and respected his elders. He was a cultured scholar interested in many subjects—Logic, Astronomy, Philosophy, Mathematics, Science. He had intimate acquaintance with Persian classics and was a good composer of Persian verses. He was an excellent calligraphist. These fine qualities can hardly be reconciled with his alleged treachery to his father and the remorseless cruelties which disfigure the history of his reign. Perplexed by this contradiction, Elphinstone expressed the doubt 'whether he was not affected by some degree of insanity.' Some of his military adventures and administrative measures have been described as products of insanity, but, as we shall see below, such a view is hardly tenable. Probably it is more correct to say that his mistakes were due to his hot temper and his inability to tolerate opposition. He was neither cautious nor calculating. He lacked in practical judgment which is the essence of wise and cool statesmanship, and failed to bear the burdens of a vast and troubled Empire. He has been generally held to be partly responsible for the disruption of the Turkish Empire. It must be admitted that his fairly long reign had disastrous consequences, but it is also necessary to remember that there were many deep-rooted causes of political decline over which no individual had any control.

EARLY REBELLIONS

Muhammad ascended the throne in February, 1325. No opposition was offered by his brothers. His lavish gifts and generous distribution of offices won over the people and the nobles alike. The provincial Governors acknowledged his authority. But rebellions were in those days a normal feature of every reign. The first rebellion of Muhammad's reign was that of his cousin Baha-ud-din Gurshasp (1326-27), who held the fief of Sagar near Gulbarga. He was defeated, captured

and taken to Delhi, where he was flayed alive. In 1327-28, after the transfer of the capital to Devagiri, the Hindu chief of Kondhana (modern Singhgarh, near Poona) rebelled, but a



[This map represents the approximate extent of the Turkish Empire before the beginning of its dissolution towards the close of Muhammad Tughluq's reign.]

long siege of his fort compelled him to acknowledge the Sultan's suzerainty. This was followed by the revolt of Bahram Aiba at Multan. He was a powerful noble and held charge of the

important frontier fiefs of Multan, Uch, and Sind. The Sultan, who was then at Devagiri, hurriedly marched to Multan by way of Delhi. Bahram was defeated, captured and beheaded.

OPPRESSIVE TAXATION IN THE DOAB (1326-27)

Barani says that the taxation in the Doab was 'increased ten and twenty times' and describes the effect of this measure in the following words: "To put into effect this scheme of the Sultan, his *Karkuns* created such cesses as broke the back of the ryots. These cesses were demanded with such rigour that the ryots were reduced to impotence, poverty and ruin. Those who were well off and owned property became rebels. The land was ruined and cultivation was greatly diminished. The ryots of distant provinces, having heard of the fate of the people of the Doab, through fear of similar demands being made from them, withdrew their allegiance and sought shelter in the woods. The decline of cultivation, the ruin of the ryots, the failure of the convoys of corn from distant provinces, caused a famine in Delhi and its neighbourhood and the country of the Doab. . . . The glory of Muhammad's Empire began to decline from this time." This is probably a very exaggerated picture, but there is no doubt that the people of the Doab were victimised to such an extent that they rebelled in despair. Barani says that at Baran the Sultan hunted the rebels like wild beasts. It is difficult to take this story literally. It is probably a highly coloured description of the ruthless measures adopted by Muhammad to keep the peasants under control.

TRANSFER OF THE CAPITAL (1326-27)

One of the most well-known political experiments of Muhammad is the transfer of the capital from Delhi to Devagiri, which was re-christened Daulatabad. His motive was to establish the capital at a strategic point at a safe distance from the north-western frontier which was still infested by the Mongols. From Devagiri it was easier to control the recently subjugated Hindu Kingdoms of Southern India. Barani clearly points out the geographical importance of the new capital: "This place held a central situation; Delhi, Gujarat, Lakhnauti, Satgaon, Sonargaon, Telang, Ma'bar, Dorasamudra, and Kampila were

about equidistant from thence. . . ." The story-teller Ibn Batutah says, however, that the Sultan was disgusted with the citizens of Delhi, who wrote to him anonymous letters full of abuses. There is no authentic evidence to show that so serious a measure as the transfer of the capital was decided upon so frivolous a ground.

When the Sultan decided to transfer the capital, the people of Delhi—men, women, and children,—were ordered to go to Daulatabad with all their belongings. The hardship necessarily involved in this compulsory evacuation was partly mitigated by the measures adopted by the Sultan for the convenience of the travellers. On the Delhi-Daulatabad road temporary huts were constructed, where food and drink were freely supplied to the emigrants. Trees were planted on both sides of the roads to provide shade. Ibn Batutah tells us that a blind man and a cripple, unwilling to leave Delhi, were captured and brought to the Sultan's presence ; the cripple was immediately killed and the blind man was ordered to be dragged to Daulatabad, with the result that only one of his legs reached the new capital. This is in all probability mere bazar gossip.

Transfer of capital was a frequent occurence in ancient and medieval times, and Muhammad does not deserve condemnation simply for his decision to leave Delhi. But the establishment of the new capital at Devagiri had obvious disadvantages. It weakened the Sultan's power of resistance to the Mongols. Distant provinces like Bengal could not be effectively controlled from Devagiri. The hostility of the Muslim population of Delhi —their unwillingness to live within Hindu surroundings in the Deccan—was also an important factor to be reckoned with. Within a few years Muhammad realised his mistake and once more established his court in Delhi. The people of Delhi then living at Devagiri were ordered to return to Delhi. Daulatabad remained a deserted city and Delhi took many years to recover its old prosperity.

MONGOL INVASION (1328-29)

The transfer of the capital was followed by a serious Mongol invasion. Encouraged probably by the Sultan's desertion of Delhi, a powerful Mongol chief named Tarmashirin entered

India and ravaged the entire plain extending from Multan and Lahore to the outskirts of Delhi. Obviously Muhammad had neglected the frontier ; there was no capable warden to keep the invaders at bay. It is probable that Tarmashirin was bought off with costly gifts and presents. Thus the policy of resistance persistently followed by Balban and Ala-ud-din was reversed, and Muhammad betrayed his weakness by preferring bribe to war. Probably he was handicapped by the transfer of the capital to Devagiri (where his nobles and officers were living at the time of the invasion) and also by the rebellion in the Doab.

INTRODUCTION OF TOKEN CURRENCY (1329-30)

Muhammad has been described by a modern numismatist as a 'Prince of moneyers'. He reformed the coinage and issued various types of coins which were remarkable for their artistic design and execution. But his most interesting experiment was the introduction of the token currency, an experiment which proved a costly and troublesome failure.

Token currency was in use in China and Persia in the thirteenth century, and Muhammad had probably heard of it. According to Barani, two reasons led him to imitate that example —the necessity of meeting the ever-increasing military expenditure, and the deficiency in the treasury caused by his lavish gifts. A modern writer rejects Barani's statement and observes that "the Sultan's object was to multiply currency and not to replenish an empty treasury."

Without consulting his ministers the Sultan ordered copper and brass tokens to be issued, and proclaimed that they should be used in all transactions just like gold and silver coins. But he took no step to prevent the circulation of counterfeit coins. Barani says that the house of every Hindu was turned into a mint. Gold and silver were hoarded, and taxes were paid in forged coins. Foreign merchants purchased commodities in India with copper tokens and received gold when they sold them abroad. Imports were almost stopped, for foreign merchants refused to accept the token currency. When the confusion reached its climax the Sultan withdrew the token currency and ordered the people to take from the treasury gold and silver coins in exchange for brass and copper coins. The people made

enormous profits at the cost of the treasury, which suffered a very heavy drain. "The scheme failed more on account of prejudice, ignorance and lack of proper safeguards than on account of any inherent defect . . . it is a calumny to characterise the Sultan's daring expedient as an act of madness. . . . ."

PLAN FOR CONQUEST OF KHORASAN

Within a few years of his accession Muhammad Tughluq formed the ambitious design of conquering Khorasan, Iraq, and Trans-oxiana. After the invasion of Tarmashirin he collected a large army for the invasion of Khorasan. Probably he acted under the instigation of some Khorasani nobles whom his lavish generosity had attracted to his court. Barani writes that 3,70,000 men were enrolled and paid for one whole year ; but the army did not leave Delhi, and the men were disbanded when it was found that the maintenance of so large an army put too severe a strain on the treasury. Although the political condition of Khorasan was not unfavourable to foreign invasion, yet there were insuperable difficulties of which the intending conqueror did not take adequate notice. "Between him and Khorasan and Iraq lay huge mountains and hostile peoples to contend against whom were needed greater resources than he possessed. To mobilise a huge force through the icy passes of the Hindukush or the Himalaya was an enterprise before which sturdier generals might have quailed, especially when the country was in the throes of a severe famine . . . the difficulties of transport were equally great, and there was every possibility of the convoys of supplies being robbed by the border tribes."

CONQUEST OF NAGARKOT (1337)

The fort of Nagarkot, situated on a hill in the Kangra district in the Punjab, was considered impregnable in those days. In 1337 Muhammad led an expedition against it. The walls of the fort were battered down, but the Hindu prince was restored to his possession.

QARAJAL EXPEDITION (1337-38)

The expeditions against Nagarkot and Qarajal were parts of a general plan to establish the authority of Delhi over the

Himalayan States. Some writers have described the Qarajal expedition as a disastrous adventure to conquer China or Western Tibet, but no contemporary authority mentions the conquest of China or Tibet as the object of this campaign. Ibn Batutah, an eye witness, says that the Qarajal expedition resulted in the subjugation of a Hindu hill chieftain. A large army marched from Delhi, but the difficulty of the route and the peculiar character of mountain warfare, combined with the natural deterioration of health during the rainy season, worked havoc among the Sultan's troops. After compelling the Hindu chief to pay tribute, the army began to retreat ; but the retreat was not less costly than the advance. Never afterwards was the Sultan able to collect so large an army.

RELATIONS WITH CHINA

In 1341 Muhammad Tughluq received an embassy from Toghan Timur, the Mongol Emperor of China, who sought for permission to rebuild the Buddhist temples in the Himalaya region. These temples had been devastated by the Sultan's army during the Qarajal expedition. The Chinese mission brought valuable presents which satisfied the Sultan. He sent Ibn Batutah to China, with the message that, according to the laws of Islam, the temples could not be reconstructed unless *Jeziyah* was paid. The presents carried by Ibn Batutah for the Mongol Emperor were more magnificent than those received from him. He started in July, 1342, and came back to India about four years later.

IBN BATUTAH

The career of Ibn Batutah forms one of the most interesting chapters in the history of the Muslim world. Born at Tangiers in 1304, he left his native place in 1325 and did not return home until 1353. He visited, among other places, Alexandria, Cairo, Mecca, Aleppo, Damascus, Caffa, Constantinople, Bukhara and Kabul before he reached Sind in 1333. Coming to Delhi, he received a *jagir* from the Sultan, and was subsequently appointed *Qazi* of the capital. He remained in the service of the Sultan for eight years and became an influential person in the court. On one occasion he fell out of favour and lost his post. In 1341

he was restored to favour, and a few months later he was sent to China. After long wandering in Southern India and in Bengal he started on his voyage to China *via* Java, Sumatra, and the islands of the Indian Archipelago. He reached China, but he could not fulfil the mission undertaken by him. He returned to Calicut, where he took ship for home. He died in 1377-78.

In his old age Ibn Batutah recorded the story of his adventures in a book called *Safarnamah*. The present version of that book is an abridgement made by Ibn Juzzi. The third and fourth volumes of the French translation made by Defremery and Sanguinetti deal with India. Although Ibn Batutah often confuses gossip with history, he is a disinterested witness, and his testimony helps us to solve some of the historical problems connected with Muhammad Tughluq's reign. Neither his chronology nor his geography should be accepted without close scrutiny. His general remarks about the condition of the country provide a valuable supplement to the story of rebellions and court intrigues which monopolises the pages of Indian chroniclers like Barani.

REBELLIONS

During the first ten years of his reign Muhammad created serious discontent in all parts of his vast Empire. Oppressive taxation was followed by famine, rebellion, and ruthless measures of reprisal. The transfer of the capital antagonised a powerful section of the Muslims. The token currency created widespread confusion. Naturally ambitious men took advantage of the Sultan's unpopularity and attacked him from different sides.

In 1335 Sayyid Jalal-ud-din Ahsan revolted in Ma'bar (a strip of land on the eastern coast of Southern India, with its capital at Madura). The disturbances in Northern India and the distance of Ma'bar from Delhi probably induced this powerful Amir to make a bid for independence. The Sultan personally marched to the South. At Daulatabad he increased the burden of taxation on the people and demanded large contributions from Muslim nobles and officers, some of whom, unable to satisfy the royal demands, committed suicide to

escape punishment. Then Muhammad proceeded to Warangal. A sudden outbreak of epidemic, which caused serious loss of life in the royal camp, compelled him to return to Daulatabad. Jalal-ud-din was left undisturbed ; an important province was separated from the Empire of Delhi. Ma'bar was incorporated in the Vijayanagar Kingdom in 1377-78 A.D.

During the Sultan's absence from Delhi Amir Halajun revoted in the Punjab, killed the Governor of Lahore, and declared his independence. He was aided by a Khokar chief named Kulchand. Khwaja Jahan marched to Lahore at the head of an army, and he was re-inforced by two officers sent by the Sultan from the Deccan. Halajun was defeated, and Lahore was occupied.

In 1335-36 Malik Hushang, son of the Governor of Daulatabad, raised the standard of rebellion. He was probably misled by a false rumour about the Sultan's death. He submitted when he was convinced that the Sultan was alive. Muhammad pardoned him—an unusual act of generosity.

The Muslim Governors of Bengal naturally took advantage of the confusion in the Empire. Ghiyas-ud-din, whom Ghiyas-ud-din Tughuq had defeated and captured, was recognised as Governor of Eastern Bengal in 1325. He repaid this generosity of Muhammad by refusing to fulfil the conditions of his restoration to power. A royal army marched to Bengal ; Ghiyas-ud-din was defeated and killed (1330-31). Tatar Khan succeeded him as Governor of Sonargaon. After Tatar Khan's death (1336-37) his armour-bearer, Malik Fakhr-ud-din, made himself ruler of Eastern Bengal. He was defeated by Qadar Khan, Governor of Lakhnauti, who made himself master of Sonargaon. But Qadar Khan's troops rebelled and killed him. Fakhr-ud-din occupied Sonargaon and tried to capture Lakhnauti, where he was opposed by one of Qadar Khan's officers. This officer, Ali Mubarak, appealed to Delhi, but no substantial assistance came from that quarter. Ali Mubarak then proclaimed himself independent ruler of Lakhnauti. The rivalry between Fakhr-ud-din and Ali Mubarak lasted for some years. Fakhr-ud-din lived up to at least 1349-50, and Ibn Batutah, who visited Bengal in his reign, describes him as a learned ruler 'fond of the company of saints, foreigners, and men of learning'.

The loss of Bengal was followed by the revolt of Nizam Ma'in at Kara. This opium-eating lowborn revenue-defaulter was easily captured and flayed (1337-38). In 1338-39 Nusrat Khan, Governor of Bidar, raised the standard of rebellion. Defeated by a royal army advancing from Devagiri, Nusrat Khan surrendered. He lost his fief, but later on he was pardoned and appointed supervisor of the royal gardens in Delhi. In 1339-40 Ali Shah, an officer sent to realise the revenues of Gulbarga, rebelled. He murdered the Hindu chief of Gulbarga and occupied Bidar, but he was defeated by a royal army and subsequently banished to Ghazni.

In 1340-41 came the formidable rebellion of Ain-ul-Mulk, Governor of Oudh. He was a distinguished officer and occupied a prominent position as early as Ala-ud-din's reign. He was well-versed in Islamic theology and jurisprudence; his work called *Munshat-i-Mahru* gives us a good account of the system of administration in the days of Firuz Tughluq. Amir Khusrau speaks of him as a renowned soldier and an accomplished writer. In 1340-41 the Sultan transferred Ain-ul-Mulk from Oudh to Devagiri. Ain-ul-Mulk was persuaded by some miscreants to believe that this transfer was but a preliminary step towards his destruction. He revolted, but he was defeated and captured. He was subjected to many indignities and deprived of his office, but his life was spared on the ground that he had been instigated to rebel by others.

The next rebel was Shahu Afghan, who killed the Governor of Multan and seized that city. The Sultan personally marched towards Sind. Terrified at the approach of a large army led by the Sultan himself, Shahu wrote an apologetic letter and fled to the hills. On his return to Delhi the Sultan marched towards Sannam and Samana, where he brought under control the turbulent hill chiefs, Jats, and Bhatti Rajputs. Some rebel leaders were brought to Delhi and forcibly converted to Islam.

FOUNDATION OF VIJAYANAGAR AND REVOLT IN TELINGANA

The Hindus of the South naturally took advantage of the disturbances in Northern India and made a determined attempt to regain their independence. The foundations of the Kingdom

of Vijayanagar were laid in 1336. Harihara I, the first King of Vijayanagar, professed formal allegiance to Delhi, but gave secret support to a rebellion organised by Krishna Nayak, son of the Kakatiya King Prataparudra, and Virupaksha Ballala, son of Vira Ballala III. This rebellion probably took place in 1343-44. No serious opposition was offered by the Sultan's officers in the Deccan to the growing menace of Hindu insurrection. Virupaksha Ballala lost his life in 1346 in an engagement against the Sultan of Madura.

REVOLT OF THE MUSLIM NOBILITY IN THE DECCAN AND IN GUJARAT

The Sultan had entrusted the government of Devagiri to his tutor Qutlugh Khan. As Qutlugh Khan's officers had failed to realise the revenues properly, he was recalled in 1345. He was a lenient and popular Governor, and his sudden removal created discontent in the province. The harsh measures adopted by the new officers sent by the Sultan antagonised the population. Firishta tells us that the people 'rebelled in all quarters and the country was devastated and depopulated in consequence.'

The troubles in Devagiri were followed by the rebellion of the foreign nobles (*Amiran-i-sadah*), who had so far received preferential treatment from the Sultan. After the rebellion in Devagiri the Sultan became convinced that "wherever there is rebellion it is caused with the aid of the *Amiran-i-sadah*, who befriend the rebels in order to embezzle money and engage themselves in plunder." He instructed Aziz Khummar, Governor of Malwa, a low-born upstart, to get rid of the foreign nobles in the best way he could. Aziz treacherously murdered many foreign nobles and received the approbation of the Sultan for this dastardly crime. The foreign nobles of Gujarat now openly rebelled. The Governor of Gujarat failed to suppress the rebellion. Aziz was captured and slain by the rebels. The Sultan had already started from Delhi (1345). A royal army defeated the rebels near Dabhoi ; they fled in the direction of Devagiri. Another defeat was inflicted on them by Malik Maqbul on the banks of the Narbada. Ruthless measures were adopted against the surviving rebels. The Sultan halted at Cambay, where he reorganised his forces.

The foreign nobles at Devagiri were anxiously watching the course of the rebellion in Gujarat. Instead of conciliating them, the Sultan sent some tactless officers to enquire about their conduct. The suspicions of the foreign nobles were intensified when some of them were asked to appear at the Sultan's camp. Under the leadership of Ismail Mukh Afghan, who assumed royal titles, they rebelled. They occupied Devagiri. Disorder spread in Berar, Khandesh, and Malwa. The Sultan came to Devagiri and almost succeeded in bringing the situation under control ; but the sudden rebellion of Taghi in Gujarat upset his calculations. He immediately proceeded to Gujarat and compelled Taghi to take shelter at Thatta in Sind. Gujarat was effectively brought under the Sultan's control, but the rebels of Devagiri utilised the Sultan's absence in laying the foundations of the Bahmani Kingdom. The Sultan decided not to proceed to Devagiri until he had crushed Taghi. For three years he remained in Gujarat, re-organising the administration of the province, and conquering Girnar (modern Junagarh). Then he proceeded towards Sind in pursuit of Taghi. Preparations were made for the capture of Thatta, but the Sultan suddenly died on March 20, 1351. "And so," says Badauni, "the King was freed from his people and they from their King". It may be truly said that "Muhammad Tughluq found the Deccan revolt a running sore which ultimately ruined him."

ACCESSION OF FIRUZ TUGHLUQ (1351)

Muhammad Tughluq's death on the eve of the siege of Thatta created confusion in the camp. The country was full of rebels, the Mongol mercenaries attached to Taghi began to plunder the royal camp, and it became uncertain whether the army would be able to return in safety to Delhi. In this crisis the nobles present in the camp offered the crown to Firuz Tughluq, the late Sultan's cousin, who accepted it with some reluctance. It seems that Muhammad had left no male heir and even nominated Firuz as his successor. But Khwaja Jahan placed a boy on the throne in Delhi, and called him Muhammad's son. It is very difficult to decide whether this boy was suppositious or not. In any case, Khwaja Jahan

submitted to Firuz when the latter returned to Delhi, and there was no serious trouble about the succession.

CHARACTER OF FIRUZ TUGHLUQ

Firuz was the son of Rajab, Ghiyas-ud-din Tughluq's younger brother. His mother was the daughter of a Rajput Chief. Muhammad Tughluq treated him with affection and confidence. He occupied high offices and acquired considerable political and administrative experience, but he was temperamentally a religious recluse. He lacked ambition, courage, and that ruthless zeal for war which was a necessary qualification for Kingship in his age. The contemporary chroniclers, Barani and Afif, describe him as an ideal Muslim ruler ; they highly eulogise his humility, mercy, devotion to his faith, and love of truth. These well-merited epithets should not blind us to his political failures, nor should we fail to grasp the fact that the establishment of a Quranic theocracy, which was his obvious aim, was inconsistent with the welfare of his Hindu subjects.

EXPEDITIONS TO BENGAL (1353-54, 1359-60)

Soon after his accession Firuz decided to bring Bengal once more under the control of Delhi. In 1345 Shams-ud-din Ilyas Shah had made himself master of Western Bengal ; in 1352 he had overthrown Ikhtiyar-ud-din Ghazi Shah of Eastern Bengal. When Ilyas invaded Tirhut the Sultan marched against him at the head of a large army (November, 1353). On the Sultan's approach Ilyas took shelter in the strong fort of Ikdala (location not yet definitely determined). Unable to capture Ikdala the Sultan retreated, reaching Delhi in September, 1354.

The second expedition against Bengal was undertaken in 1359 at the request of Zafar Khan, son-in-law of a former ruler of Eastern Bengal, who wanted to take the place usurped by Ilyas Shah. On his way to Bengal Firuz founded the city of Jaunpur. When he arrived in Bengal, Sikandar, son and successor of Ilyas Shah, shut himself up in the fort of Ikdala. After a long siege, which was as unsuccessful as the siege of 1354, Sikandar agreed to surrender Sonargaon to Zafar Khan, and conciliated the Sultan by valuable presents. But Zafar Khan

refused to leave Delhi for the unhealthy swamp of Bengal. Firuz recognised Sikandar's royal title and offered him a jewelled crown.

EXPEDITION TO ORISSA (1360)

From Bengal Firuz returned to Jaunpur ; after a brief halt there he led an expedition to Jajnagar (Orissa). The Hindu King fled from his capital. Firuz occupied Puri and desecrated the great temple ; the idol of Jagannath was either thrown into the sea or taken to Delhi to be trodden under foot by the Muslims. The Hindu King promised to send to Delhi 20 elephants per year as tribute.

CONQUEST OF NAGARKOT (1361)

Muhammad Tughluq's subjugation of Nagarkot did not prove permanent. In 1361 Firuz led an expedition against this difficult fort. On his way he built a new fort in Sirhind. After a long siege Firuz compelled the Hindu Chief of Nagarkot to submit.

EXPEDITION TO SIND (1362-63)

With a view to punish the people of Thatta for their disloyalty to Muhammad Tughluq, Firuz left Delhi in 1362 at the head of an army of 90,000 horse and 480 elephants. A large fleet of boats was collected on the Indus. The ruler of Thatta strongly defended his city. Meanwhile famine and pestilence broke out in the Sultan's camp. Firuz decided to give up the siege for the time being and to lead his army to Gujarat. On its way the army fell into the Rann of Cutch owing to the treachery of the guides, and suffered terrible losses. No news of the army reached Delhi for some months, and symptoms of rebellion were with great difficulty controlled by the able and loyal minister, Maqbul. At length the exhausted army reached the fertile plains of Gujarat, where food and money were available in abundance. A discontented officer of the Bahmani Kingdom invited Firuz to recover the Deccan, but he obstinately adhered to his old plan of punishing Thatta. The army again advanced towards Sind, reinforcements were brought from Delhi, and the ruler of Thatta was compelled to submit.

REBELLIONS

After his return to Delhi Firuz declared that he would never again wage war but for the suppression of rebellion. He kept this promise. An invitation to interfere in the affairs of the Bahmani Kingdom (1365-66) was curtly refused. Shams-ud-din Damghani, Governor of Gujarat, raised the standard of rebellion, but he was defeated and killed by the local nobles. A rebellion in Katehr was, however, mercilessly suppressed by the Sultan himself, who ordered a general massacre of the Hindus.

LAST YEARS OF FIRUZ TUGHLUQ

The death of the Sultan's eldest son, Fath Khan, in 1374 was a great shock to him. He gradually sank into senile decay, and became a puppet in the hands of his minister, Khan-i-Jahan. The all-powerful minister tried to create a breach between the Sultan and his eldest surviving son, Muhammad Khan. But the Prince brought about the minister's destruction. Firuz associated Muhammad Khan in the administration and even conferred the royal title upon him (1387). Muhammad Khan (or Nasir-ud-din Muhammad Shah) neglected public business and gave himself up to pleasure. A rebellion restored the old Sultan to power, and Muhammad fled to Sirmur. Firuz now conferred the royal title on his grandson, Tughluq Khan, son of Fath Khan. A few months later Firuz died at the ripe old age of 83 (September, 1388).

RELIGIOUS POLICY

Although born of a Hindu mother and trained in the liberal school of Muhammad Tughluq, Firuz was a bigot, and delighted in persecuting not only the Hindus but also the Shias and other Muslim 'heretics'. In his autobiography, *Fatuhat-i-Firuz Shahi*, he proudly claims that he 'killed the leaders of infidelity who seduced others into error', destroyed Hindu temples, and built mosques in their places. The State became an active proselytiser. He says, "I encouraged my infidel subjects to embrace the religion of the Prophet, and I proclaimed that every one who repeated the creed and became a Musalman should be exempt from the *Jeziyah*, a poll tax. Information of this came

to the ears of the people at large, and great numbers of Hindus presented themselves and were admitted to the honour of Islam." He was the first Sultan of Delhi who imposed the *Jeziyah* on the Brahmins. The Shias were punished, and their books were publicly burnt. The *Mulhids* were imprisoned and banished, and their 'abominable practices' were interdicted. The *Mehdwis* were similarly treated. Even the *Sufis* did not escape persecution. Not till the days of Sikandar Lodi do we again come across such instances of impolitic religious zeal.

Firuz proved his orthodoxy by an ostentatious display of loyalty to the Caliph, whose deputy he claimed to be in India. On his coins his name was put side by side with that of the Caliph. Twice he received patents and robes from the nominal head of the Islamic world.

ADMINISTRATIVE REFORMS

Firuz introduced many changes in the system of administration, which are described in some detail in a contemporary work, Afif's *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi.* One of the most disastrous measures was the revival of the *jagir* system, which had been abolished by Ala-ud-din Khalji. The nobles became practically autonomous rulers of their fiefs, and the control of the Central Government over local administration was visibly relaxed. The measures connected with the land revenue were, on the whole, beneficial to the people. Assessment was based on an enquiry into titles and tenures, and some of the most flagrant abuses connected with collection were suppressed. But Sir Henry Elliot's comparison between Akbar and Firuz Tughluq is absurd : Firuz did not possess the large-hearted statesmanship of Akbar. In some respects, however, Firuz was not less solicitous of the people's weal than Akbar. In his autobiography Firuz proudly claims credit for abolishing many unlawful taxes. As a matter of fact, the system of taxation was placed on the Quranic basis, and the general principle followed was that the State should levy no tax unless it was approved by Muslim Law. In the judicial department that Law, of course, reigned supreme. Firuz rendered a great service to the people by abolishing torture and inhuman forms of punishment. For some of these reforms the Sultan was

probably indebted to his competent *Wazir,* Khan-i-Jahan Maqbul, a converted Hindu of Telingana.

THE ARMY

Firuz weakened the military organisation of the Sultanate by his misplaced generosity. Afif says that he promulgated an order to the following effect: "When a soldier grows old and incapable, his son shall succeed him as his deputy ; if he has no son, his son-in-law, and failing any son-in-law, his slave shall represent him." The annual inspection of the cavalry horses was rendered ineffective by the prevalent corruption, which was, sometimes at least, even encouraged by the Sultan.

THE SLAVE SYSTEM

The number of slaves was steadily growing. In the Sultan's palace there were 40,000 slaves, and the number of slaves in all parts of the Empire was estimated at 180,000. A separate department was established for the proper management of the slaves. Slavery had become a potential source of danger to the Empire.

WORKS OF PUBLIC UTILITY

Firuz was a zealous builder of towns and mosques. He was the founder of towns like Jaunpur, Firuzabad and Fatehabad. Many mosques, monasteries, and inns were built for the convenience of the Muslims at different places. New gardens were laid out near Delhi. Two monoliths of Asoka were brought to Delhi, one from a village near Khizrabad on the Jumna, the other from Meerut. The cause of agriculture was well served by the excavation of four important canals: one from the Sutlej to the Ghaghar (96 miles), another from the neighbourhood of the Sirmur hills to Arasani, a third from the Ghaghar to Firuzabad, and another from the Jumna to a place at some distance from Firuzabad. The facilities of irrigation provided by these canals increased the fertility of the Doab and the Delhi region. The increase in the area of cultivation naturally increased the revenue. These beneficial measures were accompanied by others which have been rightly described as

'grandmotherly legislation.' For instance, we may refer to the marriage bureau and the employment bureau established by the Sultan.

PROMOTION OF LEARNING

An orthodox Sunni, Firuz was naturally interested in the spread of Islamic learning. He built many *madrasas* which were liberally endowed. Many learned divines and scholars enjoyed his patronage. He was interested in secular literature as well. The celebrated historical works of Barani and Afif, both bearing the name of Firuz, were written during his reign. After the conquest of Nagarkot a large library fell into the hands of the Sultan. Under his orders some Sanskrit works found in that library were translated into Persian. One of the greatest divines who enjoyed the Sultan's favour was Jalal-ud-din Rumi.

SUCCESSORS OF FIRUZ

Firuz was succeeded by his grandson, Ghiyas-ud-din Tughluq Shah II, who was defeated and killed by the adherents of his cousin, Abu Bakr, in February, 1389. Abu Bakr was raised to the throne, but he was deposed some months later by Nasir-ud-din Muhammad Shah, who had been trying to occupy the throne since the old Sultan's death. Abu Bakr was captured and imprisoned in the fort of Meerut, where he died soon afterwards. There were rebellions in the Doab and in Mewat ; the loyalty of some prominent Muslim officers could not be relied on. In the midst of these troubles Nasir-ud-din died (January, 1394). His son and successor, Ala-ud-din Sikandar Shah, followed him to the grave within two months. The next Sultan was his younger brother, Nasir-ud-din Mahmud Shah, the last member of the Tughluq family who reigned at Delhi. His authority was not recognised by some powerful nobles, who raised Nusrat Shah, another grandson of Firuz Tughluq, as a rival claimant to the throne. The Empire rapidly fell to pieces. A powerful eunuch named Malik Sarwar, who enjoyed the lofty title of *Sultan-ush-Sharq* (Ruler of the East), made himself independent at Jaunpur and founded the Sharqi dynasty. Zafar Khan, Governor of Gujarat, proclaimed his

independence. Other Provincial Governors followed suit. Nusrat Shah's partisans sometimes exercised more authority than Nasir-ud-din Mahmud in some parts of the Punjab and the Doab.

INVASION OF TIMUR (1398-99)

When the Sultanate of Delhi was on the brink of dissolution, Timur invaded India. Born in 1336 near Samarqand, Timur became the head of the Chagatai Turks at the age of 33. He conquered Persia, Afghanistan, and Mesopotamia, and secured unrivalled reputation as a ruthless warrior. The pretext for his Indian expedition was the toleration of idolatry by the Sultans of Delhi, but his real object was probably plunder. He does not appear to have entertained the idea of annexing Hindustan to his far-flung Empire.

The advance guard of Timur's army occupied Multan before his arrival in India. He crossed the Indus in September, 1398, and, after crossing the Chenab, realised a large ransom from Talamba, an ancient town about 70 miles from Multan. Dipalpur and Bhatnair suffered terribly during his progress towards Delhi. Leaving behind him a scene of desolation which probably reminded men of the ravages of the Mongols, Timur appeared near Delhi in December. On the eve of the occupation of Delhi, Timur ordered a general massacre of all Hindu prisoners in his camp, 100,000 in number, for he was afraid that on the day of battle they might 'break their bonds, plunder our tents, and join the enemy.' The order was so rigorously carried out, says a Muslim chronicler, that a pious Maulana, who had never killed a sparrow in his life, was obliged to kill 15 Hindus.

Sultan Nasir-ud-din Mahmud, assisted by his minister Mallu, offered but a feeble resistance to the invader. Their army consisted of 10,000 horse, 40,000 foot, and 120 elephants. On December 17 this army was defeated by Timur. Mallu fled to Baran ; the Sultan fled to Gujarat, and he sought shelter under the rebel Governor, Muzaffar Shah. Timur occupied Delhi on December 18 and agreed, on the mediation of the Muslim divines, to spare the citizens. But the oppression of

Timur's soldiers hunting for wealth compelled the Hindus to resist—and resistance invited general massacre by the invaders. For a few days the four cities of Delhi, Siri, Jahanpanah, and old Delhi were laid waste. A Muslim chronicler tells us, "High towers were built with the heads of the Hindus, and their bodies became the food of ravenous beasts and birds. . . Such of the inhabitants as had escaped alive were made prisoners." We are also told that "there was none so humble but he had at least twenty slaves." Some Indian stone masons were sent to Samarqand for the construction of a great mosque there.

At Delhi Timur was joined by Khizr Khan, the Sayyid, who had been expelled by a rival from the Governorship of Multan in 1395-96. He accompanied Timur as far as the borders of Kashmir. Timur left Delhi on January 1, 1399, and marched to the north-east. He occupied Meerut, Kangra and Jammu. The number of Hindus killed during the progress of the expedition must have been very large. Khizr Khan was appointed Governor of Multan, Lahore, and Dipalpur. Timur crossed the Indus in March, 1399, "after inflicting on India more misery than had ever before been inflicted by any conqueror in a single invasion."

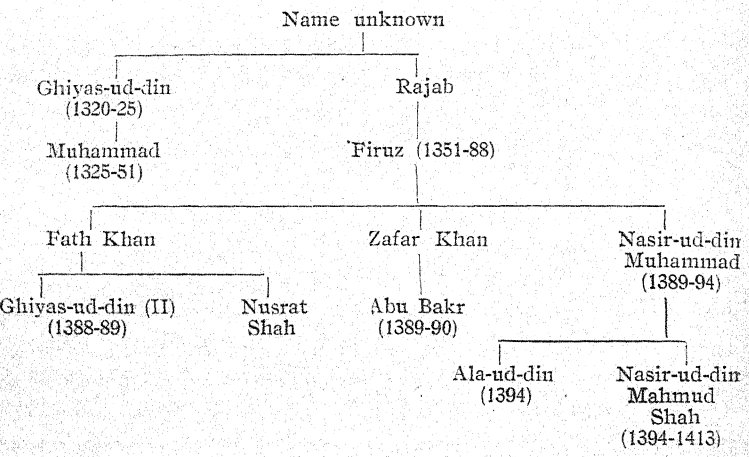
DISSOLUTION OF THE EMPIRE

Timur's departure left Delhi a desolate city. Badauni says that "the city was utterly ruined, and those of the inhabitants who were left died, while for two whole months not a bird moved a wing in Delhi." Nusrat Shah, who had been a fugitive in the Doab for some time, made himself master of the city, but he was soon forced by Mallu to take refuge in Mewat, where he soon afterwards died. The Provincial Governors, as well as the fief-holders of Northern India, became independent. Mallu carried on some successful military operations in the Doab; in 1401 he persuaded Sultan Nasir-ud-din Mahmud to return to Delhi. The Sultan's authority remained confined to Delhi, Rohtak, Sambhal, and the Doab.

Nasir-ud-din Mahmud died in February, 1413. He was the last representative of the Tughluq dynasty. The nobles now raised Daulat Khan to the throne. In May, 1414, Khizr

Khan besieged Daulat Khan in Siri, defeated him, and imprisoned him in Hissar.

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE TUGHLUQ DYNASTY



CAUSES OF THE FALL OF THE SULTANATE

At the time of Nasir-ud-din Mahmud's death the extent of the Sultanate was defined by the saying: "The rule of the Lord of the World extends from Delhi to Palam (a small town about 9 miles from Delhi)." This was a sad contrast with the huge size of the Empire in the early part of Muhammad Tughluq's reign. The process of decline had begun under Muhammad, whose character and policy were in some measure responsible for it. The Turkish Empire was a typical oriental despotism, and despotism requires a strong personal ruler at the head of the State. Muhammad was not weak, but he lacked efficiency; inefficient strength degenerated into cruel tyranny and created confusion. The fortunes of the Empire might have been revived if Firuz had been a strong and able ruler, but unfortunately he was a weak-minded bigot who was afraid of war and carried generosity beyond its logical limit. The successors of Firuz remind us of the Later Mughals. Such men could not govern a large Empire and absorb the shock of Timur's invasion.

But the responsibility for the dissolution of the Empire must not be saddled on the Monarchy alone. The Muslim nobles were no longer fierce warriors like their hardy ancestors of the thirteenth century ; they had degenerated into ease-loving debauchees, and excelled more in intrigue than in war. It is significant that the fourteenth century did not produce men like Qutb-ud-din, Iltutmish, Balban, Ala-ud-din, Kafur, and Ghiyas-ud-din Tughluq. The enormous number of slaves in the reign of Firuz Tughluq betrayed the rottenness of the Muslim State and the Muslim society ; but out of 40,000 slaves in the palace no Iltutmish or Balban or Kafur emerged.

Thirdly, the Empire had become too big to be governed from a single centre in that age of defective communications. The conquest of Southern India was a brilliant exploit, but ultimately it proved a costly blunder. From the days of Ala-ud-din to the final separation of the South there was an almost regular succession of rebellions, which strained the resources of the Empire to a considerable degree. Instead of becoming a compact unit, the Empire remained a collection of principalities under Muslim Governors and Hindu vassals, over whom the Central Government could exercise little control except through military coercion.

Finally, the recalcitrance of the Hindus proved hardly less disastrous to the Sultanate than it did to Aurangzeb at a later date. The Rajputs were not subjugated ; it took the Muslims a whole century to bring a fort like Ranthambhor under permanent control. The Hindus of the South did not accept the establishment of Muslim suzerainty as an accomplished fact. The Hindus of the Doab, living within striking distance of the capital, raised their heads whenever the local officers or the Central Government showed signs of weakness. This was largely due to the failure of the Sultanate to evolve any consistent policy towards the Hindus. Nothing was done to conciliate them and to draw them into partnership in matters of administration ; moreover, they were sometimes victimised as regards their wealth and their faith. The rulers continued to live within military camps in a hostile country, although the progress of time, and natural neighbourly contact, must have to some extent softened the bitterness of the era of conquest.

SECTION III

THE SAYYIDS AND THE LODIS

KHIZR KHAN (1414-21)

Khizr Khan's title to Sayyid blood is not beyond dispute. Although he secured the throne of Delhi after Daulat Khan's defeat, he did not assume the royal title. He professed to rule as the viceroy of Timur's son and successor, Shah Rukh, to whom he probably sent occasional tribute. He sent frequent expeditions to suppress the turbulent Hindus of the Doab, but no attempt was made to subjugate the provinces which had seceded from the Sultanate. Khizr Khan's authority was confined to Delhi, the Doab, and the Punjab.

THE LATER SAYYIDS (1421-51)

Khizr Khan was succeeded by his son Mubarak, who used the royal title of Shah. He occupied the throne for about 13 years, but a few expeditions against the Khokars and the Hindus of the Doab exhaust the history of his reign. He was murdered in February, 1434, the chief of the conspirators being the *Wazir*, Sarwar-ul-Mulk. The new Sultan, Muhammad Shah, a nephew of Mubarak, succeeded with the assistance of other nobles in punishing Sarwar-ul-Mulk. Mahmud Khalji of Malwa advanced as far as Delhi, but he was obliged to return in haste to save his capital from a threatened attack by Ahmad Shah of Gujarat. Bahlul Lodi, the Afghan Governor of Lahore and Sirhind, helped the Sultan against the ruler of Malwa. For this service the Sultan rewarded him with the title of *Khan-i-Khan* and publicly addressed him as his son. But Bahlul Lodi was ambitious, and he was instigated by the Khokars to seize the throne of Delhi. An attack on Delhi failed, and Bahlul retreated. But the Sultan's authority was everywhere defied: "there were Amirs at twenty *krosh* from Delhi who shook off their allegiance and began to prepare themselves for resistance." Muhammad Shah was succeeded in 1445 by his son, Ala-ud-din Alam Shah, an incompetent weakling. Supported by his treacherous *Wazir*, Bahlul Lodi occupied Delhi in 1451. Alam Shah resigned his crown without opposi-

tion and established his residence at Budaun, where he died peacefully some years later.

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE SAYYID DYNASTY

Khizr Khan (1414-21)

- Muizz-ud-din Mubarak (1421-34)
- Farid Khan
  - Muhammad Shah (1434-45)
    - Ala-ud-din Alam Shah (1445-51)

BAHLUL LODI (1451-89)

When Bahlul Lodi overthrew the tottering Sayyid dynasty, he exercised effective authority over the greater part of the Punjab, and one of his relatives, Darya Khan Lodi, ruled Sambhal, *i.e.*, the country to the east of Delhi. The Doab was virtually under the control of independent Chieftains. All other provinces were independent for more than half a century.

Bahlul Lodi was a capable and ambitious man, but he had the wisdom to realise that the Sultanate could no longer be restored to its former power and prestige. The independent provinces could not be reconquered, nor could the Monarchy be exalted after the model laid down by Balban. The haughty Afghan nobles regarded the King as an equal, and Bahlul had to remain content with the position of a *primus inter pares*. A Muslim chronicler observes, "In his social meetings he never sat on a throne, and would not allow his nobles to stand ; and even during public audiences he did not occupy the throne, but seated himself upon a carpet . . . if at any time they (*i.e.*, the nobles) were displeased with him, he tried so hard to pacify them that he would himself go to their houses, ungird his sword from his waist, and place it before the offended party ; nay, he would sometimes even take off his turban from his head and solicit forgiveness . . . He maintained a brotherly intercourse with all his chiefs and soldiers."

One of Bahlul's earliest measures was the overthrow of Hamid Khan, the treacherous *Wazir* of the last Sayyid King,

who had helped him in occupying Delhi. Soon after his accession he led an expedition against Multan, but during his absence from Delhi the capital was attacked by Mahmud Shah of Jaunpur, who was strengthened by the secret support of some old nobles of Alam Shah. As soon as the news reached him Bahlul hurried back to Delhi and compelled Mahmud Shah to retreat. This victory created a favourable impression about the Lodi regime and consolidated the new Sultan's authority.

The Jaunpur invasion convinced Bahlul that the safety of his throne required the effective subjugation of the Doab and the conquest of Jaunpur. In a series of punitive expeditions he suppressed the rebellious chiefs in Mewat and the Doab. Then he began a long war against Jaunpur, which resulted in the incorporation of that Kingdom in the Sultanate (1479). Some time later the government of the new province was entrusted to the Sultan's eldest son, Barbak Shah. Kalpi (Jalaun district, U. P.), Dholpur, and Gwalior were subjugated.

Sikandar Lodi (1489-1517)

Bahlul Lodi was succeeded by his third son, Nizam Khan, who took the title of Sikandar Shah, in July, 1489. Barbak Shah assumed the royal title at Jaunpur and haughtily refused to acknowledge the suzerainty of his younger brother. A successful expedition against Jaunpur secured the submission of Barbak Shah. Sikandar left him in charge of Jaunpur, but some faithful Afghan nobles were associated with him in the administration of the province, obviously to keep his ambition in check. But the powerful Zamindars of Jaunpur defied Barbak Shah, and, disgusted with his incompetence, Sikandar placed him in confinement. When Sikandar personally appeared in Jaunpur territory to suppress the Zamindars, they invited Husain Shah, the Sharqi Sultan who had been dethroned by Bahlul Lodi, to reoccupy his throne. Husain Shah came at the head of a large force, but he was defeated and compelled to take refuge in Bengal, where he passed the remaining years of his life in obscurity. Bihar was occupied by Sikandar Lodi's army. The Sultan now invaded Bengal, but a treaty of mutual non-aggression averted hostilities.

The subjugation of Jaunpur and the conquest of Bihar were no mean military and political achievements. The boundaries of the Sultanate now touched Bengal in the east. Sikandar was a strong ruler. He suppressed rebellions with a determination which restored respect for the Central Government. He did not spare even the haughty Afghans. Although he did not introduce any wholesome change in the method of administration, he insisted on proper auditing of accounts and punished defalcation and embezzlement with a severity which would have horrified Firuz Tughluq. An efficient system of espionage kept the Sultan in touch with all important incidents and the sentiments of his subjects. The abolition of corn duties and the removal of restrictions on trade contributed to the economic prosperity of the people.

In one respect, however, Sikandar's policy fell below the rigid standard of wise statesmanship. Like Firuz Tughluq he followed the policy of religious persecution and alienated the Hindus. A Brahmin lost his life for the offence of saying in the presence of some Muslims that his faith was not inferior to Islam. The temples of Mathura were ordered to be destroyed. Idols were given to the butchers who utilised them as meat-weights. The Hindus were not allowed to bathe in the Jumna, and barbers were prohibited from shaving the Hindu pilgrims.

Sikandar Lodi was generous both to the poor and to the learned. His patronage to Muslim scholars and divines led to the growth of learning. He ordered a Sanskrit work on medicine to be translated into Persian. He himself wrote verses in Persian. He was a patron of art as well. He founded the city of Agra, which became in the days of the Great Mughals the centre of the splendour that was Ind. The foundations of the city were laid in 1504, and it was intended to serve as a convenient military base for punitive expeditions against the turbulent fief-holders of Etawa, Biyana, Kol, Gwalior, and Dholpur. During the last years of his life Sikandar Lodi often lived at Agra.

IBRAHIM LODI (1517-26)

Sikandar Lodi was succeeded by his son Ibrahim, who was more tactless than tyrannical or incompetent. He decided

to crush the pretensions of the powerful Afghan nobles who looked upon their *jagirs* 'as their own of right, and purchased by their swords rather than as due to any bounty or liberality on the part of the sovereign.' Firishta says that "contrary to the custom of his father and grand-father, he made no distinction among his officers, whether of his own tribe or otherwise, and said publicly that Kings should have no relatives nor clansmen, but that all around should be considered as subjects and servants of the state ; and the Afghan chiefs, who had hitherto been allowed to sit in the presence, were constrained to stand in front of the throne, with their hands crossed before them." This haughty King clearly understood the grave risks inherent in a system which vainly tried to reconcile the claims of an unscrupulous and over-powerful nobility with the rights of a despotic Monarchy. He wanted to make the Monarchy the supreme factor in the State—supreme in authority as well as in dignity. But he could not go beyond the traditions of three troubled centuries ; the nobles failed to understand that their exaggerated claims had led to the rise of a system which combined the evils of oligarchy with those of Monarchy, destroying the best features of both. The result was a bitter struggle between Ibrahim Lodi and his nobles, culminating in the destruction of Afghan power in the field of Panipat.

The nobles at first tried to get rid of the inconvenient Sultan by placing his brother Jalal on the throne of Jaunpur. But some of the experienced nobles soon realised their mistake, and Jalal, deserted by most of his friends, had to seek shelter at Gwalior. Ibrahim captured Gwalior and secured the submission of the Hindu prince. Jalal was captured in Gondwana and murdered.

Ibrahim then punished some prominent nobles and created an alarm amongst the nobility. A formidable rebellion was organised, but the rebel forces were crushed by a royal army. An expedition was then sent against Rana Sangram Singh of Mewar, who bravely defended his territory. The discontent of the barons gradually reached its climax, and Daulat Khan Lodi invited Babur to invade India. Ibrahim Lodi was defeated and killed in the first battle of Panipat (1526) and the foundations of the Mughal Empire were laid.

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE LODI DYNASTY

Bahlul Lodi (1451-89)

- Barbak Shah (Jaunpur)
- Sikandar Lodi (1489-1517)
  - Ibrahim Lodi (1517-26)

FOR FURTHER STUDY

Cambridge History of India, Vol. III.

Habib, *Campaigns of Ala-ud-din Khalji.*

Ishwari Prasad, *History of the Qaraunah Turks in India.*

S. K. Aiyangar, *South India and Her Muhammadan Invaders.*

CHAPTER XIV

PROVINCIAL KINGDOMS

SECTION I

KINGDOMS OF NORTHERN INDIA

The decline of the Sultanate of Delhi necessarily resulted in the establishment of independent principalities in different parts of India. Each of these principalities had a separate history of its own till its absorption in the Mughal Empire.

KASHMIR

The valley of Kashmir had never come within the Sultanate of Delhi, but Hindu rule had been supplanted there by an adventurer named Shah Mirza, who ascended the throne in 1346 under the title of Shams-ud-din Shah. One of his successors, Shihab-ud-din (1359-78), was a successful warrior and a good administrator. Sikandar (1393-1416) was a cruel persecutor and iconoclast. The Hindus of Kashmir were offered the choice between Islam and exile ; to this order is to be traced the present Muslim majority in Kashmir. Zain-ul-Abidin (1420-70) was, however, as liberal as Akbar in his religious policy. He recalled many Hindu exiles and even allowed some converts to return to their ancestral faith. He was a benevolent administrator, a scholar, and a patron of learning. Under his patronage the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rājatarangiṇī* were translated from Sanskrit into Persian. His successors were 'mere puppets set up, pulled down, and set up again by factions and powerful nobles'. In 1561 the dynasty of Shah Mirza was overthrown, and Ghazi Shah, the founder of the Chakk dynasty, occupied the throne. The last ruler of this dynasty submitted to Akbar in 1589.

JAUNPUR

During the reign of the last Sultan of the Tughluq dynasty the eunuch Malik Sarwar declared his independence at Jaunpur

(1394).[1] His authority extended as far west as Aligarh, and on the east Tirhut came under his influence. One of his successors, Ibrahim Shah (1402-36), was a cultured patron of learning. He invaded Bengal to punish Raja Ganesh for his hostility to Islam, but the expedition proved abortive. His son Mahmud Shah (1436-58) waged war against Malwa and Delhi. Husain Shah (1458-79) led a successful raid to Orissa, but he was unable to resist Bahlul Lodi[2]. Under the Sharqi dynasty Jaunpur became a celebrated centre of Muslim art[3] and learning and came to be called 'the Shiraz of India'.

MALWA

The independence of Malwa was established by Dilawar Khan Ghuri, an Afghan, towards the close of the fourteenth century. He was murdered by his son Hushang Shah (1406-35), who assumed the style of royalty. He was once defeated and taken prisoner by Muzaffar Shah I of Gujarat. Afterwards he led two abortive expeditions to Gujarat and also a successful raid to Orissa. He was an ambitious ruler, but his military exploits were not very creditable. Sometime after his death the Khaljis usurped the throne. Mahmud Khalji I (1436-69) resisted an invasion of Ahmad Shah I of Gujarat, advanced as far as Delhi with the vain desire of occupying the imperial throne, repeatedly fought against Rana Kumbha of Mewar, and even led an expedition against the Bahmani Kingdom. He received formal recognition from the phantom Caliph of Egypt. He was the greatest of the Muslim Kings of Malwa, and this independent Sultanate reached its greatest extent during his reign. The last ruler of the dynasty, Mahmud Khalji II (1510-31), was weak and dependent on the support of his Rajput subjects. Rana Sangram Singh of Mewar defeated and captured him. In 1531 Bahadur Shah of Gujarat annexed Malwa. Four years later Emperor Humayun occupied Malwa, but after his departure Mallu Khan, an ex-officer of the Khaljis, established himself at Mandu, the capital of Malwa. Malwa came under the control of Sher Shah in 1542. In 1561 Akbar conquered Malwa from

[1] See p. 275.
[2] See p. 282.
[3] See p. 316.

Baz Bahadur, son of Shuja'at Khan, who had been Governor of Malwa under Islam Shah Sur.

GUJARAT

The rich province of Gujarat occupied an important place among the provincial Kingdoms which arose on the ruins of the Sultanate of Delhi. In 1396, Zafar Khan, Governor of Gujarat, the son of a Rajput convert, proclaimed his independence ; some years later he assumed the title of Sultan Muzaffar Shah. He conquered Idar, defeated and captured Hushang Shah of Malwa, and led an expedition against Jaunpur. His grandson Ahmad Shah I (1411-42) fought against Malwa, Khandesh, and some petty Rajput States like Dungarpur. He founded the city of Ahmadabad.

Perhaps the greatest ruler of the dynasty was Mahmud Begarha (1458-1511), who fought against Mahmud Khalji I of Malwa and conquered Girnar and Champaner. His territories were bounded on the west by the Arabian Sea (for he held Junagarh and Chaul), on the south by Khandesh, on the east by Mandu, and on the north by Jalor and Nagaur in Rajputana. Under him the Kingdom of Gujarat reached its highest extent. A Portuguese naval expedition, led by the son of the Portuguese Viceroy in India, was defeated in the harbour of Chaul in 1508 by a Gujarat army, which was assisted by a naval force sent by the Sultan of Egypt. This victory did not produce any lasting result. In 1509 the Portuguese Viceroy defeated the Gujarat army and its Egyptian allies at Diu, and Mahmud made peace with the Portuguese by offering them a site for a factory at Diu.

Muzaffar Shah II (1511-26), who succeeded Begarha, fought against Rana Sangram Singh of Mewar. The tradition of hostility against that Rajput State was continued by Bahadur Shah (1526-37), who sacked Chitor after the great Rana's death. Bahadur Shah also led expeditions into the Deccan and conquered Malwa. Towards the close of his reign Emperor Humayun invaded Gujarat and occupied a part of the country ; but the rise of Sher Shah in the east compelled the Mughal Emperor to retreat. Bahadur Shah was the last great independent ruler of Gujarat. He was treacherously murdered by the

Portuguese. His successors were mere puppets in the hands of the turbulent nobles. Some unsuccessful attempts were made to expel the Portuguese from Diu. Akbar conquered Gujarat in 1572.

RAJPUTANA

The conquest of Chitor by Ala-ud-din Khalji has been referred to in a previous chapter[1]. It is probable that Guhilot authority in Mewar was restored by Hamir towards the close of Ala-ud-din's reign. In the fifteenth century Mewar became a powerful State under Rana Kumbha (1433-68). He repeatedly fought against the Sultans of Malwa and Gujarat, and raised a great pillar of victory at Chitor in commemoration of his successes. He was a great builder of temples and fortresses, and a patron of learning. The power of Mewar reached its height during the reign of Rana Sanga (1509-28). His conflicts with the Sultans of Malwa and Gujarat were generally successful. He defeated and captured Mahmud Khalji II of Malwa, but generously restored him to his throne. Sanga repulsed an expedition sent by Ibrahim Lodi. But his attempt to defeat Babur resulted in a disastrous defeat (battle of Khanua, 1527).[2]

The Rathor clan, which now rules over the States of Jodhpur and Bikaner, claims a high antiquity for itself. Tod connects the Rathors with the Gahadavalas of Kanauj. The modern history of Marwar really begins with Chunda (1394-1421), whose successor Jodha (1438-88) built the fort of Mandor and the town of Jodhpur. Marwar reached the zenith of its power under Maldev (1532-62), the famous antagonist of Sher Shah[3].

The Kachchhapaghatas of Amber or Jaipur claim descent from the Solar dynasty. According to Tod, the principality of Amber was founded in the tenth century. Probably this principality acquired some political importance in the fourteenth century; but the rulers of Amber did not attain prominence before they connected themselves with the Mughal Empire. Bihari Mal of Amber became a vassal of Akbar in 1561.

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[1] See pp. 243-244.
[2] See Chapter XVI, Section I.
[3] See Chapter XVI, Section II.

BENGAL

We have already traced the relations of Bengal with the Sultanate of Delhi till the failure of Firuz Shah Tughluq's expeditions. Sikandar Shah, whom that weak Sultan left as the independent ruler of Bengal, had a successful and prosperous reign. He was succeeded by his son, Ghiyas-ud-din Azam Shah (1393-1410), an able and benevolent ruler. He sent an embassy to China and corresponded with the great poet Hafiz. Under his successors a Brahmin *Zamindar* named Raja Ganesh (called 'Kans' by Muslim historians) became very powerful, and finally seized the throne (1414). Some scholars suggest that he ruled in the name of two puppet Sultans. Disgusted at the restoration of Hindu rule in Bengal, an influential Muslim saint named Qutb-ul-Alam invited Ibrahim Shah Sharqi of Jaunpur to punish the usurper. The expedition proved abortive. Ganesh was succeeded by his son Jadu, who embraced Islam and came to be known as Jalal-ud-din Muhammad Shah. He persecuted the Hindus. With the death of his son and successor in 1442 the dynasty of Raja Ganesh came to an end and soon afterwards the old dynasty of Iliyas Shah was restored. Bengal continued to suffer from the aggressions of the rulers of Jaunpur. During the last quarter of the fifteenth century the Abyssinian slaves became the King-makers at Gaur ; anarchy and misrule were the inevitable consequences.

The power of the Abyssinians was crushed by Husain Shah (1493-1519), a Sayyid by descent, who may be justly described as the greatest ruler of medieval Bengal. He gave shelter to Husain Shah of Jaunpur, who had been expelled from his Kingdom by Bahlul Lodi. Husain Shah sent expeditions against Orissa and Assam, but the extent of his conquests cannot be precisely determined. We are merely told that 'the tributary Rajas as far as Orissa, paid implicit obedience to his commands ; nor was there a single rebellion or insurrection during his reign.' He was a generous ruler and tolerant to Hinduism.

Nusrat Shah (1518-33), Husain Shah's son and successor, was an able and powerful ruler. He is described in Babur's autobiography as one of the five great Muslim rulers with formidable armies. He established his authority in Tirhut, gave shelter to many Afghan nobles who left Delhi after the battle

of Panipat, and established diplomatic relations with Bahadur Shah of Gujarat. During his reign the Portuguese made their appearance in Bengal. Nusrat Shah was a patron of arts. His successor, Ghiyas-ud-din Mahmud Shah (1533-38), was the last independent ruler of Bengal. Gaur was then occupied by Sher Shah.

SECTION II

KINGDOMS OF SOUTHERN INDIA

KHANDESH

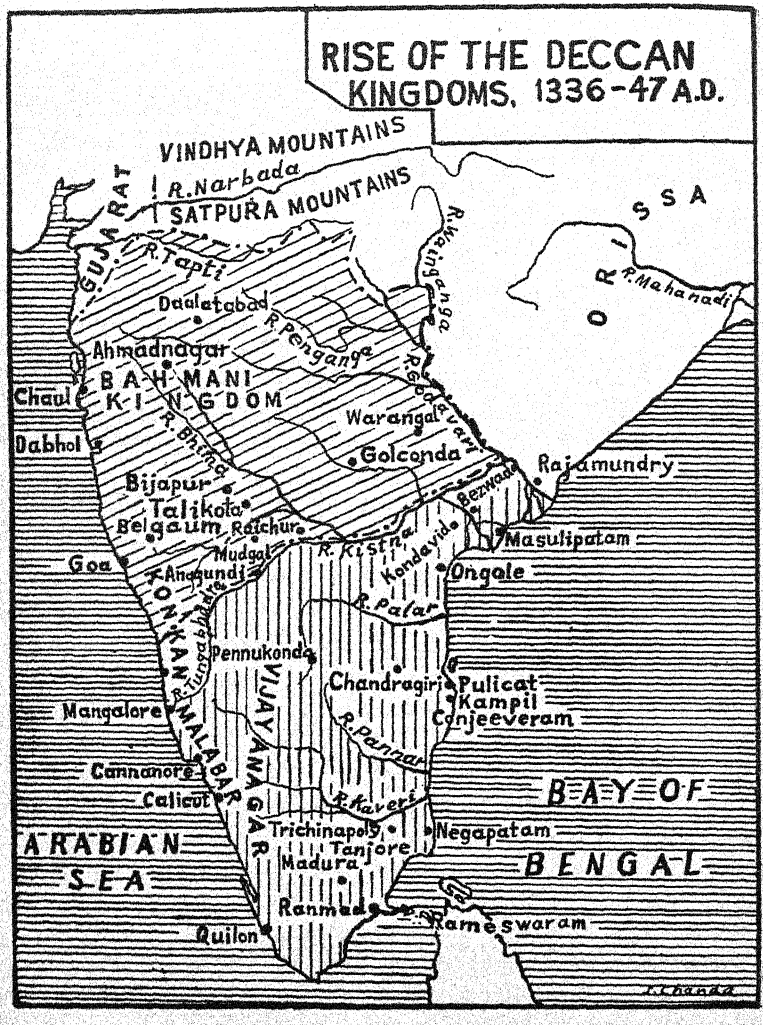
The Kingdom of Khandesh was situated in the Tapti valley. It contained the important city of Burhanpur and the impregnable fort of Asirgarh. After Firuz Shah Tughluq's death Malik Raja Farrukhi, Governor of Khandesh, proclaimed his independence. The rulers of Khandesh came into conflict with the Sultans of Gujarat and the Bahmani Sultans on many occasions. Asirgarh surrendered to Akbar in 1601 and Khandesh became one of the provinces of the Mughal Empire.

RISE OF THE BAHMANI KINGDOM

We have already referred to the rebellion of the foreign nobles at Devagiri during the reign of Muhammad Tughluq[1]. Ismail Mukh, the leader of the rebels, resigned his position in favour of an intrepid soldier named Hasan, who assumed the style of royalty under the title of Abul Muzaffar Ala-ud-din Bahman Shah in 1347 and established the so-called Bahmani Kingdom. The story of Hasan's connection with a Brahmin astrologer named Gangu, recorded by Firishta, does not stand scrutiny. Hasan claimed descent from the royal house of Persia, and the title 'Bahman Shah' assumed by him was merely a formal assertion of that claim. He established his capital at Gulbarga. After Muhammad Tughluq's death Hasan could safely devote himself to the task of expansion and consolidation, for Firuz Tughluq had no desire to make an attempt for

[1] See p. 269.

the reconquest of the Deccan. Goa, Dabhol, Kolhapur, and Telingana were conquered; at the time of Hasan's death (1358) his territories extended from Daulatabad to Bhongir (in



the Nizam's Dominions) and from the river Wainganga to the Krishna. An expedition against some Hindu chieftains in the Carnatic captured an immense booty. Hasan personally led an

expedition against Malwa and Gujarat, but he retreated without accomplishing his object. His administration was based on the model of the Sultanate of Delhi. The Kingdom was divided into *tarafs* (Gulbarga, Daulatabad, Berar, Bidar) which were assigned to faithful and enterprising Muslim nobles.

STRUGGLE BETWEEN THE BAHMANI AND VIJAYANAGAR KINGDOMS

It was during the reign of Hasan's successor, Muhammad Shah I (1358-77), that the long struggle between the Bahmani and Vijayanagar Kingdoms began. Bukka I of Vijayanagar and Kanhayya of Warangal offended Muhammad by resisting his currency reform and also by demanding the cession of the Raichur Doab. The Hindus were defeated. Kanhayya had to buy peace by swearing fealty, paying a large indemnity, and ceding Golkonda. More than 400,000 Hindus were massacred within Bukka's territory after his defeat in the great battle of Kauthal (1367).

The struggle against Vijayanagar was continued by Muhammad's son and successor, Mujahid (1377-78), who besieged Bukka's capital as well as Adoni, but failed to capture either of the two places. The bone of contention was, as usual, the fertile Raichur Doab. Muhammad Shah II (1378-97) was a man of peace, interested in literature and science rather than in bloody wars of conquest.

The policy of aggression was revived by Firuz Shah (1397-1422), who combined hard drinking and a large *harem* with religious orthodoxy. In 1398 Harihara II of Vijayanagar invaded the Raichur Doab with an army of 30,000 horse and 900,000 foot. A clever stratagem adopted by a Muslim officer created confusion in the Hindu camp and compelled Harihara to retreat. The Hindu King had to conclude peace and secure the release of Brahmin captives by paying a heavy indemnity. Firuz Shah's relations with the Muslim rulers of Khandesh, Gujarat, and Malwa were not friendly; they instigated the rulers of Vijayanagar to declare war against the proud Bahmani Sultan. In 1406 war was renewed, the excuse being the attempt of Bukka II to capture the beautiful daughter of a goldsmith of Mudgal. An attack on the city of Vijayanagar failed, and Firuz himself was defeated and wounded by the Hindus. But

a Bahmani general conquered the region as far as the Tungabhadra, and Bukka II concluded peace on humiliating conditions. He sent one of his daughters to Firuz Shah's *harem*, ceded Bankapur and paid a large indemnity. In 1417 Firuz subjugated Telingana. In 1420 a fresh war with Vijayanagar followed ; the Hindus defeated Firuz and ravaged his territory. Towards the close of his reign this vigorous King became a feeble voluptuary.

His brother and successor, Ahmad Shah (1422-35), carried on the struggle against Vijayanagar with renewed vigour. A large Hindu army encamped on the southern bank of the Tungabhadra under the leadership of the King himself ; but a surprise attack created confusion, and the King fled to Vijayanagar. Ahmad Shah mercilessly ravaged Vijayanagar territory, butchered thousands of innocent non-combatants, and omitted nothing that could offend the religious sentiments of the Hindus. The city of Vijayanagar was then besieged. Deva Raya II now concluded peace by paying tribute (1423). Ahmad Shah then captured the fortress of Warangal and finally destroyed the independence of the Kakatiya Kingdom. He also defeated Hushang Shah of Malwa, and fought against the Sultan of Gujarat over the possession of the island of Mahim (which stood on the site of the present island of Bombay). He transferred his capital from Gulbarga to Bidar. This ferocious tyrant is described by a Muslim chronicler in the following words: "His disposition was adorned with the ornament of clemency and temperance and with the jewel of abstinence and devotion." He was a superstitious fanatic, but his love of learning was genuine.

Repeated defeats at the hands of the Muslims compelled Deva Raya II to revise his military system. He was advised that the success of the Muslims was due to the superiority of their cavalry and their skill in archery. He admitted the Muslims in his service, gave them *jagirs*, and built a mosque at Vijayanagar for their worship. With the reorganised army he invaded the Raichur Doab in 1443 and secured some preliminary successes, but Sultan Ala-ud-din Ahmad (1435-57), son and successor of Ahmad Shah, compelled him to sue for peace ; the regular payment of tribute was insisted upon. Some Hindu chiefs of the Konkan were reduced to submission. Though

addicted to pleasure, Ala-ud-din was a stern ruler, a great builder, and a patron of learning.

His successor was his son Humayun (1457-61), a blood-thirsty tyrant, rightly described as a 'homicidal maniac.' He is still remembered in the Deccan as the *Zalim* (oppressor). During the reign of his minor son and successor, Nizam Shah (1461-63), the Bahmani Kingdom was threatened by the invasions of the Hindu rulers of Orissa and Telingana and Mahmud Khalji I of Malwa. The next Sultan was his brother, Muhammad Shah III (1463-82).

MAHMUD GAWAN

Sultan Mujahid had shown great preference to the Persians and the Turks. The employment of foreign troops, begun by him, gradually assumed serious proportions and ultimately ruined the Bahmani Kingdom. In the fifteenth century the Bahmani court became a hot bed of intrigues, the 'Deccanis' and the 'Foreigners' generally taking opposite sides. The line between these two rival political groups was for the first time clearly drawn in the reign of Ahmad Shah. The political feud was embittered by religious differences; the 'Deccanis' were Sunnis, but most of the 'Foreigners' were Shias.

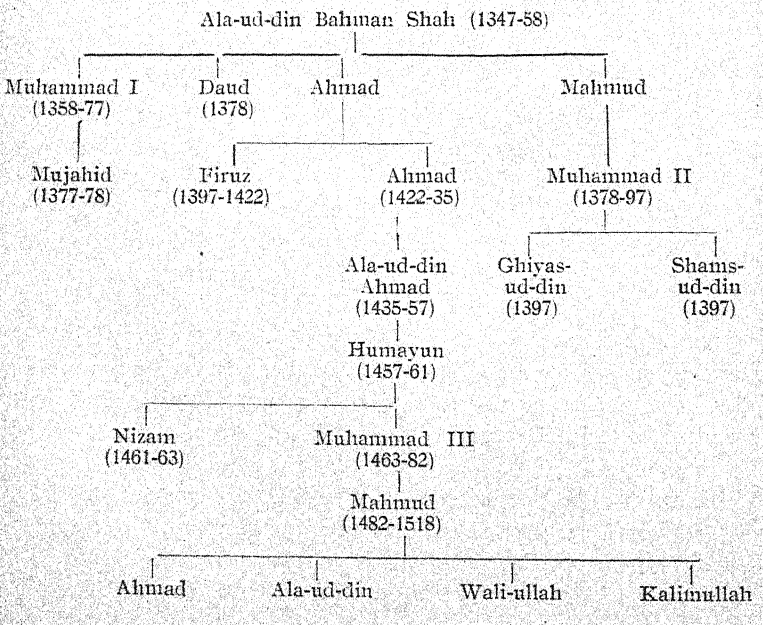
During the reigns of Nizam Shah and Muhammad Shah III, Khwaja Mahmud Gawan, a 'Foreigner', played a leading part in the management of public affairs. For many years he loyally served the State as chief minister. His military record was one of triumph. He subjugated the Hindu chiefs of the Konkan and captured Goa. During his administration successful expeditions were led against the Andhra country and Orissa. In the course of a campaign against Vijayanagar the famous city of Kanchi was plundered. This 'unrivalled minister' (in the words of a Muslim chronicler) was, however, not immune from the intrigues of his 'Deccani' rivals. They poisoned the ears of Muhammad Shah III, who ordered him to be executed (1481). Meadows Taylor observes that "with him departed all the cohesion and power of the Bahmani Kingdom." Mahmud Gawan lived a simple life. He was a scholar and zealous in the observance of his religious rites. He was an efficient admini-

strator. But in one respect he could not transcend the limitations of his age: he persecuted the Hindus.

FALL OF THE BAHMANI KINGDOM

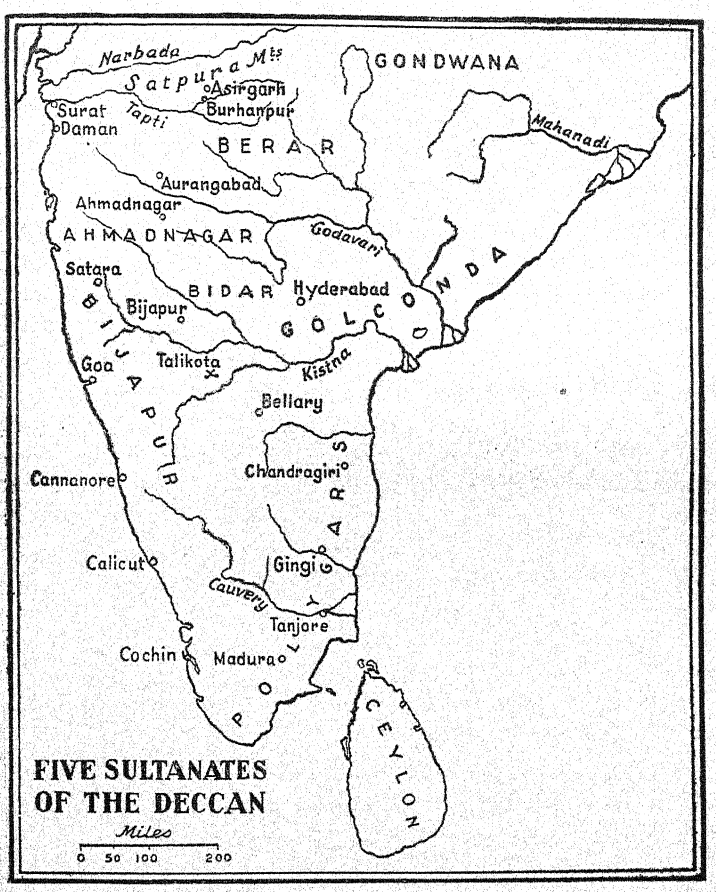
The Bahmani Kingdom could not long survive the execution of this able minister. Mahmud Shah (1482-1518) was an imbecile. The provincial Governors took advantage of his weakness and carved out independent principalities for themselves. Yusuf Adil Shah founded the Adil Shahi dynasty at Bijapur (1490); Ahmad Nizam Shah founded the Nizam Shahi dynasty at Ahmadnagar (1490); Fathullah Imad Shah founded the Imad Shahi dynasty in Berar (1490); Quli Qutb Shah founded the Qutb Shahi dynasty at Golkonda (1512). The Bahmani Kingdom remained confined to Bidar. When the last Bahmani King, Kalimullah, fled to Bijapur, in 1525, his powerful minister, Amir Barid, founded the Barid Shahi dynasty at Bidar.

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE BAHMANI DYNASTY



NIKITIN

In 1470 Athanasius Nikitin, a Russian merchant, visited Bidar, which was then the capital of the Bahmani Kingdom. He says, "Khorassanians rule the country and serve in war."



[This map shows the location of the five offshoots of the Bahmani Kingdom in the sixteenth century.]

The army was very large: when the Sultan went out hunting, 60,000 men and 200 elephants followed him. The nobles lived in great luxury: "They are wont to be carried on their silver beds, preceded by some 20 chargers caparisoned in gold, and

followed by 300 men on horseback and by 500 on foot, and by horn-men, ten torch-bearers, and ten musicians." About the condition of the people the traveller says, "The land is overstocked with people ; but those in the country are very miserable, whilst the nobles are extremely opulent and delight in luxury."

BIJAPUR

Bijapur was the most important of the States which arose on the ruins of the Bahmani Kingdom. Yusuf Adil Shah, the founder of Bijapur, was an able ruler. He was kind to the Hindus. He married a Maratha lady and admitted Hindus to high offices. Saluva Narasimha of Vijayanagar, who declared war at the instigation of Qasim Barid, the powerful minister of the puppet Bahmani Sultan, was defeated by Adil Shah. Ismail Adil Shah (1510-34) fought against Vijayanagar and Ahmadnagar, Bidar, and Golkonda. Ali Adil Shah (1557-79) utilised Ram Raja's assistance in ravaging Ahmadnagar territory, but later on he joined the Sultans of Ahmadnagar and Golkonda in crushing the power of Vijayanagar in the battle of Talikota. Ibrahim Adil Shah II (1579-1626) was an able and popular ruler. During his reign the Sultan of Ahmadnagar was defeated and killed, and the Kingdom of Bidar was annexed to Bijapur (1618-19). Under his successor, Muhammad Adil Shah (1626-57), Bijapur came into contact with Shah Jahan. Aurangzeb conquered Bijapur in 1686.

GOLKONDA

The Sultanate of Golkonda grew up in Telingana, formerly included in the Hindu Kingdom of Warangal. Its founder, Quli Qutb Shah, had a long and prosperous reign (1512-43). His son, Ibrahim, took part in the battle of Talikota. Towards his Hindu subjects he pursued a conciliatory policy. After his death in 1611 Golkonda became a victim of Mughal aggression. It was annexed by Aurangzib in 1687.

AHMADNAGAR

The Sultans of Ahmadnagar were frequently engaged in wars against Bijapur. Burhan Nizam Shah I (1509-53) made

an alliance with Sadasiva of Vijayanagar, invaded Bijapur territory, and captured Sholapur. Later, an attack on Bijapur city failed. His successor, Husain Nizam Shah I (1553-65), joined Ali Adil Shah against Vijayanagar and took part in the battle of Talikota. His successors were weak. Berar was annexed to Ahmadnagar in 1574. Ahmadnagar was gradually absorbed within the Mughal Empire during the reigns of Akbar, Jahangir, and Shah Jahan.

RISE OF VIJAYANAGAR

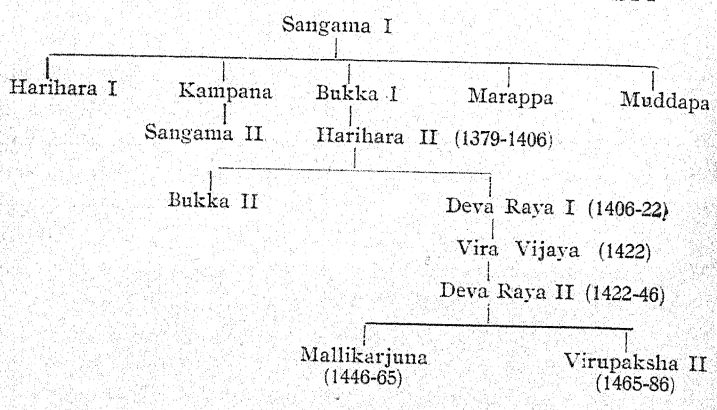
It was during the turmoil of Muhammad Tughluq's reign that the great Kingdom of Vijayanagar took its birth. Sewell's *A Forgotten Empire* gives us traditional stories about the origin of Vijayanagar. It is said that five sons of Sangama, of whom Harihara and Bukka took the leading part, founded the city of Vijayanagar on the southern bank of the Tungabhadra. It is more probable, however, that the city of Anegundi, on the northern bank of the Tungabhadra, which formed the nucleus of the Vijayanagar Kingdom, was founded by the Hoysala King, Vira Ballala III, about the year 1336. Harihara and Bukka were probably wardens of the northern marches under the Hoysala banner, and it is probably in this capacity that they fought against the founder of the Bahmani Kingdom. The death of Virupaksha Ballala, the son and successor of Vira Balla III, in 1346 left Harihara and Bukka in independent possession of the territories which had so long acknowledged the Hoysala suzerainty. It is probable that Harihara extended his authority from the Krishna in the north to the neighbourhood of the Kaveri in the south ; but neither he nor Bukka assumed full royal titles. According to tradition, Harihara and Bukka received valuable assistance and inspiration from Madhava, surnamed Vidyaranya, a great scholar and religious teacher, and his brother Sayana, the well-known commentator on the Vedas.

THE SANGAMA DYNASTY

The first dynasty of Vijayanagar, which is usually named after Sangama, lasted up to the year 1486. The most important feature of the foreign policy of the rulers of this dynasty was

a long struggle against the Bahmani Kingdom, to which reference has been made above. Bukka sent an embassy to China in 1374. He was succeeded in 1379 by Harihara II (1379-1406), the first ruler of Vijayanagar who assumed imperial titles. He extended his authority over Kanara, Mysore, Trichinopoly, Kanchi and Chingleput regions. His successors, Deva Raya I (1406-22) and Deva Raya II (1422-46) suffered defeats at the hands of the Bahmani Sultans. Deva Raya II, however, reorganised the administration and appointed an officer to look after overseas commerce.

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE SANGAMA DYNASTY



THE SALUVA DYNASTY

During the second half of the fifteenth century the weakness of Deva Raya II's successors created confusion in the Vijayanagar Kingdom. Rebellions within were followed by foreign invasions: the Bahmani Sultan advanced into the Krishna-Tungabhadra Doab and Purushottama Gajapati of Orissa threatened the eastern provinces. These aggressions were resisted by a powerful Saluva chieftain, Narasimha, whose ancestral estate lay in Chandragiri (Chittur district). About 1486 he deposed Virupaksha II, the last ruler of the Sangama dynasty, and occupied the throne. This is known as the 'First Usurpation'; it was probably rendered necessary by the distracted condition of the Kingdom. Narasimha Saluva was an able and popular ruler. During his brief rule of six years he recovered most of the districts occupied by the Bahmani Sultan

and the King of Orissa. After his death his powerful general, Narasa Nayaka, became the *de facto* ruler of the Kingdom, although Narasimha's two sons were, one after another, kept on the throne. After Narasa Nayaka's death in 1505 his son, Vira Narasimha, deposed Narasimha's worthless son and seized the throne for himself. This is known as the 'Second Usurpation'.

THE TULUVA DYNASTY: KRISHNADEVA RAYA

The dynasty founded by Vira Narasimha is called the Tuluva dynasty. He was succeeded after a short reign by his younger brother, Krishnadeva Raya (1509-30), the greatest ruler of Vijayanagar and one of the most famous Princes known to Indian history. At the time of his accession the Kingdom was disturbed by internal rebellions and threatened by external enemies. Bijapur was continuing the Bahmani tradition of hostility against Vijayanagar. The King of Orissa still occupied the eastern coast as far south as Nellore. On the western coast the Portuguese had occupied Goa. Krishnadeva Raya successfully dealt with these difficult problems. At first he subjugated some refractory vassals in Mysore. The Raichur Doab was occupied in 1512. Several campaigns against the King of Orissa proved eminently successful, although the latter was assisted by the Sultans of Golkonda and Bidar. Krishnadeva Raya advanced as far as modern Waltair. The King of Orissa gave him a daughter in marriage and recognised the Krishna as his boundary. In 1520 the Sultan of Bijapur attempted to recover the Raichur Doab, but he suffered a crushing defeat. Krishnadeva Raya overran the Bijapur territory and destroyed the fortress of Gulbarga. His authority was extended as far as South Konkan in the west, Vizagapatam in the east and the southernmost point of the peninsula. Probably some islands in the Indian Ocean were within his sphere of influence. The power and prosperity of Vijayanagar excited the wonder of foreign travellers, and in the pages of Paes we read: "He is the most feared and perfect King that could possibly be. . . He is a great ruler and a man of much justice, but subject to sudden fits of rage . . . . he is by rank a greater lord than any, by reason of what he possesses in armies and territories." Friendly relations were maintained with the Portuguese of Goa, and Albuquerque was permitted to build a fort at Bhatkal.

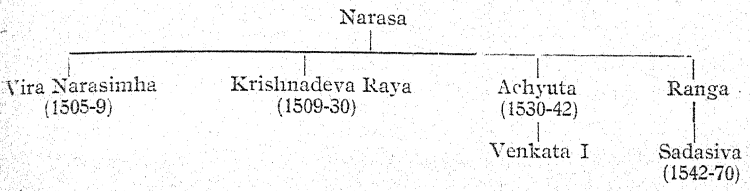
Krishnadeva Raya was not only an enterprising conqueror and successful administrator ; he was an accomplished scholar and generous patron of learning. He was a devout Vaishnava, but there was no trace of religious intolerance in his policy. He represented that type of benevolent despotism which had become the traditional political organisation in India.

BATTLE OF TALIKOTA

Krishnadeva Raya was succeeded by his brother Achyuta Raya (1530-42), whose weakness led to the rise of rival political groups and the consequent weakening of the central authority. Soon after his death the throne passed to his nephew Sadasiva, but the *de facto* ruler was his famous minister Rama Raya. This able but tactless minister interfered in the quarrels of the Muslim Sultans, hoping thereby to restore the power and prestige of Vijayanagar. In 1543 he formed an alliance with Ahmadnagar and Golkonda against Bijapur. In 1558 he joined Bijapur and Golkonda against Ahmadnagar. The territory of Ahmadnagar was ravaged and the triumphant army of Vijaynagar 'destroyed the mosques and did not even respect the sacred Quran'. This insult to Islam, and the haughty behaviour of Rama Raya, united all the Muslim rulers of the Deccan (except the Sultan of Berar) against Vijayanagar. The combined armies of Bijapur, Ahmadnagar, Golkonda, and Bidar inflicted a crushing defeat on the Vijayanagar army in the battle of Talikota (Raksas-Tagdi) on January 23, 1565. Rama Raya was captured, and beheaded by the Sultan of Ahmadnagar with his own hand. Ferishta says, "The plunder was so great that every private man in the allied army became rich in gold, jewels, tents, arms, horses, and slaves. . . ." The city of Vijayanagar was mercilessly destroyed. Sewell says, "Never perhaps in the history of the world has such havoc been wrought, and wrought so suddently, on so splendid a city. . . ."

The battle of Talikota weakened Vijayanagar, but it could not destroy Hindu political power in the South. The temporary coalition of the Sultans did not ripen into a permanent alliance. Their mutual jealousy enabled Vijayanagar to recover something of the lost ground. "Talikota was the climacteric, but not the grand climacteric, of the Vijayanagar Empire".

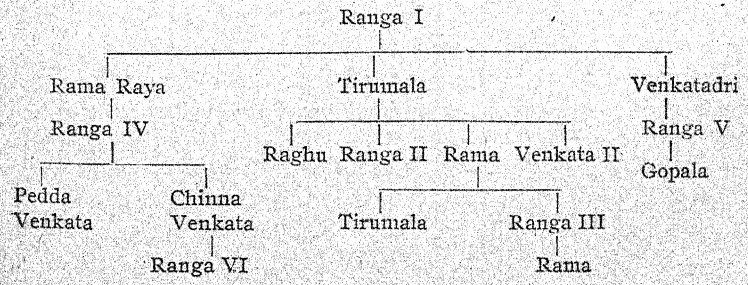
GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE TULUVA DYNASTY



THE ARAVIDU DYNASTY

After the tragic death of Rama Raya his brother Tirumala transferred the capital to Penugonda and partly restored the power and prestige of the Kingdom. In 1570 he deposed the puppet King Sadasiva and usurped the throne. He belonged to the Aravidu dynasty. His son and successor, Ranga II, was a successful ruler. He was succeeded by his brother, Venkata II (1586-1614), who transferred his capital to Chandragiri. He was able to maintain the integrity of the Kingdom, although he encouraged disruption by recognising the foundation of the Kingdom of Mysore in 1612. His death was followed by a war of succession and the disruption of the Kingdom. Ranga III, the last notable ruler of the dynasty, was unable to suppress his refractory vassals and to resist the aggressions of the Sultans of Bijapur and Golkonda. Had the Hindu vassals and provincial governors of Vijayanagar remained loyal to the central authority, the Muslims would not have been able to extend their power towards the Far South.

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE ARAVIDU DYNASTY



FOREIGN TRAVELLERS

An Italian traveller named Nicolo Conti visited Vijayanagar about 1420. He describes the city in the following words: "The circumference of the city is sixty miles; its walls are carried up to the mountains and enclose the valleys at their foot. . . . In this city there are estimated to be ninety thousand men fit to bear arms". A Persian envoy named Abdur Razzaq, who came to Vijayanagar in 1442-48, says, "The country is so well-populated that it is impossible in a reasonable space to convey an idea of it. In the King's treasury there are chambers with excavations in them, filled with molten gold, forming one mass. All the inhabitants of the country, whether high or low, even down to the artificers of the bazar, wear jewels and gilt ornaments in their ears and around their necks, arms, wrists, and fingers." About the city he says, "The city of Bijanagar is such that eye has not seen nor ear heard of any place resembling it upon the whole earth. It is so built that it has seven fortified walls, one within the other." We have already referred to Paes, a Portuguese traveller. He says, "This is the best provided city in the world, and is stocked with provisions such as rice, wheat, grains, Indian corn, and a certain amount of barley and beans, moong, pulses, horse-grain and many other seeds. . . The streets and markets are full of laden oxen without count." Another traveller, Edoardo Barbosa, says that Vijayanagar was "of great extent, highly populous and the seat of an active commerce in country diamonds, rubies from Pegu, silks of China and Alexandria, and cinnabar, camphor, musk, pepper and sandal from Malabar".

A SURVEY OF THE VIJAYANAGAR KINGDOM

These extracts from the writings of foreign travellers belonging to different nationalities testify to the economic prosperity of the Vijayanagar Kingdom. Irrigation was encouraged; consequently agriculture flourished. Among industries we may specially mention mining and textiles. Industrial life had so far developed that there were craftsmen's and merchants' guilds. Commerce played an important part in the economic life of the people. The most important port on the western coast was Calicut, which had commercial relations with

Europe as well as the Far East. Vijayanagar had her own ships, and the art of ship-building was well-known.

Like all medieval rulers, the King of Vijayanagar was an autocrat. His authority in civil, military, and judicial matters was unchallenged. Though there was no constitutional check, yet the King was conscious of his responsibility for the welfare of the people. Krishnadeva Raya says, "A crowned King should always rule with an eye towards *Dharma*". The King was assisted by ministers, who were recruited from all high castes and were sometimes hereditary. The Kingdom was divided into several provinces, each of which was under a viceroy (*nāyaka*). The Viceroys exercised large powers, but they were effectively controlled by the Central Government as long as the Kings were strong. Each village had its own assembly and formed an autonomous administrative unit. Land revenue formed the principal source of the King's income. Nuniz says that the peasants had to pay nine-tenths of the produce to their lords, who paid one-half to the King. Heavy taxation and oppression of provincial governors and local officials created widespread distress, which was sometimes relieved by the benevolence of the Kings. On the whole, however, the splendour of the court and the aristocracy offered a sad contrast to the misery of the masses.

Vijayanagar had to maintain a large army for defence and offence. Paes says that Krishnadeva Raya had 700,000 foot, 32,600 horse, and 651 elephants, besides camp-followers. Artillery was in use even in the fourteenth century. The military department was under the management of the Commander-in-Chief (*Dandanāyaka*).

The Kingdom of Vijayanagar served a high historical purpose by acting as the champion of Hindu religion and culture against the aggressions of the Muslims in Southern India. The patronage of the rulers was extended not only to Sanskrit, the *lingua franca* of the Hindus, but also to the local languages—Telegu, Tamil and Kanarese. We have already referred to Madhava and Sayana, who occupy a prominent place in the history of medieval Sanskrit literature. Krishnadeva Raya wrote books in Sanskrit and Telegu and his court was adorned by eight Telegu poets. Telegu literature was also patronised by the Kings of the Aravidu dynasty. There was no religious persecution in this great Hindu State. Barbosa says, "The King

allows such freedom that every man may come and go and live according to his own creed without suffering any annoyance, and without enquiry, whether he is a Christian, Jew, Moor or Hindu." The religious zeal of the Kings found expression in great temples, which have been described by Western experts as perfect specimens of Hindu architecture. The ruins of the city of Vijayanagar still excite the wonder of scholars and artists.

FOR FURTHER STUDY

Cambridge History of India, Vol. III.
Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*.
H. K. Sherwani, *Mahmud Gawan*.

CHAPTER XV

THE SULTANATE OF DELHI—A GENERAL SURVEY

SECTION I

ADMINISTRATION

THE MUSLIM STATE

The Muslim State was a theocracy, and all political institutions were, in theory, derived from Islamic Law and sanctioned by it. In practice, however, this theory passed through many modifications, specially in a country like India, where non-Muslims constituted an overwhelmingly large majority of the population, and political conditions differed widely from those contemplated by the Muslim jurists.

According to the orthodox Muslim theory, sovereignty was based on election by the faithful. This theory was found unworkable even in the homeland of Islam, and Mawardi, the celebrated jurist, was forced to the conclusion that the sovereign might appoint his own successor. In the case of the Sultanate of Delhi it is difficult to trace the source of sovereignty. There was no recognised law of succession, no recognised procedure to be followed in cases of dispute. Broadly speaking, the choice was limited, as a matter of convenience, to the surviving members of the deceased Sultan's family. The priority of birth, the question of efficiency, the nomination of the dead King—these considerations sometimes received some attention, but the decisive voice seems to have been that of the nobles, who usually preferred personal convenience to the interests of the State.

THE TURKISH RULERS OF INDIA AND THE CALIPHATE

By the thirteenth century the theory that the entire Islamic world was united under the religious and political authority of the Caliph had become an unreal but convenient political fiction, and a large majority of the faithful had begun to read the

Khutbah[1] in the name of Muslim Princes who occupied an independent position. Under the Abbasids "Islam was . . . broken up into many fragments, not necessarily in any way dependent on the Caliphate, each with its separate history." In 1258 Hulagu, the great Mongol leader, took Baghdad and put the Caliph to death. The Caliphate now disappeared. "But a shadow survived in Egypt,—a race of mock-Caliphs, having the name without the substance ; a mere spectre as it were." The uncle of the last Caliph of Baghdad took refuge in Egypt, and was recognised by the Memluk Sultans of the Nile valley as a spiritual potentate. The succession of the Egyptian Caliphs was maintained unbroken in the line, until the last of them resigned his theoretical rights into the hands of Suleiman II, the Ottoman Sultan of Constantinople, in the sixteenth century.

Tradition, especially if it is intertwined with religion, dies hard. The Caliphs lost political power after the fall of Baghdad, but they did not forfeit their political prestige. No true believer could ever forget that it was to the successor of the Prophet that his allegiance was due. "He was the fountain-head of all political authority ; Kings and tribal chiefs were subordinate to him, and his sanction alone could provide a legal basis for their power." The relations of the Sultans of Delhi with the Caliphs of Baghdad and Egypt must be analysed against this background.

When Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni put an end to the Samanid dynasty and asserted his independence, his position was recognised by the Abbasid Caliph of Baghdad. Whether Mahmud himself desired to consecrate and strengthen his own authority by securing the formal recognition of the successor of the Prophet, or whether the declining Abbasid dynasty thought it prudent to take advantage of the situation in order to remind the world that the prestige of the Caliph was not a legend of the past, is not clear. Muhammad of Ghur inscribed the name of the Caliph in his early coins issued in Delhi.

[1] *Khutbah* means the sermon delivered on Fridays at the time of *Zuhr* (or meridian prayer). "According to the best authorities, the name of the reigning Khalifah ought to be recited in the *Khutbah*; and the fact that it is not so recited in independent Muhammadan kingdoms, but the name of the Sultan or Amir is substituted for the Khalifah, has its significance."

Iltutmish was the first Sultan of Delhi to receive formal recognition from the Caliphate. In 1229 the emissaries of the Caliph Al-Mustansir came to Delhi and recognised his position as Sultan of Delhi. The name of the last Caliph of Baghdad, Al-Mustasim, continued to be mentioned in the coins of Delhi for about four decades after his death (1258). Ala-ud-din and Qutb-ud-din Mubarak Khalji are described as Caliphs by the obliging court poet, Amir Khusrau ; but epigraphic and numismatic evidence does not give any indication of the assumption of that dignity by Ala-ud-din, although his son openly proclaimed that he was 'the great *imam*, the *Khalifah*.' Towards the close of his reign Muhammad Tughluq, hard pressed by rebellions and wide-spread discontent all over the Empire, fell back upon the old device of strengthening royal authority by the Caliph's recognition. In 1343 an emissary from the Egyptian Caliph Al-Hakim II arrived at Delhi. Barani describes the Sultan's attitude in the following words: "He had his own name and style removed from his coins, and that of the Khalifah substituted ; and his flatteries of the Khalifah were so fulsome that they cannot be reduced to writing." Firuz Tughluq writes in his autobiography, "The greatest and best of honours that I obtained through God's mercy was, that by my obedience and piety, friendliness and submission to the Khalifah, the representative of the holy Prophet, my authority was confirmed ; for it is by his sanction that the power of Kings is assured, and no King is secure until he has submitted himself to the Khalifah, and has received a confirmation from the sacred throne." No successor of Firuz attached so much importance to 'a confirmation from the sacred throne,' and no emissary from Egypt came to Delhi after the death of this devout monarch.

THE HINDUS IN THE MUSLIM STATE

The non-Muslim subjects of an Islamic State are called *Zimmis* (*i.e.*, people living under guarantees). When the Muslims conquered a non-Muslim country they offered three alternatives to the vanquished people ; conversion to Islam, the payment of *Jeziyah*, death. Naturally those who valued their own religion made terms with the conquerors by paying the

Jeziyah. A Muslim jurist says, "He who pays the *Jeziyah* and obeys the Muhammadan State is called a *Zimmi*." The *Jeziyah* could not be levied upon monks, hermits, paupers, or slaves. The payment of the *Jeziyah* was associated with humiliation and degradation. Firuz Tughluq abolished the exemption which the Brahmins had enjoyed for centuries in respect of the *Jeziyah*.

There were learned Muslim divines who aimed at reducing the Hindus to the position of hewers of wood and drawers of water. The opinion of Qazi Mughis-ud-din has been quoted above[1]. An Egyptian exponent of Islamic Law wrote to Ala-ud-din Khalji during his sojourn in India: "I have heard . . . that you have degraded the Hindus to such an extent that their wives and children beg their bread at the doors of Muslims. You are, in doing so, rendering a great service to religion. All your sins will be pardoned by reason of this single act of merit . . . ."

It would be a mistake to think that these uncompromising views were always reflected in legislation and administrative policy. Ala-ud-din Khalji degraded the economic position of the Hindus; Firuz Tughluq and Sikandar Lodi encroached upon their religion. But there was no continuous oppression, no systematic attempt at extermination. The worst charge that can be levelled against the Sultans is that they made no attempt to draw the Hindus into partnership in the management of public affairs[2].

THE MONARCHY

According to Muslim theology and jurisprudence, sovereignty was vested in the Law (*Shar*), which had its ultimate basis in the Quran. The King was the supreme interpreter of the Law. One of the important factors which curbed the despotism of the Muslim rulers was that they could not defy the Law with impunity. Among the Sultans of Delhi Ala-ud-din Khalji and Muhammad Tughluq made partly successful attempts to free themselves from the Law and its traditional interpreters—the Sunni divines.

[1] See pp. 242-243.
[2] See p. 396.

Another important check on royal power was the privileged position of the nobles. "The chief constitutional interest in the history of the family of Iltutmish lies in the struggle between the crown and the peers for the possession of real power." The history of Nasir-ud-din Mahmud's reign shows that the triumph lay with the nobles. Balban raised the power and prestige of the Monarchy and kept the nobles in check. This new tradition continued till the days of Muhammad Tughluq, who reminded his subjects through his coins that "the Sultan is the Shadow of God." A reaction began in the weak reign of Firuz Tughluq, who satisfied the religious classes by his ostentatious devotion to the Law, and left the military classes in the undisturbed enjoyment of their privileges. Under the Lodis the nobles claimed a status of equality with the King himself. The haughty Ibrahim disputed their claims and lost his life.

There is no doubt that the Sultans of Delhi were not guided, assisted, or checked by any recognised system of constitutional law. Everything depended upon the personality of the ruler. There was no regular council of ministers, no cabinet in the modern sense of the term. The Sultan managed public affairs with the assistance of such ministers and officers as he might choose to appoint. If the Sultan was strong, these men were "mere secretaries who carried out the royal will in matters of detail ; but they could never influence their master's policy except by the arts of gentle persuasion and veiled warning." On the other hand, if the Sultan was weak, they utilised him as a puppet.

SOME IMPORTANT MINISTERS AND OFFICERS

The chief minister of the Sultanate was called the *Wazir*, and his department was called the *Diwan-i-wazarat*. This department dealt mainly with finance. The departments called the *Diwan-i-rasalat* (which dealt with religious matters and endowments) and the *Diwan-i-qaza* (department of justice) were under the control of the *Sadr-us-Sudur*. The office of the *Ariz-i-mamalik* (controller of the military department) was managed by the *Dabir-i-arz*. The *Diwan-i-insha* (which dealt with royal correspondence) was managed by the *Dabir-i-Khas*. Of the

officers of the royal house-hold mention may be made of the *Wakil-i-dar* (who was the controller of that department) and the *Amir-i-Hajib* or *Barbek* (the chief chamberlain).

FINANCE

The income of the State was principally derived from the following sources: (1) Land revenue. (2) *Zakat* or religious taxes. (3) *Jeziyah*. (4) Spoils of war. (5) Mines and treasure trove. (6) Heirless property. The principal item of the land revenue was the *Kharaj*. Among the Sultans of Delhi land revenue reforms were introduced by Ala-ud-din Khalji and Ghiyas-ud-din Tughluq. The former probably introduced the rule of measurement, which ensured a more equitable arrangement between the State and the cultivator. In Ala-ud-din's time the peasants were encouraged to pay in kind, although cash was probably accepted. In the thirteenth century the demand of the State was probably one-fifth of the produce. Ala-ud-din raised the demand to one-half of the produce. This heavy rate was reduced in the reign of his son. Ghiyas-ud-din Tughluq ordered that the State demand should not be increased by more than ten per cent.

JUSTICE

The *Sadr-us-Sudur* was the chief judge (*Qazi-i-mamalik*) of the Empire. He heard appeals from the lower courts and appointed the local *Qazis*. All important towns, including Delhi, had a *Qazi* for the administration of justice. A high officer called the *Amir-i-dad* enforced the sentences passed by the *Qazis*. The cases in which the Hindus alone were concerned were usually settled by the *panchayats*. Cases between Muslims and Hindus were decided by the *Qazis*. The *Kotwal* was the head of the police department in the towns, but he was also a committing magistrate. Criminal law was very severe; torture and mutilation were common practices. Firuz Tughluq abolished some of the more inhuman forms of punishment.

PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT

A large Empire is necessarily divided into provinces for the convenience of government. Under Muhammad Tughluq we

have references to 23 provinces: (1) Delhi. (2) Devagiri. (3) Multan. (4) Kuhram. (5) Samana. (6) Sewan. (7) Uch. (8) Hansi. (9) Sirsuti. (10) Ma'bar. (11) Telang. (12) Gujarat. (13) Budaun. (14) Oudh. (15) Kanauj. (16) Lakhnauti. (17) Bihar. (18) Kara. (19) Malwa. (20) Lahore. (21) Kalanor. (22) Jajnagar. (23) Dorasamudra. Some of the provinces were obviously not larger than districts, while others, like Lakhnauti, were probably unmanagably large.

In the Persian chronicles a Provincial Governor is usually called *Wali* or *Muqti*. It is difficult to say whether these terms were synonymous. One modern view is that the term *Wali* was reserved for Governors with extraordinary powers. Probably the larger provinces were divided into *shiqqs*, which were placed under officers called *shiqqdars*. The next smaller unit was the *pargana*, a collection of villages. In the *parganas* and the villages Hindu chiefs and Hindu petty officers probably exercised considerable power and influence ; but in the provincial capital the Muslims enjoyed the monopoly of office and power. No Hindu was appointed Provincial Governor under the Sultanate.

Apart from provinces which were, more or less, directly under the Sultan's authority, there were vassal States ruled by Hindu Princes, whose allegiance to the Central Government was generally little more than a formality.

THE ARMY

A large and efficient army was the first requisite of stable government in that age. The cavalry formed the backbone of the army. Horses were necessarily in great demand. Elephants also were highly valued, after the model of the Hindus. The foot soldiers, called *payaks*, occupied an inferior position. Some rudimentary forms of fire arms were in general use. The general administration of all matters connected with the army was entrusted to the *Ariz-i-mamalik*. His office kept a descriptive roll (*huliyah*) of all soldiers. Ala-ud-din Khalji introduced the system of branding the cavalry horses, so that the troops might not replace a good horse by a bad one. Apart from a body of regular troops maintained by the Central Government, there were provincial contingents under the control of the Provincial Governors.

SECTION II

ART AND LITERATURE

MINGLING OF HINDU AND MUSLIM IDEAS IN ART

We are told by Sir John Marshall that the architecture of the Sultanate period was called into being by the united genius of the Hindus and the Muslims. It is difficult to ascertain how much that architecture owed to India and how much to Islam. This difficulty is partly due to the fact that "wherever the Muhammadans established themselves—whether in Asia or in Africa or in Europe—they invariably adapted to their own needs the indigenous architecture which they found prevailing there." Thus Saracenic architecture had become a heterogeneous product before its arrival in India, where it absorbed new elements and further enriched itself. Of these elements borrowed from the Hindus, Marshall assigns the greatest importance to the qualities of strength and grace.

THE DELHI STYLE

The Indo-Saracenic style of architecture naturally flourished in all its richness and variety in Delhi, the centre of Muslim power and civilisation in India. The Quwwat-ul-Islam mosque, founded in 1191 by Qutb-ud-din Aibak to commemorate the capture of Delhi, was at first an essentially Hindu structure in design and appearance, but later on some characteristically Muslim elements were added. It was enlarged by Iltutmish and Ala-ud-din. The Qutb Minar, originally a tower from which the *mu'azzin* could summon the faithful to prayer, but soon regarded as a tower of victory, was begun by Qutb-ud-din and completed by Iltutmish. Fergusson describes it as the most perfect example of a tower known to exist anywhere, and Marshall says, "Nothing, certainly, could be more imposing or more fittingly symbolic of Muslim power than this stern and stupendous fabric ; nor could anything be more exquisite than its rich but restrained carvings." It was, however, a purely Islamic structure, for towers of this kind were unknown to the Hindus. The celebrated mosque at Ajmer, the *Arhai-din-ka-Jhompra*, was built by Qutb-ud-din and subsequently beautified by Iltutmish with a screen.

No remarkable monument was constructed in Delhi between the death of Iltutmish and the accession of Ala-ud-din. The reaction against Hindu influences, which began in the reign of Iltutmish, reached its climax under Ala-ud-din. The mosque built by Ala-ud-din on the tomb of Nizam-ud-din Auliya has been described as "the earliest example in India of a mosque built wholly in accordance with Muhammadan ideas." Another interesting monument of Ala-ud-din's reign, the *Alai Darwaza*, is 'one of the most treasured gems of Islamic architecture'. Ala-ud-din built the city of Siri and excavated the *Hauz-i-Khas* tank. The ruins of Siri give us some idea about the military architecture of the period.

If the Khalji architecture is remarkable for the lavish use of ornament and richness of detail, the structures of the Tughluq period are attractive for a 'chaste sobriety' which gradually developed into 'a severe and puritanical simplicity'. This change was partly due to financial reasons, but the religious orthodoxy of Muhammad Tughluq and Firuz Shah was not without its influence. Ghiyas-ud-din Tughluq built the city of Tughluqabad, the ruins of which now 'produce an impression of unassailable strength and melancholy grandeur.' The tomb which this Sultan built for himself beneath the walls of this city is remarkable for its simplicity and strength. Muhammad Tughluq built the fortress of Adilabad and the city of Jahanpanah. Firuz Shah was a great builder[1]. In Delhi he built the palace-fort of Firuzabad.

The Sayyid and Lodi Sultans were not rich and powerful enough to build grand structures. The best examples of architecture during this period are the tombs of the Kings and nobles. The Tughluq reaction was over, and the architecture of the Lodis was endowed with 'life and warmth' by 'the magic touch of Hindu genius'. The tradition was continued during the Mughal period: the architecture of the Lodis exercised a profound influence on that of the Mughals.

THE PROVINCIAL STYLES

Many Provincial rulers were patrons of art, and some of the provinces developed distinctive styles of architecture. In

[1] See p. 274.

Bengal the ruins of Gaur and Pandua still excite our admiration. The famous Adina *Masjid* at Pandua, built by Sikandar Shah, was one of the largest mosques in the Muslim world. The *Dakhil Darwaza* at Gaur is 'a superb example of what can be achieved in brick and terracotta'. On the whole, however, the Bengal style is inferior to the Gujarat style. In that western province architecture reached its highest development in the reign of Mahmud Begarha. The Jami *Masjid* of Ahmad Shah at Ahmadnagar, and Mahmud Begarha's great mosque at Champaner, were among the most remarkable structures of the Muslim world. The Gujarat style was dominated by the still surviving Hindu tradition, but in Malwa Muslim influence was predominant. According to Marshall, "Mandu is of all the fortress cities of India the most magnificent." A remarkable resemblance may be noticed between the styles of Delhi and Mandu. The great Jami *Masjid,* and the magnificent Darbar hall called *Hindola Mahal,* are unrivalled in their 'impressive grandeur' even among the monuments of Delhi. Jaunpur was another centre of architectural development in Northern India. The Atala *Masjid,* brought to its completion in 1408 by Ibrahim Shah Sharqi, is the finest example of the Jaunpur style.

In the Deccan, Muslim art tried hard to retain its individuality: "Nowhere else in India did the assimilation of indigenous art proceed so slowly as in the south." In the military architecture of the Bahmani Sultans it is easy to trace European and Persian influence. Muhammad Tughluq's capital at Daulatabad is 'one of the most striking examples of fortification known to the medieval world.' The mosques and tombs built by the Bahmanis lie scattered at Gulbarga and Bidar.

HINDU ARCHITECTURE

While the Muslims were erecting magnificent structures all over India, the independent Hindu rulers did not sit idle. In North India the best specimens of Hindu architecture during this period are to be found in Rajputana. Rana Kumbha of Mewar erected a grand pillar of victory at Chitor. The powerful rulers of Vijayanagar were great patrons of art. They built Council Chambers, public offices, palaces, temples, and acqueducts which excited the admiration of foreign travellers. The

famous Vithala temple, begun by Krishna Deva Raya, has been described by Fergusson as the 'finest building of its kind in southern India.'

LITERATURE: PERSIAN POETRY

A distinguished European critic tells us that "Persian literature produced in India has not, as a rule, the real Persian flavour, ... which belongs to the indigenous product." But it is probably not incorrect to say that some at least of the very large number of Persian poets who lived and wrote in India during the long period of Muslim rule, produced works of real beauty and left a deep impress upon Persian literature in general. Among them the greatest was Amir Khusrau.

Amir Khusrau was probably born in 1253. He made his debut as a courtier and poet in the reign of Balban. One of his earliest patrons was Muhammad Khan, Balban's eldest son. On the accession of Jalal-ud-din Khalji he was finally recognised as the poet-laureate. This honour he managed to retain during the reign of Ala-ud-din. Ala-ud-din's reign of twenty years constitutes the most important period in Amir Khusrau's literary career, and, therefore, a great epoch in the history of Indo-Persian literature. Amir Khusrau became a disciple of Nizam-ud-din Auliya. He continued to enjoy royal patronage till his death in 1325.

Tradition ascribes to Amir Khusrau the composition of as many as ninety-nine works. Whether he really wrote so many works or not, there is reason to believe that some of his works have been lost, or, at any rate, have not yet been traced. Some of his works, apart from their poetic value, offer us historical information. One of his prose works deals with the campaigns of Ala-ud-din's reign. In another book he gives us a very interesting description of the contemporary cultural, religious, and social conditions of India. He clearly shows that the intellectual life of the conquered Hindus was very vigorous in his days. With regard to Hindu religion, Amir Khusrau understands the fundamental Hindu idea that the idols and objects worshipped by the Hindus merely typify the power and majesty of God. How different from the orthodox Muslim point of view! We clearly see that the best minds of the conquering

race were just beginning to understand the strange people of the land of their adoption, and that the first steps were being laid of that tolerance and conciliation, comradeship and sympathy, which were to unite the victors and the vanquished in a great nation in the future.

Another eminent Indo-Persian poet, Mir Hasan Dehlvi, was a contemporary of Amir Khusrau. He died in the reign of Muhammad Tughluq. His compositions are described as 'musical and most pleasing.'

LITERATURE: PERSIAN HISTORICAL CHRONICLES

Some valuable historical chronicles were composed in Persian during this period. Minhaj-ud-din's *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, Barani's *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi*, Shams-i-Siraj Afif's *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi* and Yahya bin Ahmad's *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi* are standard works utilised by the modern historians of the Sultanate[1].

ORIGIN OF URDU

"The various necessities which forced the Muhammadans and Hindus to meet each other involved the evolution of a common language." This common language came to be known as Urdu. "Urdu, by origin, is a dialect of the Western Hindi spoken for centuries in the neighbourhood of Delhi and Meerut, and is directly descended from Saur Senic Prakrit." This essentially Hindu language became gradually Persianised after the arrival of the Muslims, and in course of time developed new characteristics. Amir Khusrau is regarded as the first literary writer who used Urdu as a vehicle for the expression of poetic fancy.

LITERATURE OF THE HINDUS

It would be a mistake to think that the literary activities of the Hindus failed to survive their political decline. Great scholars like Ramanuja, Partha Sarathi Misra, Deva Suri, Jiva Goswami, Vijnanesvara, Jimutavahana, Vachaspati Misra and others wrote many valuable Sanskrit works on religion, philo-

[1] See p. 19.

sophy, and law. Sanskrit even attracted Muslim scholars, and some Sanskrit works were translated into Persian. Towards the close of the period the religious movement gave an impetus to the development of vernacular literature in different parts of India.

THE BHAKTI MOVEMENT: RAMANANDA

The great religious movement, which gradually permeated the whole of India and exercised a powerful influence on spiritual and social life during the medieval period, had its origin in the South. Its beginnings may be traced to the work of the celebrated philosopher-reformer, Sankaracharyya, whose greatest achievement was the extermination of decadent Buddhism and the consequent revival of Hinduism. He established a logical monistic system, but his emphasis on the path of knowledge, so congenial to the learned Brahmins, failed to evoke a hearty response from the common people. It was felt that the best way to attract the popular mind towards Hinduism was to interpret it in terms understood by the masses. The necessity of making Hinduism a living, active force in the life of the common people was gradually becoming stronger and stronger, for Islam had already thrown up a powerful challenge to the guardians of Hindu society in the South.

The *Bhakti* cult provided the much-needed relief, and it was brought into prominence by the great Vaishnava teacher Ramanuja, who probably died in 1137. Ramananda, a disciple of the Ramanuja school, who may be placed in the last quarter of the fourteenth and the first half of the fifteenth century, was 'the bridge between the *Bhakti* movement of the South and the North'. The simplification of worship and the liberalisation of the traditional caste rules were Ramananda's most important contributions to the solution of the religious problems of his age. It has been argued that these novelties were due, in some measure at least, to the influence of Islam. Ramananda's contact with Islam at Benares ushered in one of the most fruitful movements in Indian history.

But we must not exaggerate Ramananda's success. There is no evidence to show that his teaching served as a step towards bridging the gulf between the Hindus and the Muslims. The Muslims did not accept the Ram-Sita creed. His only known

Muslim disciple was Kabir ; and, according to one tradition, Kabir was not a born Muslim. Hinduism gradually engulfed the liberal movement initiated by Ramananda. Most of the present followers of this reformer observe caste rules with the utmost strictness.

KABIR

The most fruitful aspect of Ramananda's work is to be found in the teaching of Kabir, perhaps the most cosmopolitan reformer in medieval India. He lived in the fifteenth century. Macauliffe says, "Kabir has written works which all religious denominations can accept, and which, if persued without bigotry, are advantageous for the salvation of all persons. Kabir was so steadfast in his utterance of God's name, that in comparison with it he deemed worthless the rules of caste and the Hindu and Muhammadan religious observances". He lived the unconventional life of a simple householder, and in spite of the mysticism which is so remarkable a feature of his verses, he was a practical reformer. He was the first leader of the medieval Reformation to make a conscious effort for Hindu-Muslim unity in the sphere of religion. He regrets: "Hindus call upon *Rama,* the Musalmans on *Rahiman,* yet both fight and kill each other, and none knows the truth".

CHAITANYA

In the fifteenth century religious life in Bengal was stagnant: "The rules of caste became more and more stringent . . . . the gap between man and man was widened by caste restrictions. The lower strata of society groaned under the autocracy of the higher, who shut the portals of learning against the inferior classes . . . . the religion of the new School (*Pauranik*) became the monopoly of the Brahmins. . . ." A natural reaction against this system was embodied in the Vaishnavism preached by Chaitanya (born 1485, died 1533). This great teacher raised his voice against the rituals considered essential by the Brahmins and declared that true worship consisted of love and devotion. He did not observe caste restrictions in accepting disciples, and even Muslims were admitted to the new religious fraternity organised under his influence.

REFORMERS OF MAHARASHTRA

In far off Maharashtra some ardent reformers tried to bridge the gulf between Hinduism and Islam. Ranade says that they "were calling the people to identify *Rama* and *Rahim*, and ensure their freedom from the bonds of formal ritualism and caste distinctions, and unite in common love of man and faith in God." The centre of *Bhakti* movement in Maharashtra was the shrine of Vithoba at Pandharpur on the banks of the Bhima. Among the saints associated with this movement special mention should be made of Jnanesvar (fourteenth century?), Namdev, and Tukaram (seventeenth century). Namdev says, "Vows, fasts, and austerities are not at all necessary ; nor is it necessary for you to go on a pilgrimage. Be you watchful in your hearts and always sing the name of *Hari*."

SIKHISM

Guru Nanak, the founder of Sikhism, was born in 1469 at Talwandi in the district of Lahore, and he died in 1538. It is difficult to give a critical account of his life, but some broad facts stand in clear relief. In his early life he held a minor post under Daulat Khan Lodi, Governor of Lahore, but after an intense inward struggle he concluded that "there is no Hindu and no Musalman" and took upon himself the role of a religious teacher. He travelled extensively in different parts of India and even went as far as Mecca and Baghdad. During the last years of his life he settled down at Kartarpur (in the Punjab) and engaged himself in consolidating his sect and propounding the essentials of his creed.

The essence of Guru Nanak's message consists in three ideas: The One True Lord, the Guru, and the Name. Some writers are inclined to think that he was 'a revolutionary who aimed at upsetting the cherished institutions of the society in which he was born, bringing about a social cataclysm and building a new order on the ruins of the old'. A more reasonable view is that "Guru Nanak had not attempted a destruction of the old order but a reformation to suit the growing needs of the time".

Guru Nanak's disciples would probably have dispersed, and gradually disappeared within the Hindu society, like the disciples

of other reformers like Ramananda and Kabir, if he had not appointed a successor before his death. The nomination of Angad to the Guruship is a fact of the profoundest significance in Sikh history, for it assured both unity and continuity. It was under Angad (1538-52) that the Sikhs developed into a distinct community. Tradition ascribes to him the invention of the Gurumukhi alphabet. His successor was Amar Das (1552-74), under whom Sikhism made a great headway. The Sikhs now became a separate community with its own social customs and ideals. The fourth Guru, Ram Das (1574-81), laid the foundations of Amritsar. The Guruship now became hereditary, for Ram Das nominated his youngest son Arjan as his successor. Guru Arjan (1581-1606) was a great organiser. He introduced the *masand* system for the purpose of collecting contributions from his followers. Thus the Sikhs gradually organised a kind of government of their own, and began to consider themselves as a distinct and somewhat self-sufficient unit within the State. Perhaps the greatest achievement of Guru Arjan was the compilation of the *Granth Sahib* (1604), the sacred book of the Sikhs. Arjan's political and religious activities excited the suspicions of Emperor Jahangir, and the Sikh Guru was cruelly put to death. The peaceful evolution of Sikhism came to an end, and the evolution of the Sikhs as a military sect began.

RESULTS OF RELIGIOUS REFORMATION

Two important results of the Reformation movement deserve special notice. In the first place, the religious teachers tried, not without a considerable measure of success, to bridge the gulf between the Hindus and the Muslims, and thus paved the way for Akbar's liberalism. Secondly, vernacular literature received a distinct impetus. Most of the religious reformers utilised vernacular as the vehicle of their teaching and thereby imparted to it a new dignity. In Bengal the Vaishnavas created a vast lyrical literature in the despised vernacular. In Maharashtra the verses composed by the religious reformers laid the foundations of Marathi literature. In the Punjab the Gurus put their teachings in the vernacular, and a new alphabet was invented.

FOR FURTHER STUDY

Tripathi, *Some Aspects of Muslim Administration.*
Qureshi, *The Administration of the Sultanate of Delhi.*
Habibullah, *The Foundation of Muslim Rule in India.*
Ashraf, *Life and Conditions of the People of Hindustan* (*Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,* 1935).
Moreland, *Agrarian System of Moslem India.*
Tarachand, *Influence of Islam on Indian Culture.*
I. Banerjee, *Evolution of the Khalsa,* Vol. I.
Cambridge History of India, Vol. III, Chap. XXIII.

CHAPTER XVI

AFGHAN-MUGHAL CONTEST FOR EMPIRE

SECTION I

BABUR

CAREER IN CENTRAL ASIA

Babur, the founder of the Mughal Empire in India, was a Chaghatai Turk.[1] He was descended from Timur in the direct male line, and through his mother he could claim descent from Chingiz Khan. His father, Umar Shaikh Mirza, ruled over Farghana (in Chinese Turkestan). Babur was born at Farghana in February, 1483. His father died in 1494, and he inherited his paternal principality at the tender age of eleven.

Babur showed remarkable precocity. His elder and younger paternal uncles dying in quick succession, a scramble began for the possession of Samarqand, which he conquered in 1497—a victor hardly 15 years old. Not long afterwards Babur lost this capital of Central Asia, while he was preoccupied with the task of retaining his hold over Farghana. Soon he re-conquered Samarqand, but this brought him into collision with Saibani Khan, the rising Uzbeg chief, who defeated him in the battles of Sar-i-Pul and Akhsi and drove him from Samarqand and Farghana.

These defeats made Babur a wanderer, as he writes in his autobiography, "moving from square to square like a king on a chessboard." He succeeded in seizing Kabul in 1504, dispossessing a usurper. Circumstances thus turned his attention from the north-west to the south-east. But Babur got another chance to re-establish his position in Central Asia. Saibani Khan seemed like Chingiz Khan and Timur to threaten universal conquest. He had aroused the enmity of Shah Ismail, the Safavi monarch of the rejuvenated Persian Empire. Shah Ismail completely defeated Saibani Khan and killed him. Babur is said to have sent presents to Shah Ismail

[1] Chaghatai was the second son of Chingiz Khan.

which the Persian King regarded in the light of tribute. Shah Ismail as the champion of the Shia sect agreed to restore Babur to Samarqand and Bukhara, but he probably insisted on Babur's agreeing to the propagation of Shia doctrines. Though weakened by the death of Saibani Khan, the Uzbegs opposed Babur and he could not occupy Samarqand. The Persian army was defeated in the battle of Ghaj-davan, the Persians ascribing their defeat to the defection of Babur.

Babur's career outside India materially influenced his career in India. At Panipat and at Khanua we find the finished warrior trained in the school of adversity, who had learnt the use of fire arms from his association with the Persians and the use of *tulughma* (or the flank attack) from his wars with the Uzbegs. The Uzbeg tactics consisted in turning the enemy's flank and charging simultaneously on front and rear at break-neck gallop. The effective combination between highly trained cavalry and new fire arms, and the brilliant tactics that earned him victory at Panipat and Khanua, were the fruits of his experience in Central Asia. Another fact which is so often overlooked is the influence which Babur's stormy youth and romantic adventures exercised on Mughal Central Asian policy in the days of his successors.

CAREER IN AFGHANISTAN

By April, 1512, Babur's Central Asian ambition had suffered complete shipwreck. He withdrew to Kabul. Qandahar was occupied in 1522. The wealth of Ind had already tempted his adventurous spirit and fired his imagination. In 1516 he was busy re-organising his army, producing fire arms and perfecting the tactics which the use of fire arms necessitated.

The first Indian invasion of Babur took place in 1519. It was directed against the Yusufzais. An expedition was also directed againt Bajaur in 1520. He regarded the Punjab as his own by right of descent from Timur. In 1524 he marched through the Khyber, crossed the Jhelum and the Chenab, and advanced upto Dipalpur, which he stormed. But he had to fall back on Lahore and return to Kabul. He depended on the co-operation of two discontented nobles[1] of the Lodi Kingdom,

[1] See pp. 283-284.

Daulat Khan Lodi and Alam Khan Lodi, who turned against him when they found that he aimed at conquest rather than plunder. The whole situation now became different. Babur prepared himself to deal a crushing blow at the tottering Afghan Kingdom of Delhi.

FIRST BATTLE OF PANIPAT (1526)

In November, 1525, he marched from Kabul and entered the Punjab with an army of 12,000. Daulat Khan Lodi, who opposed him, was worsted and offered his submission. From the Punjab he advanced in the direction of Delhi. Ibrahim Lodi advanced from Delhi to meet him. Ibrahim Lodi has been described by Babur as "an inexperienced young man, negligent in all his movements, who marched without order, halted or retired without plans, and engaged in battle without foresight." Such a man could not be expected to defeat a trained warrior like Babur.

The decisive battle took place on April 21, 1526, at Panipat, where the fate of India has so often been decided. In fact, if an enemy coming from the north-west could not be stopped at the Khyber, the inevitable battle ground was the region between the Sutlej and the Jumna. The Punjab rivers being fordable at many places during winter, it was very difficult to hold a river line there. An enemy could easily slip through. Naturally the next place where a decisive engagement could be fought with advantage was in the extensive plains between the Sutlej and the Jumna, where numbers could tell and where fighting could be done with Delhi and Agra behind the back of the defending army.

At Panipat Ibrahim brought about 40,000 troops. But the dense mass offered an excellent target to the fire-arms of Babur, managed by two experts, Ustad Ali and Mustafa. The country, being flat, was well suited to the handling of cavalry and the application of Babur's flanking tactics. Babur stiffened his weak front with a line of waggons, with a view to hold the Afghans along an extended front so that he could attack the flanks. Ibrahim was completely defeated and the total death roll on the Afghan side was terrible. Babur's skill and the brilliant combination of cavalry and artillery brought him complete success. Delhi and Agra were secured immediately

afterwards. Babur's lavish liberality to his followers, and the rich presents he sent to his friends in Samarqand, Kashgarh, Khorasan, Persia and Kabul, spread his fame over distant lands, excited emulation and helped him in recruiting his army. He succeeded also in persuading his followers to stay in India.

RAJPUT AND AFGHAN OPPOSITION—BATTLES OF KHANUA AND GOGRA

The two enemies with whom Babur had to fight in order to secure his hold on Hindustan were the Afghans in the east and the Rajputs under Rana Sangram Singh of Mewar. The Afghans in the east under Nasir Khan Lohani and Maaruf Farmuli dispersed as Babur's eldest son, Humayun, approached with an expeditionary force. Within eight months of Ibrahim's defeat at Panipat Babur's sway extended from Attock to Bihar. Multan was also added to his dominions.

In the south Babur's territory extended up to Kalpi and Gwalior. But the danger that threatened from Rajputana had to be faced. Babur knew thoroughly well that he was now going to meet a veteran warrior. Rana Sanga had previous transactions with Babur. The latter complained that it had been arranged between him and the Rana that he would attack on the Agra side while Babur marched on Delhi. The Rana, on the other hand, complained that Babur had seized Kalpi, Dholpur and Bayana in contravention of previous agreement. Sanga acknowledged Sultan Mahmud Lodi who had been set up by the Afghans (in the west) as the rightful claimant to the Delhi throne.

The dispute between Babur and the Rana reached its culmination in the battle of Khanua (March 27, 1527). The Rajput cavalry could not stand Mustafa's destructive fire. The Rajputs maintained a formidable pressure by the weight of numbers. But the artillery was the decisive factor. The Rajputs and their Afghan allies suffered a complete defeat. The battle of Khanua destroyed the prospect of the establishment of Rajput supremacy in Northern India on the ruins of the Turko-Afghan Sultanate. Medini Rai, one of the most distinguished of Rana Sanga's lieutenants, who was in charge of the important fort of Chanderi in Malwa, was next worsted. The Rana died broken-hearted in 1528.

Free from the Rajput menace, Babur turned against the Afghans in the east. They were divided among themselves. The feuds between the Lohanis and the Lodis were fatal to Afghan interest. In 1529 Sultan Mahmud Lodi united a large section of the Afghans under him. Babur proceeded towards the east by way of Allahabad, Benares and Ghazipur. Jalal-ud-din Bahar Khan Lohani submitted to him. Babur occupied Bihar. The army of Nusrat Shah, Sultan of Bengal, which had come to help the Afghans, opposed him on the banks of the Gogra. Babur brilliantly forced the passage under a heavy fire. The Bengal army fled in confusion. Nusrat Shah concluded peace with the Mughals. Other Afghan Chiefs also submitted. Thus the battle of the Gogra (May 6, 1529) destroyed the chance of political revival of the Afghans, at least temporarily.

ESTIMATE

Babur died on December 26, 1530. It is said that in his last days there was a palace conspiracy to set aside his eldest son, Humayun. If there was really any such plot, it failed completely, and Humayun quietly succeeded to the heritage of Babur.

Babur had no administrative genius. He was a plain warrior. The old haphazard administrative system which he found in existence was continued by him. He left to his son a large Empire (extending from the Oxus to Bihar) which was not consolidated and which could be held together only by the efficiency of the military machine. He has been rightly described by Lane Poole as the "link between Central Asia and India, between predatory hordes and imperial government, between Tamerlane and Akbar."

AUTOBIOGRAPHY

Babur was gifted with a fine literary taste. He could write well in Persian as well as in Turki. The most important source of our information for his career is his excellent autobiography,[1] originally written in Turki, transcribed by his son Humayun,

[1] The English version of Mrs. Beveredge is very pleasant reading.

and translated into Persian in the days of Akbar. As Elphinstone puts it, "His memoirs contain a minute account of the life of a great Tartar monarch, along with a natural effusion of his opinions and feelings, free from disguise and reserve and no less free from the affectation of extreme frankness and candour. The style is plain and manly as well as lively and picturesque and it presents his countrymen and contemporaries in their appearance, manners, pursuits and actions as clearly as in a mirror. In this respect it is almost the only specimen of real history in Asia—he gives the figures, dress, tastes and habits of each individual and describes the countries, the climate, scenery, production, works of art and industry. But the great charm of the work is in the character of the author. It is a relief in the midst of the pompous coldness of Asiatic history to find a King who can weep for days and tell us that he wept for the playmate of his boyhood."

SECTION II

HUMAYUN AND SHER SHAH

DIFFICULTIES OF HUMAYUN

Humayun, who was born in 1508, ascended the throne on the 23rd December, 1530. His difficulties were very considerable. The conquest of Hindustan was not yet complete. The army that he commanded was a mixed body of adventurers composed of Chaghatai Turks, Mughals, Persians, Afghans and Indians. Babur's hold had been only one of military force. The Afghan chiefs in the east were still numerous and powerful, ready to take up arms. The Rajputs might at any time raise their head. Malwa was in deplorable confusion. In Gujarat Bahadur Shah was fast increasing his power. Humayun added to his own difficulties by confirming his brother Kamran in possession of Kabul and Qandahar and, in a fit of generosity, giving him the Punjab and the district of Hissar Firoza (to the east of the Punjab proper) as well. He gave Sambhol to Askari and Mewat to Hindal. Kamran was more a rival than a brother and the block of territory given to him cut Humayun off from his best recruiting ground for his army. All these

brothers at the most critical stages of his career deserted him and this hastened his downfall.

HUMAYUN AND THE AFGHANS

Humayun's first military expedition was against the strong fort of Kalanjar in Bundelkhand, then ruled by a pro-Afghan Hindu Chief. Receiving a large sum of money from him, Humayun turned eastward to meet the Afghans under Sultan Mahmud Lodi, Biban Khan and Bayezid. The Afghans were defeated in the battle of Dauhrua. Bayezid was slain and Sultan Mahmud and the Afghans were dispersed. It was asserted by a section of the Afghans that their defeat was due to the treachery of Sher Khan. The Surs and the Lohanis were unwilling members of a confederacy dominated by the Farmulis and the Lodis. Humayun then marched against the strong fort of Chunar, held by Sher Khan. After several months' blockade, Sher sent an ambassador to profess submission. He sent a body of Afghans under his son Qutb Khan to join Humayun who was now anxious to march against Bahadur Shah of Gujarat.

HUMAYUN AND BAHADUR SHAH OF GUJARAT

Bahadur Shah had annexed Malwa[1] and was besieging Chitor, which had fallen on evil days after the death of Rana Sanga. The latter's son and successor, Vikramaditya, was unable to defend his capital, and his mother solicited Humayun's assistance. Bahadur had been joined by some discontented Mughal Chiefs as also by Alam Khan Lodi and other Afghan refugees. From the east Humayun hastened to Malwa in 1534, defeated a considerable force of Afghan refugees sent by Bahadur, and intercepted Bahadur who was returning with the spoil of the successful sack of Chitor. Bahadur fortified his camp at Mandasor. He had an excellent train of artillery, 'second only to that of the Kaiser of Rum'. Humayun, who showed considerable daring, enterprise and skill, cut Bahadur off from all his resources, and Bahadur had to fly overnight with some of his followers, having spiked his heavy artillery.

[1] See pp. 287-288.

Humayun occupied the whole of Malwa and pushed on towards Gujarat. Champaner was scaled ; Bahadur was driven to seek shelter in Diu. Humayun occupied Ahmadabad and, leaving his brother Askari as his viceroy, came back to Agra. But Bahadur, with Portuguese support, soon began his offensive. There were rebellions everywhere. Askari, who at one stage even meditated treason to his brother, had to make a precipitate retreat. Bahadur recovered the whole of Gujarat. Even Malwa was lost to Humayun, the local chieftains re-asserting their independence. Though Bahadur died soon after in a scuffle with the Portuguese, Humayun had his hands too full in Bihar and Bengal to be able to take any advantage of this event.

EARLY CAREER OF SHER SHAH

Sher Khan Sur, an Afghan Chieftain of South Bihar, was more successful than Bahadur Shah in the contest against Humayun, and even succeeded in expelling Humayun from India. His original name was Farid. He was born probably in 1486 (or 1472). His father, Hasan Sur, was a *jagirdar* at Sasaram in Bihar. On account of the machinations of his step-mother, Sher left his home quite early in life and spent several years in Jaunpur. There he devoted himself to study and acquired great proficiency in Persian. Restored to the favour of his father, he was for several years responsible for the management of the *jagir*. This administrative experience stood him in very good stead in later life. Once again his step-mother's jealousy compelled him to leave Sasaram. In 1522 Sher entered the service of Bahar Khan Lohani, the independent Afghan ruler of Bihar. After the first battle of Panipat he entered Mughal service, remained for some time among the Mughals and acquainted himself with their military arrangements. With Mughal help he recovered his paternal *jagir* in 1528 from his step-brothers, his father having died sometime before. In 1529 he became the guardian of the minor Lohani chief, Jalal Khan (son and successor of Bahar Khan).

Sher now found an excellent opportunity for personal aggrandisement. He seized the strong fort of Chunar in 1530. Humayun besieged Chunar in 1531, but Sher saved himself by a timely submission. The Lohani chiefs of Bihar now grew

jealous of his rising power and entered into an alliance in 1533 with the Sultan of Bengal, Mahmud Shah, who was naturally anxious to check a powerful neighbour. The minor King, Jalal Khan, found Sher's yoke galling and fled to Bengal. Sher inflicted a crushing defeat on Mahmud Shah and his Lohani allies at Surajgarh (on the banks of the Kiul river) in 1534. This victory strengthened Sher's position and made him the uncrowned King of a large portion of Bihar. Taking advantage of Humayun's contest with Bahadur Shah in Western India, Sher invaded Bengal. Mahmud Shah purchased peace by paying a large sum of money and ceding several districts. Many distinguished Afghan nobles flocked under Sher's standard. Towards the close of 1537 he again invaded Bengal with the purpose of conquering it permanently. The city of Gaur was besieged.

HUMAYUN AND SHER SHAH

At this stage Humayun thought it necessary to check the rising power of Sher, who was fast becoming a menace to the Mughals in the east. He set out from Agra in December, 1537, and besieged Chunar at the beginning of the following year. After reducing Gaur (April, 1538) Sher seized the impregnable mountain fort of Rohtas by means of a stratagem, thereby securing a shelter for his family. Mahmud Shah fled to the camp of Humayun. After taking Chunar Humayun hastened to Bengal and came to Gaur *via* Teliagarhi (near Sahebganj). Sher retreated from Bengal by another route *via* Birbhum and Jharkhand to Rohtas. Humayun spent nine months in Gaur indulging in pleasures. Sher in the meantime took Benares, laid siege to Jaunpur and overran the whole country as far as Kanauj.

This state of things compelled Humayun to withdraw from Bengal. He was proceeding along the northern bank of the Ganges when a false sense of honour induced him to cross to the southern. Sher quitted the hills of Rohtas and marched out to meet Humayun. For about two months the two armies skirmished. As it has been said, "Situated as he now was, Humayun in ordinary circumstances might have looked for assistance from his brothers and the provinces around his capital.

But no consolatory ray of hope gleamed on him. Instead of ready succour there was procrastination, intrigue and treason." Hindal had abandoned his post. Kamran, who had come upto Agra, also left his brother to his fate. He looked to his own immediate interest without caring for the common cause. At this stage Sher opened negotiations. His terms were that the fort of Chunar, with the territories on its east, should be given to him. The Mughals were thus thrown off their guard when suddenly in the pleasing coolness of the early dawn of June 27, 1539, Sher made an attack on the Mughal camp. In this battle (of Chausa, near Buxar) Humayun lost his army. His Begam was captured by Sher, but he personally succeeded in escaping. In addition to Bengal and Bihar Sher was now in possession of Jaunpur. His horizon was widened. He was crowned King in December, 1539.

Early next year, Humayun tried to recover his lost position. A decisive battle took place at Hardoi (on the bank of the Ganges) on May 17, 1540. This battle is commonly known as the battle of Kanauj. The Mughal army was about 40,000 strong. At this decisive moment Kamran did not come to his brother's help. What actually took place is very obscure. It was the first pitched battle that Sher did not win by stratagem. Khawas Khan, Sher's lieutenant, charged the right wing of the Mughals. The attack succeeded. The camp-followers were driven to the Mughal centre and threw it into confusion. Humayun's artillery could not fire, for in its front were his own camp-followers. The army became a mob. Sher left the pursuit of the broken army to his general Brahmajit Gaur.

HUMAYUN'S FLIGHT

After his disastrous defeat at Hardoi Humayun went to the Punjab, tried in vain to win over his brothers, and then withdrew to Sind. There he spent valuable time in the fruitless siege of Bhakkar and Sehwan. His marriage to Hamida Begam, famous in history as mother of Akbar, took place in the summer of 1541. After this he marched towards Marwar to meet Maldev who had agreed to support him. But Humayun appeared 12 months after the date of invitation. Now, under the changed circumstances, Maldev had to submit to Sher's demand for

Humayun's expulsion from his dominions. In the course of the retreat of Humayun from Rajputana Akbar was born at Amarkot on the 15th October, 1542 (23rd November, 1542?). Humayun retreated towards Qandahar. When Askari advanced towards Qandahar from Ghazni, Humayun fled to Persia. "Driven from every spot of which he had lately called himself master and viewing with the deepest dread the possibility of falling into the hands of his brother, he resolved to abandon the kingdoms of his father and threw himself on the dubious and untried generosity of a stranger".

CAUSES OF HUMAYUN'S FAILURE

Humayun's failure to hold his own in India was largely due to his own faults. It has been said that he was capable of great energy on occasions but he was incapable of sustained effort. His indolence and revels prevented him from following up his victories. Moreover, it was impossible with the limited number of his troops to maintain an Empire so extensive and scattered without a well-combined general plan of operations against his enemies. A patient superintending policy was necessary. Most of his veterans perished in the Bengal campaign. His want of success and the discord of his brothers generated a general disaffection in his camp and court. Sher was astute and adroit enough to take advantage of this characteristic weakness of his enemy.

CONQUESTS OF SHER SHAH

After the flight of Humayun, Sher Shah was the undisputed master of Northern India. He was so strong that Kamran had to placate him by ceding the Punjab. Sher built the fort of Rohtas in the Punjab and left 50,000 troops there to watch the Mughals. Sind and Multan were annexed.

In Bengal the spirit of rebellion was so rife that the change of governors was no remedy. The city of Gaur (or Lakhnauti) was known as "the city of strife". Sher changed completely the military character of the government of Bengal. He reduced the boundary of the province, divided it into nineteen *Sarkars*, and, to co-ordinate the work of the *Sarkars*, appointed

a *Qazi Fazilat* who was given the designation of *Amin-i-Bangala* instead of *Hakim-i-Bangala.*

In Central India Gwalior was taken after a siege of two years. Malwa submitted in 1542. But Puran Mal of Raisin (in Malwa) was in possession of a fort which was strategically very important. The siege of this fort lasted four months. Puran Mal was granted terms and he was assured that he would be allowed to march away safely with his family and followers. But as he came out with his troops and his family there was a general massacre. This atrocious act has besmirched the reputation of Sher Shah. It is said that he had to yield to the clamour of his troops.

The most difficult military operation of Sher was his fight in Rajputana against Maldev of Marwar, who was now the most powerful ruler in Rajputana. In 1544 Sher marched against him with an army of 80,000. But at some distance from Jodhpur the invading army was brought to a halt. For a month the two armies faced each other. Sher's military situation was difficult. But the simplest of stratagems was sufficient to disperse the Rathor army. A forged letter purported to have been written by some chiefs of Marwar to Sher Shah was dropped in the Rajput camp and fell into the hands of Maldev as designed. He suspected treachery and fled at once. Sher pushed on. Maldev retreated from Jodhpur to Siwana. Sher did not aim at the complete subjugation of Rajputana but wanted the political and geographical isolation of the chiefs. His hold on Rajputana was to be something like the British occupation of the N. W. frontier. He stationed his troops in Ajmer, Jodhpur, Mt. Abu and Chitor to overcome the Rajput chiefs.

In May, 1545, while assaulting the fort of Kalanjar in Bundelkhand, Sher met with his death by accident. The fort was captured.

SHER SHAH'S ADMINISTRATIVE SYSTEM

Babur brought with him a new theory of Kingship. He wanted to be no Sultan enjoying a kind of hegemony over autonomous princes[1] but claimed to be a *padishah* with the

[1] Compare Bahlul Lodi's position. See p. 281.

divine right of Timur's blood. "It was Sher Shah who unwittingly built up for the Mughals that structure of administrative machinery which, while it was necessary for securing the triumph of the new ideal of Kingship they represented, they had been entirely unable to construct for themselves."

The Turko-Afghans had built an administrative system from the top downwards in the same way in which their architects had made Hindu temples into mosques by demolishing the upper portion and constructing domes and arches. Sher, who had begun his career as the *"zabbardast Shiqdar* at Sasaram," built from below. But he was not an innovator. It is unhistorical to say that he created a new *pargana* (which consisted of several villages) machinery unknown to the former Sultans. But he revitalised what he found in operation at the time when he took charge of his father's *jagir*. In every *pargana* he placed one *Amin*, one *Shiqdar*, one treasurer and two *Karkuns*, one to write Hindi and another to write Persian. Several *parganas* constituted a *sarkar*, which was placed under a *Shiqdar-i-Shiqdaran* and a *Munsif-i-Munsifan*. There were 47 *sarkars* in Sher Shah's Empire.

Lands were surveyed on a uniform system, each holding being separately measured, and the Government demand was ⅓ of the gross produce. Sher Shah ordered a general survey of the land for the use of the Central Government. This gave him a new basis for the fixing of a new farm. But his survey could not have been very satisfactory, for his reign was too short for the purpose. The choice of payment in cash or kind was given. In order that there might not be any scope for confusion and oppression the *Kabuliyat* and *Patta* system was introduced. These documents contained a clear enumeration of the dues of the State from the individual concerned as also his rights over the particular piece of land. There were two additional charges besides the land revenue. These were the expenses of survey and the tax-gatherer's fee. Sher's policy was anti-*jagir* though the practice of granting *jagirs* continued during the Sur period. He also curtailed the grant of *wakf* lands as much as possible.

Sher was also responsible for a reform of the coinage. He issued an abundance of silver coins practically equal in value to the modern rupee. He fostered trade by abolishing vexatious

duties. He also established an excellent road system and is said to have built 1700 *Sarais* or rest-houses for travellers. The *Dakchauki* system was also improved very considerably. The police system was remodelled ; the village headmen were made responsible for the maintenance of peace and the detection of criminals in their respective areas. Attempts were made to administer prompt and impartial justice.

Sher Shah maintained a huge standing army, comprising 150,000 horse, 25,000 foot and 5,000 elephants. He continued Ala-ud-din's system of branding the horses and used to keep a descriptive pay-roll in his archives. Some Hindus occupied positions of trust. The most important of his Hindu lieutenants was Brahmajit Gaur who was entrusted with the task of pursuing Humayun after the battles of Chausa and Kanauj.

ART

During the short time that Sher ruled at Delhi, a new form of architecture was initiated. Sher Shah's royal chapel, the Qila-i-Kuhna *masjid,* shows a refined taste. Percy Brown says that "much of the character of the works carried out under Akbar and Jahangir may be traced to the genius of the master-builder who produced the remarkable little mosque in the citadel of Sher Shah." The nice taste of Sher in architecture is manifested in his noble mausoleum at Sasaram. "Its pyramidal dome, the silhouette of which seen at sunset is something to be remembered, the sense of finely adjusted bulk, the proportions of its diminishing stages, the harmonious transitions from square to octagon and octagon to circle, the simplicity, breadth and scale of its parts, all combine to produce an effect of great beauty. India boasts of several mausoleums of more than ordinary splendour but Sher Shah's island tomb at Sasaram, grey and brooding, is perhaps the most impressive of them all."

ESTIMATE OF SHER SHAH

Sher Shah was a resourceful conqueror and a wise administrator. In estimating his abilities two important facts must be noted. In the first place, his reign was very brief, covering a period of about five years. Within this short period he conquered almost the whole of Northern India and organised a

sound administrative system. Secondly, Sher Shah had to fight for himself; he did not command the united support of the Afghans. He did not rise to power as the champion of the Afghans against the Mughals. Despite the weakness of the Mughals it was not easy for the neglected son of a petty *jagirdar* to establish an Empire.

With regard to the Hindus Sher Shah's reign marks the emergence of a new policy which was developed by Akbar. He was tolerant of Hinduism and he had the wisdom of exploiting Hindu genius for the creation and consolidation of his Empire. He deliberately set aside the traditions of Firuz Tughluq and Sikandar Lodi.

SUCCESSORS OF SHER SHAH

Sher Shah was succeeded by his son Jalal Khan, the elder brother Adil being passed over by the nobles. On his accession, Jalal took the title of Islam Shah. He suppressed rebellious nobles like Khawas Khan and Haibat Niazi. The Ghakkars were crushed and on the Kashmir frontier the fortress of Mankot was completed. He ruled for nine years, dying in 1554.

Islam's son Firuz, who came to the throne, was a boy of twelve. He was murdered by his uncle Mubariz Khan, son of Nizam Khan Sur, brother of Sher Shah. Mubariz ascended the throne under the name of Muhammad Adil Shah. But other members of the Sur family naturally rebelled against him. Ibrahim Khan Sur succeeded in driving him from Delhi and occupied it. Adil withdrew to Chunar. Another rival claimant was Ahmad Khan Sur, Governor of the Punjab and brother-in-law of Adil, who assumed the title of Sikandar Shah. Muhammad Khan Sur, Governor of Bengal, also threw off his allegiance. Sometime later Ibrahim Khan was defeated at Farah (near Agra) by Sikandar.

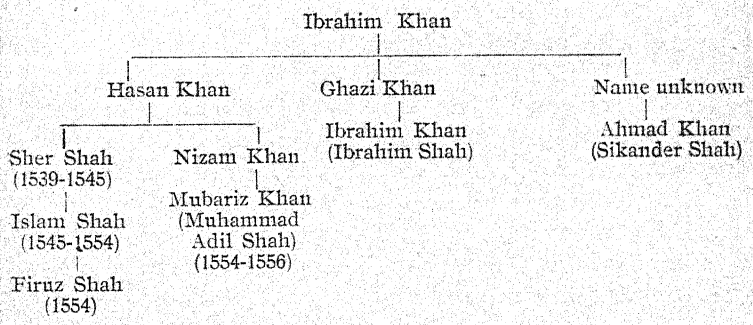
RESTORATION OF HUMAYUN

These dissensions among the Afghans made it possible for Humayun to invade India. He had in his exile succeeded in securing Persian help for the conquest of Afganistan, on condition that Qandahar should be restored to Persia. He occupied

Qandahar and Kabul in 1545. Though he handed over Qandahar to Persia, he took the earliest opportunity of re-taking it. After the conquest of Kabul Kamran was blinded. Sometime later Humayun failed in his attempt on Badakhshan. In November, 1554, he invaded India. Lahore was captured in February, 1555. At Machhiwara (in the Punjab) Sikandar's army was completely defeated, and at Sirhind he was again defeated by the Mughals under Bairam Khan and driven to the Punjab hills. Delhi and Agra were occupied in July, 1555.

In the meantime Adil's Hindu general, Himu, had succeeded in defeating Ibrahim Sur at Kalpi and near Khanua ; he also defeated and killed Muhammad Khan Sur at Chhaparghata—20 miles from Kalpi. Only two powerful contestants now remained on the scene—Humayun and Adil Shah. But Humayun died in January, 1556, leaving to his boy son Akbar and his guardians the task of crushing the Afghans.

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE SUR DYNASTY



FOR FURTHER STUDY

Mrs. Beveridge, *Babur's Memoirs.*

Erskine, *History of India under Babur and Humayun.*

Lane Poole, *Babur.*

Rushbrook Williams, *An Empire-builder of the Sixteenth Century.*

S. K. Banerjee, *Humayun Badshah.*

K. R. Qanungo, *Sher Shah.*

CHAPTER XVII

AKBAR

SECTION I

CONQUESTS

SUCCESSION (1556)

Akbar was born on Sunday, October 15, 1542. V. A. Smith's reason for the choice of November 23, 1542, as his date for Akbar's birth is a statement by Jauhar, a contemporary writer ; but all other contemporary writers controvert his theory, particularly Gulbadan Begam and Abul Fazl. On June 22, 1555, after Humayun's victory at Sirhind, Akbar was formally declared to be heir-apparent. In November, 1555, he was appointed as the Governor of the Punjab with Bairam Khan as his guardian. Akbar had a half-brother named Muhammad Hakim, two years his junior, who was appointed as the Governor of Kabul, with Munim Khan as the actual administrator. When the news of the accidental death of Humayun reached Bairam Khan and Akbar, the formal enthronement of Akbar took place in a garden at Kalanaur in the Punjab (February 14, 1556). This simply registered a claim to sovereignty, for Akbar had to reckon with Himu before he could exercise effective authority.

SECOND BATTLE OF PANIPAT (1556)

After getting rid of Muhammad Adil Shah's Afghan rivals Himu marched towards Delhi with an army of 50,000 horse, 1,000 elephants and 51 cannon, sweeping all opposition aside. Tardi Beg Khan, the Mughal Governor of Delhi, was defeated at Tughluqabad. Akbar and Bairam Khan thereupon marched towards Delhi, and at the very beginning succeeded in seizing Himu's park of artillery which he had sent in advance in the belief that the Mughal army was far off. After this initial success the Mughal army drew up on the field of Panipat. Their

effective strength was 10,000. The battle began on November 5, 1556. At first the Mughal horse seemed to be shaken by the vigorous charges of Himu's elephants. A detachment was thereupon sent to attack Himu's flank, and some confusion was created in his ranks. The Mughal archers used their arrows with deadly effect. A simultaneous attack on all sides weakened Himu. He was struck by an arrow and his army broke up in disorderly rout. As he lay senseless he is said to have been brought before the boy King, who was asked by Bairam to kill him ; but he refused to strike a senseless prisoner. Bairam Khan then struck off Himu's head with his sword. Abul Fazl, Nizam-ud-din, Badauni, Jahangir (in his autobiography) and even Abdur Rahim *Khan Khanan,* the son of Bairam Khan, support this story. But V. A. Smith, curiously enough, sets aside this joint testimony and says that Akbar committed this act of brutality. In any case, it was the well-directed flight of the Mughal arrows that decided the second battle of Panipat. The contest between the Afghans and the Mughals for the sovereignty of Delhi was finally decided in favour of the latter.

HIMU

Himu was originally a shop-keeper dealing in salt-petre in Rewari. He caught the eye of Islam Shah and rose steadily. As Adil Shah's general and chief adviser, he won a number of victories against formidable opponents. There is nothing to prove that Himu set himself up as an independent sovereign at any stage of his career. No coin of Himu has been found anywhere. There is the clear statement of Abul Fazl that "from foresight he preserved the nominal sovereignty for Adil and waged brave wars against his opponents". There is no doubt that Himu was not an unworthy antagonist of the Great Mughal and possessed courage, enterprise and plan.

END OF SUR OPPOSITION

After Himu's death Sur opposition to Mughal ascendancy did not cause much trouble to Akbar and Bairam Khan. Sikandar Sur had fled to the Siwalik hills and thence withdrawn to the fortress of Mankot, which was besieged by the

Mughals. The fortress surrendered on May 24, 1557. Sikandar sent his son to the Mughal camp as a security for good behaviour and was assigned a *jagir* in Bihar. He died two years later as a fugitive in Bengal. Adil Shah, master of Himu, had not been able to accompany him to the west on account of disturbances in Bengal created by Khizr Khan, the son of Muhammad Khan Sur. He was defeated and slain in Bihar in 1557. Sher Khan, the son of Adil Shah, tried in 1561 to take advantage of Bairam Khan's rebellion but was defeated by Khan Zaman at Jaunpur. He disappeared after this. Ibrahim Sur died as a fugitive in Orissa some years later. Thus the cause of the Afghans collapsed soon after the second battle of Panipat.

BAIRAM KHAN

Bairam Khan, a Turkoman, was originally a subject of Persia. He accompanied the Persian army sent by Shah Ismail to help Babur to conquer Samarqand and Bukhara. After the failure of that army he remained in the service of Babur and Humayun. He played a very important part in the Bengal expedition of Humayun, saving the imperial advance guard on one occasion by his valour and resourcefulness. After the battle of Kanauj he escaped ; but he was subsequently taken prisoner by Sher Shah, who tried to win over this brilliant young warrior, only to hear in reply that real attachment can never change. Bairam again succeeded in effecting his escape and joined Humayun in Sind. When Humayun escaped to Persia, Bairam, naturally enough, became his chief adviser. At Qandahar and at Sirhind Humayun owed much of his success to the ability of this faithful follower, and it was in the fitness of things that he should appoint him as the guardian of Akbar.

As Akbar's guardian Bairam had to face a very difficult situation. In order to ensure discipline and vigour in the small army under his command, he had to adopt some drastic measures like arresting a rebellious noble named Shah Abu-l-Maali and putting to death Tardi Beg, the Mughal general who made a disgracefully feeble defence of Delhi against Himu. In consequence of these severe measures "the Chagtai officers, each of whom esteemed himself at least equal to Kaikobad and Kaikaoos, now found it necessary to conform to the orders of Bairam Khan

and to submit quietly to his authority". Bairam rejected the timid advice of retreat to Kabul and boldly went forward to meet Himu. He made an inspiring speech to dispel the gloom of defeatism before the second battle of Panipat and won the decisive victory there.

But when danger no longer threatened the Mughals, Bairam is said to have changed. He married Salima Begam, the daughter of Humayun's sister, and thereby became connected by marriage with the royal family. Hated as a Shia, he made the great mistake of appointing in 1558-59 Shaikh Gadai, a Shia, as *Sadr-us-Sadr* (the head of all the law officers and controller of the grant of lands for ecclesiastical and charitable purposes). The orthodox Sunnis resented this appointment. He had already given offence to the friends and followers of Tardi Beg and Shah Abu-l-Maali. It is said that his undue arrogance and indiscreet remarks gave offence to many. There was a very strong court party opposed to what they felt to be the oppressive dictatorship of Bairam. Akbar, who had entered on the eighteenth year in 1560, also resented the galling yoke of Bairam, who even denied him a privy purse. Akbar's mother Hamida Banu Begam, his foster mother Maham Anaga, her son Adham Khan, and her relative Shihab-ud-din, Governor of Delhi, who surrounded Akbar, had very little difficulty in inducing him to assert himself against his guardian. In 1560 Akbar informed Bairam Khan that he wanted to take the reins of government into his own hands and requested him to go to Mecca. Bairam submitted, but Pir Muhammad Sherwani, an upstart who had been dismissed by Bairam Khan for his arrogance, was sent to 'pack him off as quickly as possible to Mecca'. Insulted by the hustling tactics of Pir Muhammad, Bairam rebelled. He was defeated near Jalandhar and captured ; but Akbar pardoned him and allowed him to proceed to Mecca in a manner befitting his rank. In Gujarat, on his way to Mecca, Bairam was murdered by an Afghan (1561). His little son Abdur Rahim was brought to court and lived to become a *Khan Khanan*.

MISGOVERNMENT (1560-62)

The pilot was dropped but Akbar was still too young to control the army and administration. Bairam Khan's ascendancy had created in his mind a feeling that all authority should not

be concentrated in the hands of an all-powerful *Wazir*. Munim Khan was summoned from Kabul to take charge of administration. Pir Muhammad and Adham Khan led an expedition against Malwa. Maham Anaga exercised considerable influence. Akbar, however, began to take some personal share in public business. He summoned an experienced administrator named Shams-ud-din Muhammad Khan Atga from Kabul and appointed him as a minister. Slowly but steadily Akbar asserted himself. He recalled Adham Khan from Malwa, replacing him by Abdulla Khan Uzbeg, and on the murder of Shams-ud-din Atga by Adham Khan, had him killed. The period 1560-62 has been described as the period of petticoat misgovernment. Maham Anaga, no doubt, exercised considerable influence on account of Akbar's inexperience, Munim Khan's weakness and the trust that Akbar reposed in her and her relatives, who were false friends. The mismanagement of these years is to be attributed to Akbar's inability to find a capable minister in succession to Bairam Khan. In 1562 his period of apprenticeship was over; he took upon himself the direction of policy and control over administration, with the ministers henceforth acting in a position of definite subordination.

EARLY CONQUESTS (1558-62)

Akbar has been described as "a strong and stout annexationist before whose sun the modest star of Lord Dalhousie pales". No doubt he was intent upon conquest and must be regarded as one of the greatest imperialists of history. "A monarch", he said, "should be ever intent on conquests, otherwise his neighbours rise in arms against him". This was, of course, ordinary Kingly ambition. The path chalked out by him was faithfully followed by his successors until the Mughal Empire reached the limit of its territorial expansion under Aurangzeb.

The recovery of the lost Mughal dominion in Hindustan was begun even during the Regency of Bairam Khan, when, one after another, Gwalior, Ajmer and Jaunpur were reconquered. This helped the gradual consolidation of Akbar's dominion around Delhi and Agra. Between 1560-61 the conquest of Malwa was completed. Adham Khan, assisted by Pir

Muhammad Sherwani, succeeded in defeating Baz Bahadur,[1] who had assumed the title of Sultan, near Sarangpur. After the recall of Adham Khan, Pir Muhammad was placed in charge of the imperfectly conquered province. He was drowned while pursuing Baz Bahadur. Abdulla Khan Uzbeg, who succeeded him, expelled Baz Bahadur, who did not, however, submit until 1571.

In 1562 Raja Bihari Mal of Amber (Jaipur) submitted to Akbar without fighting. He was given a command of 5,000, and his son Bhagwan Das and grandson Man Singh entered the Mughal army. Both Bhagwan Das and Man Singh played a leading part in extending and consolidating the Mughal Empire, and the close connection with the Empire raised the hitherto obscure principality of Amber to a position of predominance in Rajputana.

CONQUEST OF GONDWANA (1564)

Akbar's next conquest was that of Gondwana. Asaf Khan, Governor of the eastern provinces, was directed to attack Rani Durgabati who governed Garah Katanga (northern portion of the Central Provinces) in the Gond country as the Regent for her minor son, Bir Narayan. She made a stubborn resistance worthy of her Rajput ancestry; but she was overwhelmed in a battle that took place between Garah and Mandala (in the Jubbulpore district). When she was faced with defeat she stabbed herself. Bir Narayan also died fighting bravely to save the fortress of Chauragarh. The women performed self-immolation, the awful sacrifice of *jauhar*.

SIEGE OF CHITOR (1567-68)

Akbar's famous military enterprise, the seige and capture of Chitor, was begun in October, 1567. The Rana of Chitor, Udai Singh, son of Rana Sangram Singh, is said to have given shelter to Baz Bahadur and another insubordinate chief, that of Narwar. In any case, strategic considerations demanded that the sovereign of Upper India should have in his hands the fetters of Rajputana—Merta (which had already been conquered), Chitor and Ranthambhor. Akbar's siege of Chitor lasted four

[1] See p. 288.

months. Udai Singh was, unfortunately for Mewar, a craven prince who hid himself in a distant forest, leaving the defence of Chitor to Jaimal Rathor and Patta. They offered obstinate resistance. Akbar showed considerable patience and skill in conducting the siege of Chitor in which three things were employed—a long and deep trench (*Sabat*), movable shields to protect the workmen (*Turah*), a high erection commanding the walls (*Siba*). The siege might have lasted much longer but Akbar succeeded in killing Jaimal by a lucky shot. The garrison then gave up all hope and the women resorted to the *jauhar* sacrifice before the final capture. The Rajput warriors perished fighting. Akbar was so much exasperated by the obstinate defence that he massacred a large number of non-combatants who had helped in it. Chitor had before been taken by Ala-ud-din Khalji and Bahadur Shah of Gujarat and its capture was not in itself a unique military achievement.

Ranthambhor fell in 1569. Bikaner and Jaisalmer submitted soon afterwards.

RAJPUT POLICY

About this time a treaty was concluded with the Rajput State of Bundi which gives us a very good idea of Akbar's eagerness to placate the Rajputs and the policy which he pursued towards them. Tod in his *Annals* says that through the mediation of the ruler of Amber (Jaipur) a treaty was concluded with Bundi. The terms were:—(1) The chiefs of Bundi should be exempted from the custom, degrading to a Rajput, of sending a bride to the Mughal *harem*. (2) They were to be exempted from the *Jeziyah* or poll tax. (3) They were not to be compelled to cross Attock. (4) They were not to send their wives and female relatives to hold a stall in the bazar on the occasion of the *Nauroz*. (5) They were to have the privilege of entering the *Dewan-i-Am* fully armed. (6) Their temples were to be respected. (7) They should never be placed under the command of a Hindu leader. (8) Their horses should not be branded with the imperial *Dagh*. (9) They should be allowed to beat their kettle-drums as far as the Red Gate.

Though Mewar never submitted to him and Pratap Singh, son of Udai Singh, offered him stubborn resistance, Akbar

was for all practical purposes the paramount power in Rajputana, most of whose chieftains became *mansabdars* of the Mughal Empire. The Rajputs became the most devoted soldiers of the *Padishah*. One-third of the Mughal horsemen were recruited from the Rajput clans. Tod describes Akbar as "the first successful conqueror of Rajput independence ; to this end his virtues were powerful auxiliaries, as by his skill in the analysis of mind and its readiest stimulant to action, he was enabled to gild the chains with which he bound them." This was precisely the difference between the Rajput policy of Akbar and that of Ala-ud-din Khalji and Sher Shah.

CONQUEST OF GUJARAT (1572-73)

After the surrender of Kalanjar in 1569, Akbar felt himself free to devote his attention further towards the west as well as the east. His next move was against Gujarat which his father had conquered and lost. There was anarchy in Gujarat. The nominal Sultan, Muzaffar Shah III, was unable to control the warring chieftains, one of whom invited Akbar. In November, 1572, Akbar approached Ahmadabad ; Muzaffar Shah III submitted and was pensioned off. He then advanced to Surat and on the way showed conspicuous personal bravery in a hard-fought skirmish at Sarnal. The siege of Surat was terminated by capitulation in February, 1573. A treaty was concluded with the Portuguese at Cambay, which secured safe-conduct for the Mecca pilgrims. After making arrangements for the administration of the province Akbar returned to his capital, which was then at Fathpur Sikri.

Very soon, however, Akbar received information that a fresh insurrection had broken out, led by certain irrepressible Mughal princes known as Mirzas. He fitted out an expedition with astounding rapidity and advanced at hurricane speed, reaching Ahmadabad, a distance of 600 miles, in nine days. With an army of about 3,000 only he made an impetuous attack at Ahmadabad on a rebel army of 20,000. He did not wait for reinforcements and charged like a fierce tiger. He won the fight and crushed the rebellion (September, 1573). Akbar's second Gujarat expedition has been described as the quickest Indian campaign on record. The conquest of 1573 was final. Gujarat not only increased the resources of the Empire

but also secured for it free access to the sea and brought it in contact with the European merchants.

CONQUEST OF BENGAL (1574-76) AND ORISSA (1592)

Akbar's next conquest was that of Bengal. Sulaiman Kararani, an Afghan chief, became ruler of Bengal in 1564 in succession to the Surs. In 1566 he besieged Rohtas, but when Akbar sent an army to relieve the fortress he thought it prudent to withdraw to Bengal. He formally recognised the superior authority of Akbar by sending him valuable presents. He transferred his capital from Gaur to Tanda. He also conquered the Hindu Kingdom of Orissa. He died in 1572. His elder son, Bayazid, succeeded him but died soon after. Daud, the youngest son who came next, assumed all the insignia of royalty, reading the *Khutba* in his own name and issuing coins. This was an invitation to Akbar to attack him. Daud even provoked Akbar, who was then in Gujarat, by advancing and seizing imperial outposts.

In 1574 Akbar began his voyage down the Ganges in the rainy season, which is not the campaigning season in India. Daud was driven out of Patna and Hajipur. Akbar returned to his capital, leaving the Bengal campaign to be conducted by his general Munim Khan, assisted by Raja Todar Mal. Akbar's capture of Patna in the middle of the rainy season was an almost unprecedented achievement. Munim Khan followed up this success, seizing in quick succession Monghyr, Bhagalpur, Colgong and the Teliagarhi pass. Then he entered Tanda, Daud retiring to Orisa. In March, 1575, a decisive battle was fought at Tukaroi in the Balasore district. Daud was defeated and made his submission. In opposition to the advice of Raja Todar Mal, Munim Khan granted him favourable terms, leaving him in possession of Orissa. But Daud rose up in arms again a few months later. He was defeated and slain by the imperialists in the battle of Rajmahal in July, 1576. Although Bengal formally became a part of the Mughal Empire, some powerful Chiefs continued to enjoy practical independence for many years. Of these Isa Khan (of Dacca-Mymensingh), Kedar Rai (of Vikrampur), and Pratapaditya (of Jessore) deserve special mention.

Orissa was annexed in 1592.

RANA PRATAP SINGH (1572-97)

Even after the conquest of Chitor and the submission of almost all the Rajput States Akbar had his troubles in Rajputana. Pratap Singh, the gallant son of the craven Udai Singh, ascended the throne in 1572 and began his memorable struggle against the Great Mughal. The Princes of Marwar, Amber, Bikanir and Bundi had made their submission, but "single handed for a quarter of a century," to use the inimitable language of Tod, "did he withstand the combined efforts of the empire, at one time carrying destruction into the plains, at another flying from rock to rock, feeding his family from the fruits of his native hills, and rearing the nursling hero Amar, amidst savage beasts and scarcely less savage men, a fit heir to his prowess and revenge". Man Singh of Amber, Akbar's loyal general, inflicted a crushing defeat upon Pratap in June, 1576, in the battle of Haldighat or Gogunda. His strong places fell one after another into the hands of the Mughals, but he continued the unequal fight from the mountain regions. During the protracted contest the fertile tracts of Mewar were *bechirag,* without a lamp. Pratap later recovered all Mewar except Chitor, Ajmer and Mandalgarh. He died in 1597. During the last days of Pratap, Akbar was unable to continue an active campaign against him because of his preoccupations elsewhere. It has been suggested by Tod that Akbar was touched by his gallant resistance and refrained from disturbing his repose during his last years. But such sentimentalism was out of place in Akbar's politics. Pratap Singh was so surrounded by Mughal dominions on all sides that Akbar with his almost unlimited resources could afford to wait and pursue more easy conquests further afield.

REBELLION IN BENGAL (1580-84)

In 1580 there was a rebellion of Mughal officers in Bengal and Bihar as a protest against Akbar's religious and administrative innovations. The *Qazi* of Jaunpur is said to have issued a *fatwa* justifying rebellion against Akbar in view of his heterodoxy. The rebels are said to have acted in concert with Akbar's half-brother, Mirza Muhammad Hakim of Kabul. By 1584 rebellion in Bihar and Bengal was suppressed by Akbar's officers—Raja Todar Mal, Mirza Aziz Koka and Shabhaz Khan.

ABSORPTION OF KABUL (1581-85)

Akbar himself led an expedition to Kabul in 1581. Laurence Binyon says, "He thought as much of his brother as an eagle might think of a mosquito". Hakim was nominally dependent on the sovereign of Hindustan but was really independent. He was a weakling, a worthless drunkard. But besides the Bengal rebels, some influential court nobles, including Shah Mansur, the Finance Minister, were suspected to be in league with him. At the head of 15,000 cavalry Hakim came as far as Lahore. He was opposed by Man Singh and compelled to withdraw to Kabul. But Akbar pursued him at the head of 50,000 cavalry and 500 elephants. Shah Mansur was hanged on the way. Akbar entered Kabul in August, 1581, Hakim having fled to the hills on his approach. Hakim was permitted to rule Kabul until 1585, when he died of excessive drinking and his territory was absorbed. Man Singh made the necessary arrangements for its administration.

THE NORTH-WEST FRONTIER

The absorption of Kabul in the Empire made it necessary for Akbar to keep close watch on the north-west frontier. That frontier had great political, military and economic importance. A vast, irregular belt of territory extends from the western border of Kashmir round Peshawar, Kohat and Bannu and then stretches southward down the Indus valley to the Sind sea board—a total length, including deflections, of about 1200 miles. In the north the Khaibar pass connects the Peshawar valley with Kabul ; in the centre the Tochi and Gomal passes connect the Indus plain with Ghazni and South Afghanistan ; while the Mulla, the Bolan and Gomal passes connect the plain of Sind with the plateaus of Khelat and Qandahar. Through these routes passed the trade between Afghanistan, Baluchistan and India. For the protection of this difficult frontier the effective subjugation of the turbulent Afghan tribes, such as the Yusufzais, was necessary. In 1586 a Mughal army suffered a disaster in the Swat valley. Akbar had to conciliate the tribal leaders by granting them pensions. His long-continued residence at Lahore suggests a desire to strengthen the north-west frontier.

The rising power of the Uzbegs was a threat to Mughal rule in Afghanistan. Abdulla Khan, an Uzbeg chief, had made himself master of all Badakhshan. The grandson of Babur could not but have some respect for a strong Uzbeg ruler. As the master of Kabul he could not but crush or conciliate the Uzbegs. As Abdulla Khan remained friendly to him Akbar was not drawn into war in Central Asia.

The safety of Kabul also required the occupation of Qandahar, which was a place of great commercial and strategic importance. Nearly 14,000 camels with goods passed annually from India *via* Qandahar to Persia. "The wise of ancient times considered Kabul and Qandahar as the twin gates of Hindustan, the one leading to Turkestan, the other to Persia." The fort of Qandahar guarded the road to India from the west and to Kabul from the south. "Its strategic importance lies in the fact that only 360 miles of level counry separate it from Herat near which the lofty Hindukush range sinks down to offer an easy passage to an invading host from Central Asia or Persia. Such an army must pass through Qandahar and must be turned back there, if ever at all." In an age when Kabul was a part of the Delhi Empire Qandahar was very naturally a bone of contention between the rulers of Persia and India. In 1595 the Persian Governor of Qandahar surrendered it to Akbar without fighting.

Kashmir was annexed in 1586, Sind in 1590-91 and Baluchistan in 1595.

DECCAN CONQUESTS

Having consolidated his position in the north-west Akbar could now devote himself to the conquest of the Deccan. A sense of security in the North justified a forward policy in the South. Towards the close of Akbar's reign there were five Muslim Sultanates, in the Deccan—Khandesh, Ahmadnagar, Bijapur, Bidar, Golkonda.[1] Akbar did not concern himself with the territory south of the Krishna. In 1591 four missions were sent to Khandesh, Ahmadnagar, Bijapur and Golkonda in order to ascertain whether they would willingly accept the suzerainty of Delhi. Khandesh was the most important of these

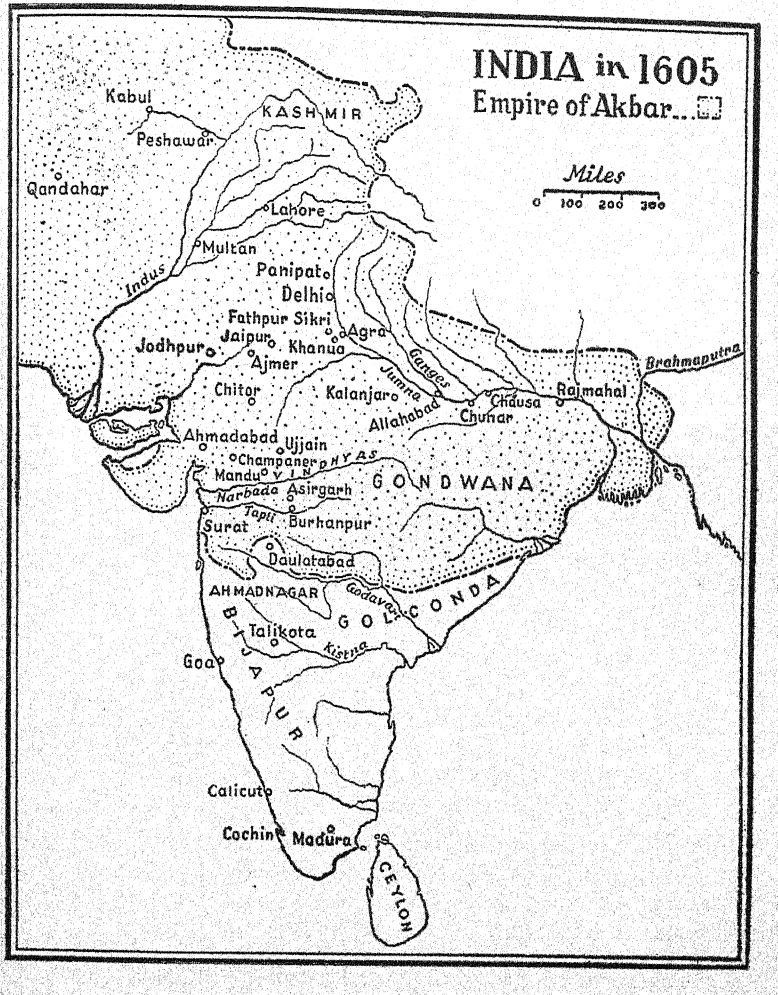
[1] See pp. 291, 296, 298-299.

four Sultanates from the point of view of Mughal expansion, because it contained the celebrated fort of Asirgarh[1] which commanded the road to the Deccan. Ahmadnagar was the next accessible State. Raja Ali Khan of Khandesh offered his submission. But Burhan-ul-Mulk, the ruler of Ahmadnagar, was more contumacious. After his death his successor was pressed hard by the imperialists in the north and by Bijapur in the south. The imperialist generals, Abdur Rahim *Khan Khanan,* and Prince Murad, Akbar's second son, quarrelled among themselves. They, however, laid siege to Ahmadnagar (1595) which was defended with great vigour by Chand Bibi, Queen Dowager of Bijapur and sister of Burhan-ul-Mulk. The imperialist generals thought it prudent to accept terms according to which Berar was ceded and Bahadur, a grandson of Burhan-ul-Mulk, was recognised as the dependent Sultan of Ahmadnagar (1596). But intriguers at Ahmadnagar ousted Chand Bibi and violated the treaty. Bijapur sent a contingent to help Ahmadnagar, but the combined army could not win a victory over the imperialists in the battle of Supa on the Godavari (1597). Prince Murad died in 1599. Abdur Rahim *Khan Khanan* was goaded into activity by Akbar who came himself to Burhanpur. Chand Bibi was murdered about this time. Ahmadnagar was stormed in August, 1600. The whole of Ahmadnagar could not, however, be occupied, and a prince named Murtaza continued to rule over a considerable portion.

In the meantime, Miran Bahadur Shah, the successor of Raja Ali of Khandesh, had found the Mughal yoke galling ; he thought of defying the Emperor from the impregnable fort of Asirgarh. Akbar marched to the Deccan in July, 1599, captured Burhanpur, and besieged Asirgarh. Here he could not use the devices so effective at Chitor and the siege became almost a blockade. The fort capitulated in January, 1601. It has been said that the surrender of Asirgarh was due to the outbreak of pestilence. The Jesuit missionaries, however, say that it was taken by bribery, Miran Bahadur being previously made a prisoner in violation of a safe conduct promised to him. Asirgarh was the last of Akbar's conquests. Prince Daniyal

[1] It was situated on a spur of the Satpura Range, and its natural strength was reinforced by three very strong concentric lines of fortifications.

was married to the daughter of Abdur Rahim *Khan Khanan* and left as the viceroy of the Deccan to govern the three newly



acquired provinces (Berar, Ahmadnagar, Khandesh) under the guidance of his father-in-law.

SECTION II

ADMINISTRATION

AKBAR AND HIS PREDECESSORS

Akbar had a genius for organisation and an extraordinary capacity for attention to detail. It has been said that in his administrative measures he merely walked in the footsteps of Sher Shah. Abul Fazl, on the other hand, has sought to belittle Sher Shah in his statement that "he sought the applause of future generations by mere revivals of Alauddin's regulations which he had read in the *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi.*" V. A. Smith, however, remarks that "from the time of Warren Hastings in the last quarter of the eighteenth century the newly constituted Anglo-Indian authorities began to grope their way back to the institutions of Akbar. They gradually adopted the principal features of his system in the important department concerned with the assessment of the land revenue. The structure of the bureaucratic framework of government still shows many traces of his handiwork". In connection with the revenue organisation of Bengal it may be noted that when the Hastings policy of centralisation was abandoned and Sir John Shore (in 1786) created districts as territorial units, he only revived Akbar's system of *Sarkar.* This is merely to point out that all successful administrators owe something to their predecessors, and even Akbar was no exception. Sher Shah's land survey, however incomplete, his extensive construction of roads and establishment of mint towns, must have helped Akbar materially in his administrative organisation. But there is also no doubt at the same time that Akbar's principles of government and the administrative system that he created differed essentially from the principles and system of his predecessors.

THE CENTRAL STRUCTURE : THE SOVEREIGN

The centre of the whole structure of government was, of course, the Sovereign, and as Abul Fazl says in connection with the ambition of Muhammad Hakim, "race and wealth and the assembling of a mob are not enough for this great position." In Akbar's scheme of things the Sovereign must not be an

easy-going man. He must lead a strenuous life. Akbar used to have three daily meetings, one an open court, another concerned with routine work, and a third in the night or in the afternoon in which there was a discussion not merely of religious matters but also of state policy and state affairs. All these meetings had a profound influence on general administration. A day was set apart for judicial cases. Before the Sovereign all important matters relating to appointments, increments, *jagirs, mansabs,* Government grants, orders of payment, petitions of Princes, Governors, *Bakshis, Dewans, Faujdars,* and private petitions sent through nobles were submitted. Even when the Sovereign was on the move the daily routine was observed.

THE CENTRAL STRUCTURE: THE MINISTERS

The unrestricted use of the powers of a *Wazir* by Bairam Khan was a warning against the appointment of an all-powerful *Wazir.* The office of the *Vakil* was retained, but none of the *Vakils* after Bairam Khan exercised the powers and influence of a Prime Minister. The office of the *Vakil* continued until the early years of Shah Jahan. It retained its dignity and status but was deprived of all real power.

Akbar had four Ministers—the *Dewan,* in charge of revenue and finance ; the *Mir Bakshi,* head of the military department ; the *Mir Saman,* chief executive officer in charge of factories and stores ; and the *Sadr-us-Sadr,* head of the ecclesiastical and judicial departments. In 1582 the post of the *Sadr* is said to have been abolished. But State affairs were not confined to these four Ministers only and in councils others were admitted. Other checks on these Ministers were provided by the officers at court who were associated with State work, and the vigilance of the Emperor also acted as a check on the Ministers. The four Ministers of Akbar have been described as "the four pillars of the Empire, but not like the symbolical pillars of the Turkish Empire which held the tent but pillars like those of the Mughal Taj which do not support the structure but add to its dignity, majesty and beauty".

Besides these Ministers, two other officers also counted for much in the central administration. They held the posts of

Daroga-i-Ghusal Khana and *Arz-i-Mukarrar*. The former acted as a private secretary to the Emperor. The latter revised the Emperor's orders and presented them a second time for his sanction. Among other officers of an inferior status we may mention the *Daroga-i-Dakchauki* and the *Mir Arz*. The former was in charge of the Intelligence Department and the latter was in charge of petitions.

Akbar succeeded in establishing routine in his administration and *"Zabita nast"* ("this is not the custom") became a familiar phrase and tradition under his successors.

RANK IN MUGHAL STATE SERVICE: MANSABDARI SYSTEM

The bureaucracy was framed on military lines. The superior officers were classified in 33 grades ranging from *mansabdars* of 10 to *mansabdars* of 10,000. The highest grades (10,000, 8,000 and 7,000) were reserved for the three princes. Abul Fazl gives the following number—1388 commanders from 150 to 10, and 412 commanders from 5,000 to 200. Most probably in Akbar's time *mansabs* under 200 and in Shah Jahan's time *mansabs* under 500 did not entitle the holder to call himself an *Amir*. The title *Amir-ul-umara* was, curiously enough, held by several persons at the same time. These formed the official nobility, the military and imperial service being formed on one uniform *mansabdari* system. The *mansabdars* raised the troops they commanded. The grades fixed seemed to indicate the number of men which each officer was expected to bring, but effective strength had a tendency to fall below the nominal. Akbar recognised this divergence, and it was regulated by the introduction of double rank in his eleventh year—the *Zat* and the *Sowar*, i.e., personal and trooper rank. A further complication was introduced later by the introduction of *Sihaspah* (three horses), *Duaspah* (two horses) and *Yakaspah* (one horse) gradation in the case of the higher *mansabdars* in their *Sowar* rank. "The pecuniary advantage of triple rank lay in the flat rate per head which an officer received and the average rate at which he was able to secure his troopers. Triple rank might have been a profitable as also an honourable distinction. From the military standpoint there were not three classes of troopers but only one and the distinction was merely

of accountancy." Under Jahangir, on account of his laxity trooper rank again ceased to be a military fact, and Shah Jahan again effected a drastic re-organisation by scaling the effective strength of contingents down to ⅓rd or ¼th and reducing officers' salaries substantially. They could be paid either in cash or in *jagirs*. Akbar preferred to pay his officers by salaries rather than by assignments. According to Moreland's calculation, a *mansabdar* of 5,000 received a salary of at least 18,000 rupees a month, and a commander of 500 at least 1,000 rupees a month. Thus the *mansabdar's* salaries were very high. Akbar's standing army was small, not more than 25,000 according to Blochman, though Father Monserrate's estimate is that in 1581 Akbar had an army of 45,000 cavalry raised and paid by himself and 5,000 elephants. The greater part of the army consisted of contingents furnished by the *mansabdars*.

The Mughal nobility was a nobility by service. Hawkins wrote in 1608, "The custom of the Mughal Emperor is to take possession of his noblemen's treasure when they die and to bestow on their children what he pleaseth but commonly he dealt well with them." There was a regular department of the State, the *Bait-ul-Mal,* in which the escheated property was kept. As a consequence of this the nobles lived extravagantly and squandered money, private capital could not accumulate, and a hereditary independent peerage as a check on the Monarchy could not develop.

REVENUE SYSTEM

During the early years of Akbar's reign several revenue experiments were made. After the revenue reforms of Todar Mal (1582) there were three principal revenue systems in the Empire, which may be thus described :

(1) *Ghallabaksh* or crop division. Under this system a share of each crop was taken by the State. This system prevailed in Lower Sind, a part of Kabul and Kashmir.

(2) *Zabti* or regulation system associated with the name of Todar Mal. It extended from Multan to Bihar and in large parts of Rajputana, Malwa and Gujarat. "The essence of this system was the determination of fixed cash rates payable in

place of the fluctuating share of the produce on each unit of area sown with each crop." It was necessary to measure and record the areas cultivated every season. The system rested on two factors: a schedule of rates called *Dastur* and preparation of crop statements. Land was classified into four classes: *Polaj* (continuously cultivated), *Parauti* (left fallow for a year or two to recover productivity), *Chachar* (left fallow for 3 or 4 years) and *Banjar* (uncultivated for 5 years or more). Each of the first three classes was sub-divided into three grades: good, middling and bad; the average produce was calculated from the mean of the three. Only the area actually under cultivation was assessed. The area under each crop had its own rate and the mean prevailing prices were taken into consideration. The revenue system was *ryotwar*. Akbar's demand was at the rate of one-third. The seasonal record was a laborious and expensive affair and some of the cost must have fallen on the peasant. But the great merit of the system was that there were no assignments, no farming of revenues and no summary settlements. But "orders issued in the eighth year of Aurangzeb's reign show that the assessor proposed each year a lump sum and applied Akbar's method only when a village or a larger area refused. The village as a whole became more directly subject to the assessors and the individual peasants to the stronger men among them . . . . In Akbar's revenue system there was no trace of rent in the sense of a sum payable merely for the right to occupy land; his revenue was charged not on occupation but cultivation. This system was still predominant in the days of Aurangzeb but by its side there was an alternative by which the peasant could compound for his revenue by annual cash payments agreed on with the authorities for the land in his occupation."

(3) *Nasaq* or estimate. Abul Fazl writes thus in his *Ain-i-Akbari* about Bengal land revenue, "It is not customary in this Suba for the husbandmen and government to divide the crop. Grain is always cheap and the produce of the land is determined by *Nasaq*. His Majesty has had the goodness to confirm those customs". Todar Mal was in Bengal for a period of two years during which he had the Afghan rebels to deal with. His residence was too short for an extensive and laborious survey. He collected the accounts of the *Qanungos* and in some places

ascertained their accuracy by local enquiries. From these accounts he prepared the rent roll of the *Subah*. The *Nasaqi* system did not depend upon survey or seasonal records of produce. It resembled the Zamindari settlement.

PROVINCIAL AND LOCAL ADMINISTRATION

The Empire of Akbar was divided into fifteen *Subahs* or provinces[1] and the Provincial organisation was a miniature replica of the Imperial. The *Subahdar* or *Sipahsalar*, officially styled *Nazim*, was at the head of the Provincial Executive. He was assisted by the Provincial *Dewan*, *Bakshi*, *Qazi* and *Sadr*. The *Dewan* was the head of the revenue department and held charge of civil justice ; so, though he was subordinate to the *Nazim*, he really served as a check upon him. At important centres, at the head of several *parganas*, over the administrative unit called *Sarkar* there was an officer—the *Faujdar*—who gave the *Nazim* every assistance in his power in the administration of criminal justice and police and in the exercise of his military functions. Another officer, the *Amalguzar*, was in that area in charge of accounts, assessment and collection of revenue. In the big cities the *Kotwal* or prefect of police enforced law and order and discharged many of the functions of a modern municipality. In the rural areas peace was maintained by the *Faujdar*. "The state of public security varied greatly from place to place and from time to time". The local revenue was derived from minor duties on production and consumption, and also from taxes on trades, occupations, transports, etc.

The Central Government controlled the Provincial machinery by dividing the authority, by reducing the duration of the office of the *Subahdar*, and by frequent transfers. It kept itself informed of what happened in the Provinces by means of news-reporters, in public as also in secret. They sent their reports at regular intervals. All these reached the Emperor through an officer, the *Daroga-i-Dakchouki*.

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[1] 1. Bengal (including Orissa). 2. Bihar. 3. Allahabad. 4. Oudh. 5. Agra. 6. Delhi. 7. Ajmer. 8. Multan (including Sind). 9. Lahore (including Kashmir). 10. Kabul. 11. Ahmadabad (Gujarat). 12. Malwa. 13. Khandesh. 14. Berar. 15. Ahmadnagar.
There were 17 *Subahs* under Jahangir and 21 under Aurangzeb.

JUDICIAL SYSTEM

The most important point to note about the administration of justice is that the policy of the Government was to discourage litigation for which no facilities were created. The ancient village organisation with all its Hindu institutions remained intact and the State had to concern itself mostly with the *parganas, Sarkars* and Provincial head-quarters. The religious character of Hindu law was responsible for the fact that even in urban areas civil cases of the Hindus regarding inheritance, marriage, etc., were decided according to Hindu religious law.

The Emperor's court was a court both of first instance as also of appeal. Most of the cases before him related to criminal justice rather than civil and his sanction was necessary in all cases of capital punishment. The Provincial Governor also tried cases like the Emperor and the district *Faujdars* sent him the accused who were arrested by him. If after enquiry he found that the particular case fell under the *Shariat* he sent it to the Provincial *Qazi*. He tried political offences himself and sent the revenue cases to the *Dewan*. He also exercised supervision over criminal justice. The Emperor appointed the chief *Qazi* who appointed subordinate *Qazis* with his sanction. The *Muftis*, who explained Muslim law and custom, were not appointed in every case and there is no reference to their existence in the smaller administrative units. The Muslim law of inheritance, marriage and divorce could only be decided by the *Qazis* and *Muftis*, but in the law of evidence and criminal justice Akbar introduced some modifications requiring that the *Qazis* should not rely exclusively on witnesses but on other sources of information as well.

SECTION III

RELIGION

EVOLUTION OF AKBAR'S RELIGIOUS VIEWS

Akbar's religious views went through a process of slow evolution. His soul was sometimes convulsed by genuine spiritual doubts. Badauni, who, far from being an admirer,

was not even a friendly critic, tells us that the Emperor "would sit many a morning alone in prayer and melancholy . . . near the palace (at Fathpur Sikri) in a lonely spot with his head bent over his chest, and gathering the bliss of early hours". From his childhood Akbar had contact with Sufism. His Rajput wives and Hindu courtiers gave him a glimpse into the world beyond Islam. The *Bhakti* movement[1] had created a new atmosphere in India.

It has been said that Akbar was up to 1574 an orthodox Sunni Muslim. Then he came into contact with the liberal views of Shaikh Mubarak and his famous sons—Faizi and Abul Fazl—who made him a rationalizing Muslim. At Fathpur Sikri he built a house of worship (*Ibadat Khana*), where selected men representing various schools of religious thought—Muslim, Hindu, Parsi, Jain, Christian—used to take part in religious debates. These debates probably convinced Akbar that "There is light in all, and light with more or less of shade in all modes of worship".

Determined to challenge the undue influence of the *Ulemas*, Akbar issued the so-called Infallibility Decree in September, 1579, which gave him the final authority to decide all questions concerning Islam. Neither this Decree, nor the propagation of Din-i-Ilahi, justifies Badauni's charge that Akbar renounced Islam in his later years. The motive behind the Decree was Akbar's desire to command the indivisible allegiance of his Muslim subjects, not the assumption of spiritual leadership. He did not found a priesthood. Badauni has criticised some of the regulations issued by Akbar concerning religious matters and customs; but a close examination of those regulations shows that they were not inconsistent with the fundamentals of Islam.

DIN-I-ILAHI

Akbar is said to have evolved an eclectic religion of his own, described as *Din-i-Ilahi*, and he was its prophet between 1582-1605. This *Din-i-Ilahi* has been described as monotheistic Parsi Hinduism.

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[1] See pp. 319-322.

According to Badauni, Akbar was not very willing to include Hindus among the followers of his supposed new creed. In the list of eighteen principal adherents of *Din-i-Ilahi* we find only one Hindu name, that of Raja Birbal, and he cannot certainly be taken very seriously. This disproves the theory that there was a political move of unification of the warring creeds behind this new religion and that the Emperor wanted to alchemise old hates into the gold of love and make it current. In that case a deliberate attempt would have been made to include Hindus.

As a matter of fact, *Din-i-Ilahi* was not a proselytising religion. It was confined to a select few. "It was a Sufi order of Islam within Islam depending on individual experience of the follower and only open to men who had attained a certain stage of development. Akbar was a Sufi like Sadi, Rumi Jami, Hafiz, Fariduddin, Shamsuddin and others". V. A. Smith's assertion that "the whole scheme was the outcome of ridiculous vanity, a monstrous growth of unrestrained autocracy" is due to his reliance on Badauni and the Jesuit Fathers, and his own inability to understand that an autocrat was capable of self-doubting thoughts, dissatisfactions and a craving for illumination.

POLICY TOWARDS THE HINDUS

With great originality and courage Akbar introduced several important reforms very early in his career (1562-64). This gives us a very good idea of the policy he wanted to pursue with reference to the Hindus. He abolished the taxes on Hindu pilgrims, forbade the enslavement of prisoners of war and abolished the *Jeziyah* on non-Muslims. The pilgrim taxes, according to Abul Fazl, amounted to millions of rupees. So the abolition of these taxes and the *Jeziyah* was a great financial sacrifice. No credit for these measures should be given to any adviser. As Akbar himself says, "It was the effect of the grace of God that I found no capable minister (between 1562-64). Otherwise people would have considered my measures had been devised by him".

Akbar's principle was universal religious toleration (*Sulh-i-Kul*). But apart from religious considerations, a sound

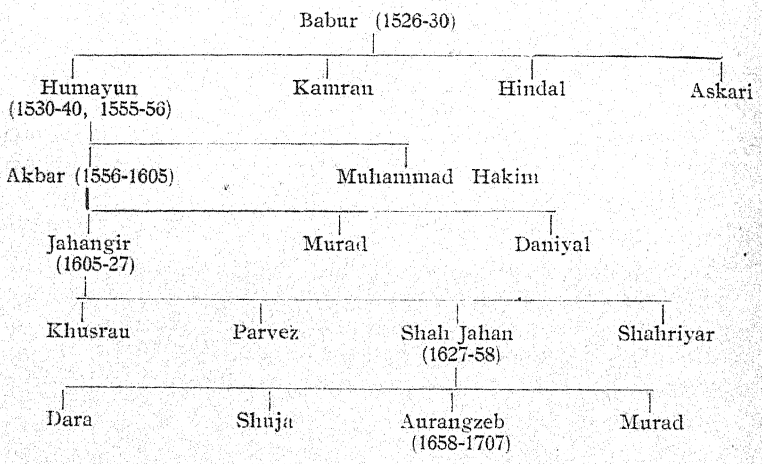
political instinct dictated his policy towards the Hindus. His Hindu male relatives by marriage, like Raja Bhagwan Das, Man Singh and others, obtained very high ranks in the Mughal peerage and were treated with distinction as befitting their position as royal relatives. Hindu learning was encouraged, Hindu temples allowed to be freely erected, Hindu religious fairs permitted to be freely held and Hindu population not subjected to any special fiscal burden as a public badge of inferiority. Akbar knew that the Hindus formed about three-fourths of the man power of the State and their intellect, organisation and economic resources could not be allowed to deteriorate. Those who assert that Akbar was pro-Hindu and lay emphasis upon his so-called un-Islamic ordinances and point out that he had been hailed as *Jagatguru* (or the world's guide) by the Hindus should keep the following facts in their mind. Akbar succeeded in securing Hindu support, thus making Mughal hold on India much stronger than the control exercised by the Turko-Afghans. This was sound policy. At the same time he "made a supreme effort to free Indian Islam from Arabicism and adapt it to the needs of India as the Persians had evolved Shiaism to make Islam suited to their national genius. With Akbar began a great religious and literary movement for the adaptation of Islam to the traditions of India and with Dara it ended." His policy was national and rational. Under him the Turko-Mughal dynasty became more Indian than Turk or Mongol.

ESTIMATE

A review of the career of this great architect of Empire gives us an idea of the place which he occupies in Indian history. As Laurence Binyon puts it, "Standing in the full daylight of history, Akbar appears to us between two shadowy yet contrasted worlds ; between the world of his Central Asian ancestors, a world of torrential human energy, idolising that energy for its own sake and possessed with the fever of hunt, whether of beasts or of men—between the world of furious action, passing like a dream, and the world of India, which could revel indeed in luxuries and cruelties but which could also produce the exalted spirits of Buddha and Asoka, speaking to us from a far remoter past than those wild conquerors but

with voices that still live and move us. Akbar too is possessed with insatiable energy, he seems action incarnate and yet at the core of his nature is something alien to all that, something that craves for thought and contemplation, that seeks justice and desires gentleness". What is more remarkable is that under Akbar the old Indian ideal of a united India again took shape and he strove to bring about not merely political unification but also cultural fusion.

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE GREAT MUGHALS



FOR FURTHER STUDY

V. A. Smith, *Akbar, the Great Mogul.*
Laurence Binyon, *Akbar.*
Ibn Hasan, *The Central Structure of the Mughal Empire.*
P. Saran, *The Provincial Government of the Mughals.*
R. P. Tripathi, *Some Aspects of Muslim Administration.*
Moreland, *India at the death of Akbar.*
Cambridge History of India, Vol. IV.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE CLIMAX OF THE MUGHAL EMPIRE

SECTION I

JAHANGIR

SUCCESSION

Akbar died on October 17, 1605. Before his death he invested Prince Salim with turban and robes and girded him with his own dagger, thus clearly intimating his desire that he should succeed inspite of his delinquencies. He was the only surviving son of Akbar, Princes Daniyal and Murad having predeceased their father. Salim's position in the later years of Akbar was indeed an intriguing one. Between 1601-1605 he gave Akbar much trouble. Taking advantage of Akbar's absence in the South he assumed practical independence at Allahabad in 1601, setting up an independent court, issuing *farmans* and granting *jagirs*. He induced Bir Singh Bundela, who was in open revolt against Akbar, to waylay and murder Abul Fazl, then proceeding from the Deccan to Agra, where Akbar had returned. The Prince suspected this friend and companion of his father of poisoning his ears against him. Akbar's grief knew no bounds, but though Bir Singh Bundela was relentlessly pursued, the Prince, who was the arch-culprit, was not punished, and paternal weakness was responsible for Akbar's reconciliation with his son in April, 1603. Referring to this reconciliation Jahangir writes with a curious naivette in his celebrated autobiography, *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*: "I know what sort of endurance a Kingdom would have, the foundations of which were laid on hostility to a father". But when he was commanded by his father to lead the campaign in Mewar he showed the greatest reluctance, and he was permitted to return to Allahabad where he again set up an independent court. About this time there was a plot to supersede Salim and support the succession of Salim's eldest son, Khusrau. He was Man

Singh's nephew and Aziz Koka's son-in-law. These two prominent nobles wanted his succession to the exclusion of that of his father. Salim sought reconciliation with his father, was reprimanded, imprisoned for full ten days, but was then treated as if nothing had taken place. This happened in November, 1604. But when Akbar fell ill next year plotting and counter-plotting were rampant. It is said that there was actually a conference on succession, the majority of the nobles supporting Salim. Even Aziz Koka had, therefore, to yield and after the investiture by the dying monarch Salim had no difficulty in the matter of succession. He was solemnly enthroned at Agra on October 24, 1605, and assumed the title 'Nuruddin Muhammad Jahangir Padishah Ghazi'.

REVOLT OF KHUSRAU

The first important incident of his reign was the rebellion of Khusrau. Man Singh, who had actively supported the cause of his nephew, was absent in distant Bengal. Khusrau was in a state of semi-confinement, but he escaped from the Agra fort and marched towards the Punjab. His army swelled to 12,000. The *Dewan* of Lahore joined him but the governor of the city defended it. In the meantime the Imperial army arrived. A battle was fought at Bhairowal. Khusrau, completely defeated, escaped ; he wanted to go to Kabul but ran aground in the Chenab and was captured. His prominent supporters were barbarously put to death. The Sikh Guru Arjan is said to have become one of Khusrau's partisans and to have offered up prayers for his cause. He was imprisoned and his death (1606) is said to have been hastened by the rigours of his imprisonment. Khusrau was blinded but later on he partially recovered the use of one of his eyes.

SUBMISSION OF MEWAR (1615)

Jahangir's reign is said to be a continuation of that of Akbar. He adopted his father's foreign policy both in Northern and in Southern India. The complete subjugation of Mewar was his first concern. Mewar was then under the rule of Rana Amar Singh, who had succeeded his father, Pratap, in 1597. In the very first year of his reign Jahangir sent against Mewar

an army of 20,000 under the nominal command of his second son Parvez. An indecisive battle was fought. In view of Khusrau's revolt a truce was made at Mandalgarh. In 1608 the campaign was again begun with energy. Mahabat Khan was the leader of the Imperialists. The Mughal cavalry could not penetrate into the forest-covered hills and the wild retreats of the Rajputs. Mahabat Khan was replaced by Abdulla Khan, who managed the campaign very well but had to be transferred to Gujarat and thence to the Deccan. After this the campaign languished for sometime.

In 1613 Jahangir established his court at Ajmer and appointed his third son, Prince Khurram, in command. He was reinforced by Abdulla Khan and other officers from the Deccan. The Mughal plan was to burn, plunder and demolish, to starve the Rajputs out of the mountain retreats, and to establish numerous military stations with a view to maintain a persistent attack in all directions. Rana Amar Singh, less tough and stubborn than his father, was reduced by famine and pestilence to ask for terms. Jahangir was studiously conciliatory. According to the terms of the treaty of 1615, the Rana was to supply a contingent of 1,000 horse ; his son, Prince Karan, was to become a *mansabdar* of 5,000. The Rana was not to attend the Imperial court in person and no bride from Mewar was to enter the Imperial *harem*. The presents given to Prince Karan were so lavish that Sir Thomas Roe, the British envoy, formed an impression that the submission was bought with presents. Jahangir's treatment of the Prince of Mewar was a remarkable contrast to the treatment accorded by Aurangzeb to Shivaji when Jai Singh persuaded this arch-enemy of the Mughals to submit and attend the *Darbar*. The ease-loving and pleasure-seeking Jahangir knew the art of Empire-building much better than his unsympathetic, thorough-going grandson.

SUBJUGATION OF AFGHANS OF BENGAL

The same conciliatory policy was adopted with regard to the Afghan rebels in Bengal. This easternmost Mughal province was in constant ferment. After Daud's failure Qutlu Khan, Isa Khan and Sulaiman in succession maintained the

tradition of Afghan opposition to Mughal consolidation in this part of India. Successive Imperialist Governors—Man Singh, Qutb-ud-din and Jahangir Quli—found the Afghan rebels almost irrepressible. Islam Khan, who was the next Mughal Governor in Bengal, transferred the capital from Rajmahal to Dacca. Usman, a son of Isa Khan who had defeated the Imperialists at Bhadrak in 1600, was defeated in the battle of Nekujyal (100 *kos* distant from Dacca) on March 12, 1612. Usman died of his wounds. He was the last chief of the independent Afghans in Bengal. The conciliatory policy of the Mughals paved the way for the complete submission of the leaderless Afghans.

ANNEXATION OF KANGRA (1620)

Another notable achievement of Jahangir's reign was the annexation of Kangra. The almost impregnable hill fort of Nagarkot or Kangra dominated the hill country between the Ravi and the Sutlej. The hill chiefs in the country between Jammu and Nagarkot (Jhelum and Ravi) were brought under the control of the Mughals by Todar Mal. There is a current saying in the hills that Todar Mal explained his arrangements to Akbar by a happy metaphor that "he had cut off the meat and left the bones." But Kangra was not yet annexed. Rai Rayan Vikramjit succeeded in taking this fort in 1620 after a long seige. Jahangir describes the fort as having 23 bastions and seven gates. He was fascinated with the beauty of the valley.

DECCAN AFFAIRS—AHMADNAGAR

Affairs in the Deccan during the reign of Jahangir were dominated by the celebrated Malik Ambar, an Abyssinian by birth and a Deccani by adoption. With great administrative capacity, an excellent judgment and considerable military skill, he was the central figure in Deccan history for two decades. He wanted to save what remained of Ahmadnagar from being absorbed by the Mughals. He transferred the capital to Kharki, raised a scion of the reigning family to the throne under the title of Murtaza Nizam Shah II, and organising guerilla Maratha bands in large numbers continued to offer opposition to Mughal

expansion. His one notable success was achieved in 1611. The Mughals formed a grand plan of a concerted attack from different directions, but they failed to harmonise their actions. Malik Ambar concluded an alliance with Bijapur and Golkonda as the best means of foiling the Mughals. Mughal gold and Mughal diplomacy were incessantly at work with a view to separate the confederates. But the Mughal generals were also quarrelling among themselves until Prince Khurram was placed in charge of Deccan affairs in 1616 after the transfer of Parvez to Allahabad. He succeeded in detaching Adil Shah of Bijapur from the Deccan confederacy. The entire Balaghat territory seized by Malik Ambar was ceded back to the Mughals and the keys of the fort of Ahmadnagar and other strongholds were formally delivered in 1617. Khurram got the title of 'Shah Jahan', but Mughal dominion did not extend a mile beyond the boundary of 1605.

Chaos and confusion continued to weaken the Mughals in the Deccan. Abdur Rahim *Khan Khanan* with his son Shah Nawaz Khan was in charge of the Deccan affairs ; they could not control the quarrelling Mughal generals. Malik Ambar renewed his alliance with Bijapur and Golkonda and in 1620 broke the treaty of 1617. The Mughals gained victories but to no purpose. The Maratha guerilla horse organised by Malik Ambar swept over a considerable portion of Mughal Deccan. Malik Ambar even besieged Burhanpur. Shah Jahan was re-appointed. His advent was succeeded by a vigorous offensive. The siege of Burhanpur was raised by Malik Ambar. Kharki was taken and demolished by the Mughals. Malik Ambar submitted, ceded all the Imperial territory he had taken, together with some adjoining districts. It was arranged that *nazarana* would be paid by all the Deccan Sultanates—18 *lakhs* by Bijapur, 12 by Ahmadnagar and 20 by Golkonda.

In 1623 the Mughals concluded a separate treaty with Adil Shah of Bijapur who became allied with the Mughals. Malik Ambar as a reply drew closer to Golkonda, concluded an alliance with its ruler Qutb-ul-Mulk, routed the Bijapur forces in Bidar, and even besieged Bijapur. The Mughals hurried to the help of the Bijapur Sultan. Shah Jahan, now a rebel against his father, joined Malik Ambar and besieged Burhanpur.

Jahangir sent Parvez with Mahabat Khan to the South. Shah Jahan submitted and Malik Ambar had to fall back, but Mahabat Khan was at this stage recalled. The Mughal campaign in the South languished.

Malik Ambar died in 1626. "History records no other instance of an Abyssinian slave arriving at such eminence." This minister-in-chief of the Nizam Shahi dynasty is deservedly famous not merely for his successful resistance to Mughal advance in the South but also for his measures for public benefit —survey of village lands, registration of property, and revised assessments. He also unconsciously nourished the Maratha power into strength. Jahangir could do no more than re-occupy the previous conquests of the Empire in the Deccan.

RELATIONS WITH PERSIA

Shah Abbas (1587-1629), the greatest of the Safavi monarchs of Persia, was the contemporary of Jahangir. He was certainly more able and more vigorous than his predecessors—Shah Tahmasp, the contemporary of Humayun and Akbar, and Shah Ismail, the founder of the Safavi line who had once helped Babur. Shah Abbas wanted to regain Qandahar, in view of its commercial and strategic importance. The Persian attempt to take Qandahar in 1606 was not successful. The Persians next adopted the policy of lulling the suspicions of Jahangir. A Persian embassy arrived at the Mughal court in 1611, the ambassador staying there for two years. In 1613 a Mughal embassy was sent in return and in 1615 a second Persian embassy arrived at Delhi. In 1616-1617 the third and the most magnificent of the Persian embassies arrived at Delhi. A fourth embassy with presents arrived in 1620. The Mughals believed in the peaceful professions of the Persians and perhaps neglected the defences of Qandahar. Shah Abbas suddenly besieged the great fort in 1622. There were at that time factions wrangling at Delhi. After a siege of 45 days Shah Abbas succeeded in taking Qandahar. Jahangir planned a great expedition for its recovery. But Shah Jahan, who was asked boundary as also the boundary of the Sultanates of Bijapur and

endanger his succession. He chose, instead, to rebel against his father.

NUR JAHAN'S ASCENDENCY

The most dominating personality in the Imperial court during the years 1611—1627 was Nur Jahan, whom Jahangir married in 1611. Tradition envelops Nur Jahan's career in a systematic romance. Meher-un-nisa (as Nur Jahan was called before her marriage with the Emperor) was born of Persian parents who had emigrated from Persia to India under very indigent circumstances. Her father entered the service of Akbar. Jahangir is said to have conceived a violent passion for her, but Akbar disapproved of the alliance, caused her to be married to Ali Quli Istajlu (who had the title of Sher Afkun or tiger thrower) and posted him to Bengal. Shortly after the accession of Jahangir, Sher Afkun stabbed Qutb-ud-din, Governor of Bengal, on the occasion of a visit to him and was killed by the attendants. The widow of Sher Afkun was sent to Agra, and some years later her marriage with the Emperor took place. An attempt has been made to knock the bottom out of this romantic story and to show that she actually caught the eye of Jahangir for the first time in a fancy bazar in 1611.

Charming and dominating, with her beauty and her abilities, she became not only the head of the female society of the capital but was openly recognised as a powerful political force. A new coinage was struck in her name with the following inscription: "By order of King Jahangir, gold has a hundred splendours added to it by receiving the name of Nur Jahan, the queen Begam." Her father, with the title Itimad-ud-daula, became practically the chief minister, and her brother Itiqad Khan, later styled Asaf Khan, was appointed master of the household and began a brilliant official career in 1611. In 1612 her niece, Mumtaz Mahal, daughter of Asaf Khan, was married to Khurram, who was likely to be the successor of Jahangir, as the ablest of his sons. The clique composed of Nur Jahan, Itimad-ud-daula, Asaf Khan and Prince Khurram dominated the court for the next ten years, although Jahangir was always a factor to reckon with. But by the year 1622 we find Itimad-ud-daula dead, the masterful Empress and the ambitious Prince (Shah

Jahan) open enemies of each other. The older nobility, of whom Mahabat Khan was the ablest, helpless up to now, sought to be more assertive. Politics became faction.

REBELLION OF SHAH JAHAN

In view of the failing health of Jahangir, factious intrigues and manoeuvres characterised the last years of his reign. Ladila Begam, Nur Jahan's daughter by Sher Afkun, was married to Shahriyar, the youngest of Jahangir's sons. This worthless Prince served as Nur Jahan's instrument. The first portentous event was the death or murder of Khusrau. The tragic end of this unfortunate Prince occurred in 1622. He had been made over to the custody of Shah Jahan, who reported from the Deccan that he died of colic pain. Contemporary public opinion regarded his death as a case of murder. But Shah Jahan, who was responsible for this crime, if it was a murder, himself soon after felt the ground rocking beneath his feet. Asked to lead the Qandahar campaign, he thought it unwise to go to such a distance with his father in failing health and with Nur Jahan dominating the court and poisoning his ears. He proposed impossible conditions and then rebelled. Jahangir's opinion of him at this stage is thus recorded by his scribe, "Shah Jahan is unworthy of all the favour and cherishing I bestowed on him." Parvez was recognised practically as the heir-apparent and Shahriyar was put in command of the Qandahar expedition, which could not, however, be organised in view of Shah Jahan's rebellion. Shah Jahan was defeated in the battle of Billochpur in March, 1623. He fled to Mandu and then to the Deccan, the Imperial army under Parvez and Mahabat Khan hunting him from place to place. From the Deccan he escaped *via* Orissa to Bengal, seized Rajmahal, entered Patna and took possession of Bihar. The pursuing Imperial army under Parvez and Mahabat Khan compelled him to raise the siege of Allahabad, and defeated him. He fled again to the Deccan, joined Malik Ambar, and besieged Burhanpur. As Parvez and Mahabat again approached he raised the siege. He now asked for pardon, surrendered Rohtas and Asirgarh, the two forts he still held, and sent his sons Dara and Aurangzeb as hostages. He was pardoned and given the government of Balaghat. This civil war lasted three years, and besides involving the loss of the lives

of some of the best Mughal officers, postponed the recovery of Qandahar. In the language of Jahangir, Shah Jahan's rebellion "struck with an axe the foot of his own dominion and became a stumbling block in the path of the enterprise."

REBELLION OF MAHABAT KHAN

Mahabat Khan, the man primarily responsible for the defeat of Shah Jahan, was regarded by Nur Jahan with suspicion. He was separated from Parvez and ordered to go to Bengal. He was asked to furnish an escheat account ; his son-in-law was brutally treated. It appeared to him that his ruin was imminent. Jahangir and Nur Jahan were at that time on their way to Kabul. On the banks of the Jhelum Mahabat Khan surrounded the Imperial camps with his Rajput horsemen and captured the Emperor, intending to secure his own terms. Nur Jahan tried to lead an attack on Mahabat Khan's men, but she failed and decided to join her husband in his captivity. So Mahabat Khan's *coup-de-main* was successful, but success was short-lived. The Imperial army, now commanded by him, proceeded to Kabul with the Emperor and the Empress. At Kabul Nur Jahan succeeded in releasing her husband by a stratagem. It was now Mahabat Khan's turn to fly. He joined Shah Jahan in the Deccan. Shah Jahan in his distress was thinking of escaping to Persia, but events took a very favourable turn for him. Parvez died in October, 1626, and Jahangir himself died in October, 1627. Shah Jahan hurried up from the Deccan to secure his inheritance.

CHARACTER OF JAHANGIR

Terry observes about Jahangir, "Now for the disposition of that King it ever seemed unto me to be composed of extremes : for sometimes he was cruel and at other times he would seem to be exceedingly fair and gentle". He was cruel enough to be able to stand by and see men flayed alive ; at the same time he was gifted with a fine aesthetic taste and a real love of nature. His literary attainments are clearly expressed in his memoirs, *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*. Probably intemperance blunted his qualities. In religion he was not a bigot, but he did not inherit his father's eclecticism.

SECTION II

SHAH JAHAN

SUCCESSION

Shah Jahan ascended the throne in February, 1628. Between the death of Jahangir in October, 1627, and the accession of Shah Jahan the attempt of Shahriyar to occupy the throne was frustrated by Shah Jahan's father-in-in-law, Asaf Khan. While Shah Jahan was hurrying up from the Deccan Asaf Khan set up Khusrau's son Dawar Baksh as a stop-gap Emperor, defeated Shahriyar and blinded him. On the approach of Shah Jahan, Dawar Baksh was allowed to escape to Persia where he became a pensioner of the Shah.

CAPTURE OF HUGHLI (1632)

The Portuguese established themselves in Bengal towards the close of the sixteenth century. They established their chief station at Hughli (near modern Calcutta), which gradually became an important commercial centre. But they offended the Mughal authorities by exacting heavy duties from the local merchants, and they created consternation by kidnapping children whom they converted to Christianity. Under Shah Jahan's orders Qasim Ali Khan, Governor of Bengal, captured Hughli after three months' siege. Many Portuguese were killed, and a large number of them were sent as captives to Agra.

DECCAN AFFAIRS : EXTINCTION OF AHMADNAGAR (1633)

Shah Jahan, securely seated on the throne, was free to pursue a vigorous policy in the Deccan. Malik Ambar was dead and his son, Fath Khan, was not trusted by the Nizam Shahi monarch Murtaza II. He imprisoned Fath Khan and formed an alliance with Khan Jahan Lodi, an Afghan noble who was in rebellion against Shah Jahan. Shah Jahan decided to attack the various strategic points of Ahmadnagar simultaneously. At the same time the Maratha chiefs received great support and encouragement from the Mughals. Murtaza II in his distress released Fath Khan, who murdered him and set up a boy King named Husain Shah (1630). Fath Khan agreed to recite the

khutba and to strike coins in the Emperor's name. The rebellion of Khan Jahan Lodi was suppressed. Mahabat Khan was appointed Governor of the Deccan. The new Nizam Shahi capital, Daulatabad, was captured with Husain Shah, the last King of the dynasty, in 1633. Thus the Nizam Shahi Sultanate came to an inglorious end.

DECCAN AFFAIRS : BIJAPUR AND GOLKONDA

A fresh complication now arose. The Sultans of Bijapur and Golkonda tried to take advantage of the collapse of Ahmadnagar and seize their adjoining territories. Shahji, father of the celebrated Shivaji, set up a puppet Nizam Shahi monarch and governed in his name a portion of the Nizam Shahi dominions. He was encouraged and assisted by Adil Shah of Bijapur. Parenda, a very strong fort which was formerly in the hands of the Nizam Shahi Sultans, was now seized by the Sultan of Bijapur. Mahabat Khan attempted to take it but failed. He was censured by Shah Jahan and died of a broken heart in 1634.

The Emperor made a supreme effort to consolidate his position in the Deccan. He himself came to the Deccan to direct the operations in February, 1636. Three Mughal armies totalling 50,000 were to attack Bijapur and Golkonda and another numbering 8,000 was to seize Junnar, Poona, Chakan and Konkan territories which were being administered by Shahji. Abdulla Qutb Shah of Golkonda was too timid to think of a stiff resistance. He promised to pay an annual tribute of 8 *lakhs* and recognised the Mughal Emperor as his suzerain The Sultan of Bijapur, however, offered opposition. The Mughal armies entered into his territory and advanced, burning and devastating. Internal disturbances also distracted the Bijapur State. In May, 1636, the Sultan of Bijapur agreed to a compromise. By the terms of the treaty Adil Shah recognised Mughal overlordship and promised to respect the boundary of the State of Golkonda as also to pay an indemnity of 20 *lakhs* of rupees ; but no annual tribute was to be paid. He got a portion of Ahmadnagar territory including the Poona district and North Konkan, yielding a revenue of 80 *lakhs* of rupees. The rest of Ahmadnagar territory was annexed to the Mughal

Empire. Shahji was hemmed in by the Mughals and their allies—the Bijapuris, and at Mahuli in North Konkan he had to make a complete surrender. He gave up the puppet Nizam Shah and all the forts and territories occupied by him. He was allowed to retain a small *jagir* in the Poona district which he held as a vassal of Bijapur.

DECCAN AFFAIRS : AURANGZEB AS VICEROY (1636-44, 1652-57)

The affairs of the Deccan were thus settled ; the Mughal boundary as also the boundary of the Sultanates of Bijapur and Golkonda were clearly demarcated. In July, 1636, Shah Jahan returned to Northern India, leaving his third son Aurangzeb as the viceroy of the Deccan[1] with the seat of his government at Aurangabad. This town, originally founded by Malik Ambar at the village of Kharki, was named after Aurangzeb, who from his seat there administered the four provinces of which the Mughal portion of the Deccan was then composed. In 1638 the young viceroy sent an army to conquer Baglana, a small Kingdom on the main route from the Deccan to Gujarat, which was easily taken. Aurangzeb's first viceroyalty ended very suddenly in his disgrace and dismissal in 1644. Restored to power in 1645, he was sent to Gujarat and thence to Balkh and Badakhshan. In the Deccan there was a succession of short and incompetent viceroyalties. Aurangzeb was re-appointed in 1652. Fortunately for the Mughals, nothing happened to disturb peace in the Deccan during the period 1644-52.

When Aurangzeb came to the Deccan for the second time in 1652 as its *Subahdar,* he found that the country had been very badly administered, the revenue had fallen off and the cultivated area had decreased. With the unsubdued States of Bijapur and Golkonda across the frontier, it was necessary to keep a large force in the Deccan. The income did not balance the expenditure and the young viceroy had to ask his father frequently for a subvention. This often led to a financial wrangle between the father and the son. Aurangzeb, however, fortunately found a revenue officer of rare ability in Murshid Quli Khan who made his administration memorable in the land

[1] At this time Mughal Deccan consisted of four provinces : (1) Khandesh, (2) Berar, (3) Telingana, (4) Ahmadnagar.

revenue history of the Deccan. Murshid Quli Khan was an emigrant from Khurasan. As Aurangzeb's *Dewan* in the Deccan he was responsible for extending Todar Mal's revenue system to the South. But he modified Todar Mal's system to suit local conditions ; in backward areas he did not insist on survey and assessment but recognised the old usage of fixed lump payment per plough or the method of sharing the actual produce. Murshid Quli's assessment was lenient. He re-peopled deserted villages and restored normal life. To reorganise ruined villages, capital was advanced when required.

Not content with success as an administrator in the Deccan, Aurangzeb was also eager to pursue a policy of aggression against the Sultanates of Bijapur and Golkonda. He wanted to secure for himself and his supporters the immense riches and resources of these two States. Golkonda was very fertile, its capital Hyderabad was the centre of the world's diamond trade, and its monarch Qutb Shah was rich, weak and worthless. The Bijapur monarch, Muhamad Adil Shah (1626-56), ruled over a Kingdom that stretched from the Arabian Sea to the Bay of Bengal across the entire Indian Peninsula. He died in 1656 and the succession of Ali Adil Shah II, a young man of eighteen, was followed by disorder, of which the ambitious Mughal viceroy was anxious to take full advantage.

AURANGZEB AS VICEROY : WAR WITH GOLKONDA (1656)

With Golkonda Aurangzeb had frequent causes to quarrel. The annual tribute was in terms of *hun*, a gold coin of South India whose exchange value rose from Rs. 4/- to Rs. 5/-. But Qutb Shah wanted to pay tribute at the old rate. He made extensive conquests in Karnatak (*i.e.*, country south of the Krishna). The Mughal viceroy complained that this was done without the permission of his suzerain, the Mughal Emperor. Finally, the affair of Mir Jumla precipitated a war in 1656.

Muhammad Said, famous in history as 'Mir Jumla' (an official title of the Golkonda State), was a Sayyid of Ardistan in Persia. The son of an oil merchant of Isfahan, this Shia adventurer sought a career as a merchant in the Shia State of Golkonda and rose to be the prime minister of the State.

He became perhaps the richest man in the South, the owner of twenty maunds of diamonds. With an excellent park of artillery manned by European gunners and effective—almost independent—authority over the Golkonda portion of Karnatak where he had secured an extensive domain, he overshadowed his own very incompetent sovereign Abdulla Qutb Shah. A rupture between the two was inevitable, and Mir Jumla's son, Muhammad Amin, by his defiant conduct at the *Darbar* precipitated it. He was thrown into prison in November, 1655. This was Aurangzeb's opportunity. Mir Jumla was already negotiating to enter the Mughal service. He and his son were appointed in Mughal service and an order was issued to this effect. Qutb Shah disregarded this order. On hearing of the captivity of Muhammed Amin, Shah Jahan issued a peremptory order for the release of Mir Jumla's family, and in case Muhammad Amin was still detained, he sanctioned the invasion of Golkonda. Already intent upon declaring war, Aurangzeb very adroitly used this conditional permission to achieve his purpose. He did not give Qutb Shah any opportunity to obey this peremptory order and treated his non-compliance with the earlier order as a sufficient cause of war. Golkonda was invaded in February, 1656. Thus this war was not so much due to Shah Jahan as to Aurangzeb, and it would be wrong to regard this as the culmination of the policy pursued by Shah Jahan. It was pre-eminently the outcome of viceregal rather than imperial aggression, a forerunner of the policy to be pursued if the viceroy of the Deccan succeeded in becoming the Emperor of India.

The Golkonda campaign was short and swift. Prince Muhammad Sultan, Aurangzeb's eldest son, entered Hyderabad. Qutb Shah fled to Golkonda, which was besieged by Aurangzeb in person. The siege progressed slowly. Aurangzeb refused to make terms, arguing in his letters to his father in favour of annexation. But Qutb Shah's agent at Delhi succeeded in winning over Dara Shukoh, the eldest son of Shah Jahan, from whom the Emperor learnt the story of Aurangzeb's manœuvre. The Emperor was indignant and issued peremptory orders to raise the siege. Peace was concluded on 30th March, 1656. The Sultan of Golkonda paid a war indemnity as also arrears of tribute amounting to a *crore* of rupees, and ceded a district.

Mir Jumla came to Aurangzeb's camp and was thence summoned to Delhi, where he was appointed prime minister in the place of Sadulla Khan who had died recently. There was still one subject of discord with Golkonda. Qutb Shah regarded what was known as Hyderabadi Karnatak as his own. The Mughals considered it as Mir Jumla's *jagir*.

AURANGZEB AS VICEROY: WAR WITH BIJAPUR (1657)

With Mir Jumla at Delhi the policy of aggression was triumphant there. Muhammad Adil Shah of Bijapur died in November, 1656, and was succeeded by his young son, Ali Adil Shah II. Aurangzeb falsely represented to his father that Ali Adil Shah II was not really a son of the deceased Bijapur monarch but a lad of obscure parentage, brought up in the royal *harem*. Shah Jahan sanctioned invasion, granting Aurangzeb permission to 'settle the affairs of Bijapur as he thought fit'. Bidar fell, Kalyani capitulated, and the way to Bijapur was open. The Sultan opened negotiations at the Imperial court, and Dara intervened on his behalf. Shah Jahan ordered Aurangzeb to make peace on the cession of the forts of Bidar, Kalyani and Parenda and the payment of a war indemnity of one *crore* of rupees. Soon afterwards Shah Jahan fell ill, and in anticipation of an impending chaos in Mughal affairs the Bijapuris refused to surrender Parenda.

CENTRAL ASIAN POLICY[1]

Balkh and Badakhshan were regarded as the heritage of Babur, and lay on the way to Samarqand, the capital of Timur and the scene of Babur's early triumphs and vicissitudes. The Mughal Emperors were so long preoccupied with their wars and conquests in Northern India and the Deccan. After the settlement of affairs in the Deccan in 1636, Shah Jahan felt that he was free to try to win the heritage of Babur. Nazar Muhammad, the incompetent ruler of Balkh and Badakhshan, mismanaged the affairs of his state; rebellions broke out everywhere. Even

[1] In Russian chronicles there is reference to an envoy sent by Babur to Moscow. During the years 1613-1645 Indian traders settled on the Volga. In 1625 an Indian *serai* was built in Astrakhan. In 1695 a Russian trade agent visited India. (Nehru, *Discovery of India*, p. 308).

his son Abdul Aziz was up in arms against him. Fearful of his security, he invited Shah Jahan to help him. A Mughal army advanced under Prince Murad in 1646 to take advantage of this turmoil. Badakhshan and Balkh were occupied. Nazar Muhammad in consternation started for Isfahan. But Murad was anxious to leave the dull and uncongenial land of Central Asia ; he actually returned, leaving his army leaderless there. Aurangzeb was then sent with Ali Mardan Khan, the Persian who had surrendered Qandahar.

Abdul Aziz continued opposition to Mughal conquest and consolidation. The Mughals found it impossible to control the elusive Uzbegs who crossed the vulnerable line of the Oxus and attacked or sacked Mughal outposts. The Emperor at last decided to abandon Balkh ; the fort was handed over to Nazar Muhammad's agents in October, 1647. The main reasons for the failure of the Balkh expedition were that the Mughal nobles did not like the idea of serving in that distant and inhospitable region. They had become too much accustomed to a life of luxurious dalliance to find grim Central Asia suitable to their taste. They have been described as "pale persons in muslin petticoats." Moreover, they could not secure the sympathies of the local people. The expedition cost the Indian treasury 4 *crores* of rupees, but not an inch of territory was gained.

RELATIONS WITH PERSIA

In 1629 Shah Abbas I of Persia died, Shah Safi succeeding. Safdar Khan, the Mughal envoy to Persia, informed his master that Persia was exposed to Turkish attacks as also to the incursions of the Uzbegs and the Astrakhans. Another envoy was sent to Persia to ascertain the truth of these reports, ostensibly to assure the Shah of the friendly attitude of the Delhi Empire. Ali Mardan Khan, the Persian governor of Qandahar, had his differences with his sovereign. He was persuaded to surrender Qandahar to the Mughals, and was given a very high rank in the Mughal peerage. The Persians tried to recover it, but were repulsed. Fortunately for the Mughals, Shah Safi was busy campaigning against Murad IV, "the fighting Sultan of Turkey", and when peace was concluded between Persia and Turkey, the Mughal position in Qandahar was already consolidated.

Shah Safi died in 1642. Abbas II, who succeeded, was a mere boy and there were troubles almost inevitable during a regency. The Mughal failure in the Balkh-Badakhshan campaign, however, lowered Mughal prestige and encouraged Persia. When Shah Abbas II came of age he made his preparations in great secrecy. Qandahar was invested by the Persians in December, 1648, and occupied in February, 1649. The failure of the Mughals was due to lack of vigilance as also delay in sending a relieving force.

But Mughal prestige demanded that Qandahar must be won back. The first expedition under Aurangzeb and Sadulla Khan with 50,000 troops arrived in May, 1649. The fort was completely invested, but the lack of large cannon made it impossible to make any impression on the fort. Though in a pitched battle 24 miles south-west of Qandahar the Mughals signally defeated a Persian army, they had to raise the siege. The Persian artillery was much better than that of the Mughals and the Persian commander, Mihrab Khan, was an exceptionally able man.

A second attempt was made in 1652 by Aurangzeb and Sadulla Khan. The incidents of the first siege were repeated. The Indian gunners could make no impression on the fort walls. The siege had again to be abandoned. A third attempt was made in April, 1653, under the leadership of Dara Shukoh. He had some success in the preliminary operations, but in the end he had to confess his failure. Mughal inferiority in fire arms was mainly responsible for this humiliating failure to re-occupy Qandahar. These three sieges cost more than 10 *crores* of rupees ; their failure ruined Mughal prestige and enhanced proportionately the military prestige of Persia. "For years afterwards the Persian peril hung like a dark cloud on the western frontier of India".

WAR OF SUCCESSION (1657-1660)

On September 6, 1657, Shah Jahan suddenly fell ill. A struggle for the succession was a rule rather than an exception in Timurid history. But the war that now began was more sanguinary than the succession troubles in the previous reigns because the contestants were now almost equally poised, 'each

of them having a princely train'. Dara, the eldest of Shah Jahan's sons, held the viceroyalties of Allahabad, the Punjab and Multan, which he governed through deputies. He was a commander of 40,000 horse and held an almost royal position as his father's chosen successor. Because of Shah Jahan's excessive fondness for him "he never acquired experience in the arts of war and government; he never learnt to judge men by the crucial test of danger and difficulty; and he lost touch with the active army". Shuja, the second son of Shah Jahan, was for seventeen years Governor of Bengal. Indolent by nature, but capable of great energy on occasions, he was incapable of any sustained effort. The third son, Aurangzeb, was the fittest of the brothers in this struggle for survival. Cold, calculating, adept in intrigue and trained in the school of experience, he was recognised by the courtiers as the ablest of Shah Jahan's sons, as the man most likely to emerge triumphant. The impetuous, pleasure-seeking, foolish Murad, the youngest of the brothers, was the Governor of Gujarat; with all his reckless valour he was no match for the deep artifice of Aurangzeb, with whom he formed an alliance at the very beginning of the contest.

At the beginning, on receiving the news of Shah Jahan's illness, the three brothers combined against Dara. With Murad Aurangzeb was in a position to act in concert. Shuja was at a great distance and it was not possible to co-operate with him directly. There was an agreement to meet near Agra. The ostensible object of this understanding among the three brothers was to free the Emperor from the yoke of Dara. Meanwhile Dara had begun to strengthen his position. He transacted all public business in the Emperor's name. Orders were issued to Mir Jumla and other nobles who were in the Deccan to return to North India. A reshuffling of the provinces was projected.

Shah Jahan sufficiently recovered by the middle of November, 1657. Events, however, moved very fast. Murad crowned himself at Ahmadabad in December; Shuja also proclaimed himself Emperor in Bengal. Aurangzeb, having completed his preparations and being joined by Mir Jumla with his excellent park of artillery, set out from Burhanpur in March, 1658. He

crossed the Narbada in April and was joined by Murad near Ujjain. Aurangzeb had already entered into a solemn treaty with Murad that, in case of success, the latter would get the Punjab, Afghanistan, Kashmir and Sind and reign over this region as an independent King.

The first battle of this civil war was fought at Bahadurpur, near Benares, on February 14, 1658. Here Shuja was defeated by Dara's army, led by his son, Sulaiman Shukoh, and Raja Jai Singh of Amber. Raja Jaswant Singh of Jodhpur and Qasim Khan were sent to oppose the advance of Aurangzeb and Murad. The hostile armies met at Dharmat, near Ujjain, on April 15, 1558. The Imperial army numbered over 35,000, exactly equalling in strength the army under the two brothers. But there was no unity in the Imperial camp—Qasim Khan rendered no assistance to Jaswant Singh—and the valiant Raja of Marwar was not a good leader. Aurangzeb secured a decisive victory, which was naturally regarded as a good omen by his supporters. "At one blow he had brought Dara from a position of immense superiority to one of equality with his own or even lower."

The most decisive battle of the war was, however, fought at Samugarh, near Agra. After his victory at Dharmat Aurangzeb crossed the Chambal and met an Imperial army under Dara himself. In the battle (29th May, 1658) the Imperialists numbered 50,000. But excepting the Rajput contingent and Dara's own troops the rest were unreliable, and Khalilullah Khan, one of the leading Amirs, had already been corrupted by Aurangzeb. No victory was perhaps more complete and no defeat was perhaps more disastrous. Ten thousand supporters of Dara fell in this fight and among the slain were Imperial commandants of highest rank—nine Rajputs and nineteen Muslim chiefs are mentioned by name. This battle really decided the war of succession.

The rest of the story is soon told. After the battle of Samugarh Dara fled to the Punjab. Aurangzeb entered Agra and the long captivity of Shah Jahan began in June, 1658. In the same month Murad was imprisoned by Aurangzeb; he lingered in the fort at Gwalior until December, 1661, when he was beheaded. After Murad's imprisonment Aurangzeb pro-

ceeded to crush Dara. Dara for sometime tried to hold the line of the Beas, but Aurangzeb successfully sowed dissension in his army. The unfortunate Prince abandoned Lahore, fled to Multan and thence to Sind, and then entered Gujarat. He wanted to make a dash towards Agra on learning that Shuja had advanced beyond Allahabad. On the way he received an invitation from Jaswant Singh who promised to join him with the Rathors. But Aurangzeb completely defeated Shuja at Khajwa on January 5, 1659, and by means of mingled threats of invasion and hopes of promotion won over Jaswant Singh with the help of Mirza Raja Jai Singh of Amber. Deserted by the Rajputs, Dara decided to hold the pass of Deorai. It was a hotly contested engagement, and Aurangzeb owed his success largely to Raja Rajrup of the Jammu hills and his people who were expert in mountaineering and who by a secret movement turned Dara's left rear (March, 1659). After this defeat Dara fled to Ahmadabad and then retreated to Sind with a view to fly to Persia by way of Qandahar. Malik Jiwan, a Baluchi chief of Dadar (near the Bolan Pass), whose life he had once saved, was approached for shelter, for Dara counted on his fidelity. But the ungrateful chief treacherously arrested Dara and handed him over to the imperialists. Dara was put to death on the 30th August, 1659.

Shuja, defeated at the very beginning of the civil war by Dara's army at Bahadurpur, was defeated again by Aurangzeb at Khajwa. He was then closely pursued by Muhammad Sultan, Aurangzeb's eldest son, and Mir Jumla. Shuja, however, secretly won the Prince over, and offered him the hand of his daughter Gulrukh Begam. The war continued in Bengal, Mir Jumla leading the Delhi army. Mir Jumla's strength continued to increase. Tanda, Shuja's head-quarters, was threatened. Shuja had to abandon Bengal ; in May, 1660, he fled to Arakan with only 40 followers. According to a Dutch report, he was slain there by the Maghs in 1661.

Prince Muhammad Sultan had in course of the Bengal campaign rejoined the Imperial side. He was destined to pass the rest of his life in prison. Dara's eldest son, Prince Sulaiman Shukoh, had fled to the Raja of Srinagar in Garhwal in 1658. He was captured in 1660 and killed by slow poisoning in the

fort of Gwalior in 1662. Shah Jahan remained closely confined in the Agra fort until January 22, 1666, when he died a natural death. Aurangzeb's treatment of his father 'outraged not only the moral sense but also the social decorum of the age'.

ESTIMATE OF SHAH JAHAN

Shah Jahan was neither a great man nor a great ruler, but on the whole he had a successful career which was brought to an inglorious end by the civil war of 1657-60. As an administrator he enjoyed a well-deserved reputation for justice and clemency. He did much to alleviate the sufferings of the people during the terrible famines which devastated the Deccan and Gujarat in 1630-32. He was, however, probably unconscious of the fundamental defects in the administration and economic systems of his Empire. Bernier says that the oppression of the Provincial Governors 'often deprived the peasant and artisan of the necessaries of life'. The costly bureaucracy and the army imposed a heavy burden on the people, which was further increased by the splendid monuments erected by Shah Jahan. While the resources of the tax-payer were being systematically drained, the army was steadily losing its efficiency and prestige. The failure of the Mughal army in Central Asia and in Qandahar revealed disquieting symptoms of weakness which came into prominence in the eighteenth century.

In religion Shah Jahan's reign marks the beginning of that reaction which reached its climax under Aurangzeb. He revived the pilgrim tax, stopped the construction of temples, and encouraged conversion to Islam. Probably his intolerance was curbed to some extent by the liberalism of his favourite son Dara. He was a devoted husband and a loving father, and the aspersions cast on his character by some European travellers are probably baseless.

ADMINISTRATION OF JAHANGIR AND SHAH JAHAN

Smith gives the following estimate of Jahangir's administration: "The administration was not good. Every Governor could do much as he pleased and ruthless severity was relied on for the repression of crime". He also dismisses the evidence of Manucci, the Italian traveller, that Shah Jahan governed his

Empire 'most perfectly' and relies upon Bernier's testimony to assert that the country was misgoverned. There is little doubt that Jahangir's laxity was responsible for considerable inefficiency in the *Mansabdari* organisation, but Shah Jahan, capable and masterful, was responsible for a drastic reorganisation.[1] In the words of Moreland, though the quality of administration varied from place to place, its framework was substantially identical and there was uniformity rather than diversity.

In one respect, however, a departure from Akbar's system is visible. In the matter of land revenue "orders issued in the eighth year of Aurangzeb's reign show that the assessors proposed each year a lump sum and applied Akbar's method of land revenue collection only when a village or a larger area refused. The village as a whole became more directly subject to the assessors and the individual peasants to the stronger men among them. There was increase of pressure on the assessors and land-revenue met the increased demand of the State . . . . his successors insisted on the largest possible area of cultivation and raised the standard of the State's demand from one-third of the gross produce to one-half."

The greatest check on officials and assignees was the fear of the displeasure of the Emperor, and every body was anxious to avoid a scandal at the court. In the days of Jahangir, and more emphatically in the days of Shah Jahan, monarchical supervision was a factor to reckon with in administration. Shah Jahan was a kind and wise master, with a very respectable number of able officers around him. There are many instances in which he dismissed harsh and exacting governors on the complaint of the people. There was another check on official tyranny. What is forgotten is that in those days it was not so much the individual as the community that counted. Communal pressure on the revenue officers is still a part of the traditions of the country. "In 1616, an officer employed in the customs house at Surat did some violence to a leading Hindu merchant wherupon the whole multitude assembled, shut up their shops and after a general complaint to the Governor left the city, pretending to go to the court for justice but with

[1] See pp. 356-357.

much fair usage and fairer promises were fetched back". There were many such instances. Besides the strong communal pressure we should also keep in mind the fact that there was a system of credit extending over a wide area which was independent of political limits and which served as a check on individual whims and caprices.

The great bulk of the revenue continued to be assigned to officers in the Mughal State service. William Hawkins, the first Englishman who held an assignment, gives us an idea that assignments were characterised by instability. A new practice was introduced in the reign of Jahangir—the practice of making an *Altamgha* grant, which could be annulled only by the authority of the Emperor and could not be resumed or varied like other assignments in the ordinary course of administration. When Shah Jahan reorganised the finances of the Empire he made arrangements that sufficient areas should be reserved for the treasury. The practice of assignment continued throughout the reign of Aurangzeb but towards the end the practice of farming the land revenue replaced assignments, when the Emperor could no longer guarantee the peaceful enjoyment of the assignment.

FOR FURTHER STUDY

Beni Prasad, *Jahangir.*
B. P. Saksena, *Shah Jahan.*
Ibn Hasan, *The Central Structure of the Mughal Empire.*
P. Saran, *Provincial Government of the Mughals.*
Moreland, *From Akbar to Aurangzeb.*

CHAPTER XIX

AURANGZEB

SECTION I

THE FIRST HALF OF THE REIGN

The victor of Dharmat, Samugarh, Deorai and Khajwa was formally enthroned in June, 1659, and assumed the title of 'Alamgir'. His reign is divided into two almost equal parts, the first (1658-1681) of which was passed in Northern India and the second (1682-1707) in the Deccan. During the first half of the reign the centre of interest was in the North where the most important events happened. The north-eastern frontier, the north-western frontier and Rajputana were the scenes of Mughal military activity in Northern India. In the South Shivaji was during this period welding the Marathas into a nation in defiance of Mughal authority, though he was not formally crowned as an independent monarch until 1674. He kept the Mughals busy in the South during this period. During the second half Northern India was so much neglected that it became a place of secondary importance and the Emperor with his court, soldiers and best officers lived in the South where momentous events happened.

THE NORTH-EASTERN FRONTIER

Mir Jumla was appointed viceroy of Bengal with orders to "punish the lawless zamindars of the province, especially those of Assam and Magh (Arracan)." The Mughal frontier had been pushed in 1612 to Goalpara and Kamrup in Western Assam, a Mughal *Faujdar* being stationed at Gauhati ; but the Ahoms had violated this frontier, and the Raja of Cooch Bihar had also defied Mughal authority. Starting from Dacca in 1661 Mir Jumla annexed Cooch Bihar and entered Assam. In March, 1662, the invading army reached Garhgaon, the Ahom capital ; the spoils taken were enormous. The Ahom King, Jayadhwaj Singh, being put to flight, the Mughal fleet completely anni-

hilated Ahom naval power. But the rainy season enabled the Ahoms to attack the isolated Mughal outposts. Supplies failed, communications between the army and the navy were cut off by the Ahoms, and an epidemic broke out in the Mughal camps. When the rainy season was over, Mir Jumla resumed the offensive and successfully won over some of the lieutenants of the Ahom King ; but he fell seriously ill, the Mughal army itself now got almost out of control. A treaty was concluded on nominally favourable terms, the Ahom King agreeing to pay a heavy war indemnity and an annual tribute and to cede some districts. Mir Jumla died on his way to Dacca in March, 1663. The districts ceded by the Ahom King were soon after lost to the Mughals, and even Gauhati was wrested from them four years after Mir Jumla's death. A long desultory warfare began between the Mughals and the Ahoms, which was, however, fruitless for the Mughals. The ruler of Cooch Bihar, who had recovered his dominion, was, however, compelled to cede Rangpur and western Kamrup.

Shaista Khan, Mir Jumla's successor in the Viceroyalty of Bengal, conquered Chatgaon (Chittagong) from the King of Arakan in 1666. The Arakanese were worsted in naval combats and Chatgaon was made the seat of a Mughal *Faujdar*. Shaista Khan also captured the island of Sandwip in the Bay of Bengal.

THE NORTH-WESTERN FRONTIER

The Pathan clans living in the villages leading from India to Afghanistan and in the hills around rendered unwilling allegiance to the Mughals and were always ready to take advantage of a weak governor or a foreign war to raise commotions. The Mughal Government practically recognised the right of these hillmen,—the Afridis, the Yusufzais, the Khattaks and others,—to levy toll on the traffic between India and Kabul ; but tribal risings were nonetheless quite frequent.

In 1667 the Yusufzais suddenly revolted, rushed down in large numbers, devastated Chuch and cut off communications between Delhi and Kabul, as also between Kabul and Kashmir. The Mughal general Muhammad Amin Khan, however, succeeded in quieting them by hard blows. In 1671 Jaswant Singh

of Jodhpur was placed in charge of the important outpost of Jamrud.

There was a rising of the Afridis and the Khattaks in 1672. The Afridi leader Acmal Khan defeated Muhammad Amin Khan, Governor of Kabul, at Ali Masjid. Muhammad Amin Khan escaped to Peshawar, but ten thousand Mughal soldiers were killed and twenty thousand made captive and the Afridis secured immense booty. The news of the victory resounded far and wide. The Khattak clan, led by the poet chief Khushal Khan, joined the Afridis and the movement was fast becoming a Pathan national uprising against the Mughals. Shujaet Khan was appointed by the Emperor to quell the rebels. Jaswant Singh was to co-operate with him. Shujaet Khan, who had risen from humble origin to high rank through the Emperor's favour, despised the advice of Jaswant Singh and was slain at the Karapa pass. To restore imperial prestige Aurangzeb himself came to Hasan Abdal in June, 1674, and stayed there for more than a year directing operations. Now Imperial diplomacy became as active as Imperial arms. Inspite of reverses the situation was sufficiently retrieved by the end of the year 1675 and the Emperor returned to Delhi. He found a very able and astute Governor in Amir Khan, who conciliated the Afghan chiefs, set clan against clan, broke up the confederacy under Acmal, bribed profusely and kept the passes open to traffic. But Khushal Khan Khattak, the warrior, poet and patriot, kept the flag of Pathan freedom flying until his own son betrayed him and he was imprisoned in the fort of Gwalior.

The Afghan war had far-reaching consequences on Aurangzeb's policy. It was ruinous to Imperial finances. Its political effect was even more harmful. It "made the employment of Afghans in the ensuing Rajput war imposible. Moreover, it relieved the pressure on Shivaji by draining the Deccan of the best Mughal troops for service on the North-Western frontier". Thus the Afghans indirectly, contributed to the success of the Rajputs and the Marathas.

RELIGIOUS POLICY

Aurangzeb changed completely the character of the Mughal State as it existed under his predecessors. He wanted to make

it an orthodox Sunni State, although the vast majority of its population consisted of Hindus. He deliberately pursued the policy of converting *dar-ul-harb* (non-Muslim country) into *dar-ul-Islam* (realm of Islam). The administrative measures adopted by him in pursuance of this policy were well calculated to alienate the sympathies of his Hindu subjects all over India. In 1665 an ordinance was issued fixing the customs duty at 2½ per cent. on the Muslim and 5 per cent. on the Hindu traders. In 1667 the customs duty on the Muslims was abolished while that on the Hindus remained. In 1669 he issued a general order to Provincial Governors 'to demolish all the schools and temples of infidels'. In 1671 an ordinance was issued that clerks and accountants must be Muslims, but as it was found impossible to run the administration without Hindu assistance, it was ordered that half the *peshkars* should be Hindu and half Muslim. The *Jeziyah*, abolished by Akbar, was re-imposed in all parts of the Empire in April, 1679, 'to spread Islam and put down the practice of infidelity'. This tax yielded a very large sum. In the province of Gujarat it yielded five *lakhs* of rupees a year. In 1695 all Hindus, with the exception of the Rajputs, were forbidden to ride *palkis*, elephants and thoroughbred horses and to carry arms.

Religious orthodoxy is seldom statesmanship. The re-imposition of the *Jeziyah* must be considered as more disastrous to the Mughal State than was the revocation of the Edict of Nantes to the Monarchy of Louis XIV. Shivaji's protest against the *Jeziyah* was recorded in a well-reasoned and spirited letter. Raj Singh's protest shaped into a Rathor-Guhilot coalition against the Mughal Empire. The *Jeziyah* was abolished by Farrukh Siyar in 1713, but it was re-imposed again in 1717; it was, however, not continued by Muhammad Shah, who considered it impolitic to offend his Hindu supporters. Thus this phase of intolerance did not long outlive the Emperor with whose name it remains associated. But Jat, Bundela, Maratha, Rajput and Sikh opposition could not have been so vigorous—and in some cases there would have been support instead of opposition—but for this abandonment of a policy which Akbar had embodied in the Mughal tradition.

The Hindus were not the only victims of Aurangzeb's orthodoxy. The Shias were alienated by his Sunni intolerance,

and the Bohras and the Khojas were persecuted. They could not, however, attempt the foundation of anti-polity as did the Jats, the Bundelas, the Marathas, the Rajputs and the Sikhs.

HINDU RISINGS

In 1669 the Jats of the Mathura region rose under the leadership of a zamindar named Gokla and killed the Mughal *Faujdar*. They were cruelly suppressed; Gokla was put to death and his family was converted to Islam. The Jats rose again in 1686 under the leadership of Raja Ram, who was defeated and killed some years later. Then the Jats found an abler leader named Churaman, who organised a formidable rebellion after Aurangzeb's death.

Aurangzeb's policy of temple destruction led to a Bundela rising. The Bundelas were a Rajput clan settled in the tract which derived its name (*i.e.*, Bundelkhand) from them. Bir Singh Bundela revolted against Akbar towards the close of his reign. Champat Rai rose against Aurangzeb in the early part of his reign; he escaped capture by committing suicide. His son, Chhatrasal, entered the Emperor's service and served under Jai Singh in the Deccan, where he found inspiration in Shivaji's heroic struggle for liberty and faith. In 1671 he became the leader of the discontented Hindu population of Bundelkhand. The opposition of the Bundelas to Mughal authority became a feature of local history for half a century till the Bundelas and the Marathas became allies. Before his death in 1731 Chhatrasal was able to carve out an independent principality for himself in Malwa.

The Satnamis, a peaceful Hindu sect living in the modern Patiala and Alwar States, rose in 1672. They were easily crushed by a large Mughal force.

Teg Bahadur, the ninth Guru of the Sikhs, was executed on a warrant from the Emperor in 1675. A ring dance of repression and revenge became as a consequence a feature of Sikh history, and Guru Gobind Singh, son and successor of Teg Bahadur, brought into existence the militant *Khalsa*, stamping on the hearts of his disciples an intense longing to be liberated from Mughal rule.

WAR IN RAJPUTANA (1679-1708)

Maharaja Jaswant Singh of Marwar died at Jamrud in December, 1678. Aurangzeb decided to seize his Kingdom, though two of Jaswant's widows gave birth to two posthumous sons at Lahore in February, 1679. Mughal troops poured into Marwar, and as the State of Marwar was without a head, no resistance could be offered to the policy of annexation. Indra Singh Rathor of Nagor, a grand-nephew of Jaswant Singh, was recognised as the dependent Raja of Jodhpur, the Mughal administrators and Mughal troops remaining in possession of the country.

Marwar is a desert land but through it lay the best trade route from the Imperial capital to the rich city of Ahmadabad and the busy port of Cambay. Its possession would drive a wedge between two halves of Rajputana and the Rana of Mewar would be taken in the flank. If it became a quiet dependency, Hindu resistance to the policy of persecution which Aurangzeb henceforth intended to pursue would be weakened.

One of the posthumous sons of Jaswant Singh survived. He was named Ajit Singh. He was brought to Delhi and his claims were urged before the Emperor, who, however, ordered that the boy should be brought up in the Mughal *harem* and, when grown up, given a rank in the Mughal peerage. Faced with danger of extinction, Rathor chivalry found its leader in Durgadas, who became the champion of an almost hopeless cause and led Rathor opposition to Mughal injustice to a triumphant success. The Emperor sent a strong force to seize Ajit Singh and Jaswant Singh's widows. The Rathors desperately resisted, and taking advantage of the confusion Durgadas slipped out with Ajit and the Ranis in male attire. While the Rathors at Delhi continued the fight Durgadas rode post haste. Another small band of Rathors maintained a desperate rear-guard action ; the worn out Mughals gave up the pursuit and Durgadas with Ajit Singh reached Jodhpur (July, 1679). Aurangzeb now declared a milkman's son as Ajit Singh, dethroned Indra Singh and determined to reconquer Marwar. He himself came to Ajmer and sent his son Muhammad Akbar ahead with the Mughal army. The Rathors, after fighting one

pitched battle in which they were overwhelmed, maintained a guerilla warfare from the hills and desert. The whole country of Marwar was occupied by the Mughals and placed under *Faujdars* stationed at convenient places. "The emblems of religion were trampled under foot, the temples thrown down, and mosques erected on their sites".

On the 2nd April, 1679, the *Jeziyah*, abolished by Akbar, was reimposed on the Hindus. Maharana Raj Singh of Mewar was asked to enforce it ; naturally he felt offended. The mother of Ajit Singh was a Mewar princess ; she sent an appeal to the Maharana for help against the Mughals. Raj Singh prepared for war. But the Emperor anticipated him and invaded Mewar. The Maharana abandoned the low country and even Udaipur, the capital, and retired with all his people to the hills. Udaipur and Chitor were occupied by the Mughals and more than 200 temples were detroyed. But the Mughal positions in Mewar and Marwar were isolated from each other by the Aravalli Range whose crest was occupied by the Rana, and he descended east or west as he pleased and dealt his blows. Prince Akbar was more than once defeated in surprise attacks. The Mughal army practically became motionless through fear. The Emperor in anger removed him to Marwar and placed Prince Azam in charge of the Mewar campaign. The Rathors troubled the Emperor no less than the Udaipur clansmen.

Akbar now joined the rebel Rajputs ; he deposed his father by proclamation and crowned himself Emperor in January, 1681. The diplomacy of Maharana Raj Singh was responsible for this defection of Akbar. But the Maharana himself had died in October, 1680. His successor, Jai Singh, was for sometime inactive and this was responsible for the delay in proclaiming Akbar's decision. However, in January, 1681, Akbar began his march on Ajmer where the Emperor was then staying. If he had made a dash Akbar might have realised his ambition. But he dallied and tarried on the way and the strength of the Emperor was in the interval more than doubled. Tahawwar Khan, Akbar's right hand man, was murdered. Then a false letter (prepared by Aurangzeb) praising Akbar for bringing the unsuspecting Rajputs for slaughter by the Imperialists fell as designed into the hands of Durgadas ; the Rajputs suspected treachery on the part of Akbar, and galloped off.

The confederacy was thus dissolved and Akbar had to fly as hurriedly as he could for dear life. Durgadas discovering the fraud took Akbar under his protection and escorted him to the court of the Maratha King Sambhuji, successor of Shivaji. Taking advantage of the dislocation of the Mughal plan of war caused by the rebellion of Akbar, the troops of Jai Singh ravaged Gujarat and Malwa. But the Maharana was already worn out. In June, 1681, he concluded peace by ceding three *parganas* in lieu of *Jeziyah*. The Mughals withdrew from Mewar and the Rana was restored to his position.

With Marwar, however, the fight continued, the Rathors anticipating the Maratha method of fighting, their hovering and harassing tactics. This truceless war went on until a year after Aurangzeb's death, when Bahadur Shah recognised Ajit Singh as the ruler of Marwar. Sir J. N. Sarkar comments, "In the height of political unwisdom, Aurangzeb wantonly provoked rebellion in Rajputana, while the Afghans on the frontier were still far from being pacified. With the two leading Rajput clans openly hostile to him, the army lost its finest and most loyal recruits. Nor was the trouble confined to Marwar and Mewar. It spread by sympathy among the Hada and Gaur clans. The elements of lawlessness thus set moving overflowed fitfully into Malwa and endangered the vitally important Mughal road through Malwa to the Deccan."

SECTION II

SHIVAJI AND THE RISE OF THE MARATHAS

Shivaji, the founder of the Maratha power which was more than any other responsible for the dismemberment of the Mughal Empire, was the second son of Shahji Bhonsle[1] who had sought like Malik Ambar to stem the tide of Mughal advance in the Deccan but failed. The father worked as the champion of a decadent Monarchy. The son, a born leader, drew the best elements of the country to his side, welded the Marathas into a nation and breathed a new spirit into his people ; so what he built lasted long. His success was due to

[1] See pp. 375-376.

his constructive genius and the new spirit which he brought into existence. It was not due merely to the incompetence of his enemies.

THE MARATHA COUNTRY AND PEOPLE

The Maratha country, the home of the Maratha people, is almost locked among hills. Great mountain ranges enclose it on two sides—the Sahyadri Range running from north to south and the Satpura and Vindhya Ranges from east to west. Minor ranges creek out from these parent chains. The country comprises three regional divisions—*Konkan,* a narrow strip of land between the Western Ghats (Sahyadri) and the sea ; *Maval,* a belt of land 20 miles in breadth, to the east of the Ghats, extremely rugged ; *Desh,* further to the east, a vast rolling blacksoil plain. The hilltops constituted natural fortresses, well provided with water. The people were simple, active, self-reliant.

After the Muslim conquest of the Deccan many Maratha chiefs rose to distinction as leaders of mercenary troops in the service of the Sultans of Ahmadnagar, Bijapur and Golkonda. "A remarkable community of language, creed and life was attained in Maharastra in the seventeenth century even before political unity was conferred by Shivaji." A great religious and social movement, tolerant and Catholic, associated with the names of Tukaram, Ramdas and other saints and prophets,[1] prepared the ground for the political upheaval under Shivaji.

EARLY LIFE OF SHIVAJI

Shivaji was born in the hill fort of Shivner near Junnar on 6th April, 1627, or, as some assert, on 19th February, 1630. His mother, Jija Bai, was the neglected wife of Shahji. Her deeply religious, almost ascetic, character exercised great influence on her son. Shahji entered Bijapur service in 1636 and was sent away to the Tungabhadra region, Mysore country, and later to the Madras coast, to conquer new lands for Bijapur. He took with him his favourite wife Tuka Bai and her son Vyankoji ; Shivaji was left with his mother to live at Poona in charge of Dadaji Kond Dev. The weight of evidence is in favour of the view that Shivaji grew up unlettered, though he

[1] See p. 321.

mastered the contents of the two great Hindu 'Epics'. Dadaji Kond Dev died in 1647 and Shivaji became his own master.

SHIVAJI AND BIJAPUR

Shivaji had already embarked upon his career of adventure and peril. He took Torna from Bijapur in 1646, built a new fort at Rajgarh, and took Kondana from a Bijapur agent. Shahji was imprisoned in consequence of all this activity of Shivaji, or according to another view, for his own insubordination. Shivaji is said to have approached Murad, the Mughal Prince, on his father's behalf, but Shahji's release was actually due to the mediation of two leading nobles of Bijapur. Shivaji kept quiet for some years (1650-55) but acquired during this period the strong fort of Purandar. In 1656 he annexed Jawli, which had barred the path of his ambition in the south. The conquest of Jawli was facilitated and completed by a series of premeditated murders committed with Shivaji's previous approval by his trusted agents. Like Sher Shah using treachery in gaining the forts of South Bihar, Shivaji also paved his way by fraud intermixed with force. His recruiting ground was doubled and his door to the South opened.

When Aurangzeb, the Mughal viceroy of the Deccan, opened his campaign against Bijapur in 1657, an attempt was made to win over Shivaji. But this rebel against Bijapur authority had perhaps already decided to pursue a line of his own and made a diversion in favour of Bijapur by raiding the south-western corner of Mughal Deccan, while Aurangzeb was busy besieging Kalyani. Aurangzeb was furious when he heard of the disturbances created by Shivaji. A Mughal army sent against him defeated him but could not do much as the rains set in. Then came the news of the illness of Shah Jahan. Before leaving the Deccan Aurangzeb received Shivaji's offer of submission with outward pleasure but without granting formal pardon.

Between 1657-59 Shivaji conquered the Northern Konkan from Mahuli to near Mahad. The Bijapur State, relieved from the pressure of the Mughal invasion, was now free to plan the subjugation of Shivaji. Afzal Khan, one of the leading generals of Bijapur, was sent against him. He was instructed to effect

the capture or murder of Shivaji by pretending friendship. But Shivaji killed him at an interview (November 10, 1659). The weight of recorded evidence is in favour of the view that it was a case of "preventive murder." The Bijapur camp was plundered. The Marathas now poured into the South Konkan and the Kolhapur district. In July, 1660, Shivaji was, however, compelled to evacuate the Panhala fort by a Bijapur force.

SHIVAJI AND THE MUGHALS

Under instructions from Aurangzeb his maternal uncle Shaista Khan, the Mughal viceroy of the Deccan, began his campaign against Shivaji early in 1660, occupied Poona, and captured the fort of Chakan and the Kalyan district in the North Konkan. Shivaji patched up a truce with Bijapur and made himself free to face the Mughals. One night in April, 1663, Shivaji surprised and wounded the Mughal viceroy 'in the heart of his camp, in his very bed chamber within the inner ring of his bodyguard', slew one of his sons, wounded two others, and escaped. This successful night attack immensely increased the prestige of Shivaji. In January, 1664, he sacked and plundered the rich port of Surat and carried off an immense booty. The Emperor transferred Shaista Khan for his negligence and incapacity to Bengal and sent his ablest Hindu and Muhammadan generals, Jai Singh and Dilir Khan, against Shivaji (1665). Jai Singh managed the Bijapur Sultan very carefully, playing upon his hopes and fears in order to induce him to remain neutral in the war against Shivaji. With money and promises of high rank he sought to win over Shivaji's partisans. Having prepared the ground by his diplomacy he laid siege to the fort of Purandar. Flying columns ravaged Shivaji's villages. Maratha efforts to raise the siege were frustrated. Such a steady pressure was maintained that the fall of Purandar became only a question of time. But the families of Shivaji's officers were sheltered there. The fall of Purandar would mean their captivity and dishonour. Shivaji had to yield. He interviewed Jai Singh and concluded what is known as the treaty of Purandar in June, 1665. Shivaji ceded 23 of his forts and lands yielding annually 4 *lakhs* of *hun* (1 *hun*=4 rupees). He retained 12 forts (including Rajgarh) and territory yeilding

one *lakh* of *hun* on condition of service and loyalty to the Mughal throne. He begged to be excused from attending the *Darbar* but proposed to send his son with a contingent of 5,000 horse for service under the Emperor.

After this triumph over Shivaji, Jai Singh began his campaign against Bijapur. He thought it expedient to induce Shivaji with the most solemn oath and promises of high reward to go to the Imperial court. In view of the fact that Adil Shah and Qutb Shah united against the Mughals, Jai Singh was anxious to prevent a possible combination of the Deccani Sultans with Shivaji. Shivaji accepted Jai Singh's assurances, left his mother as regent during his absence and reached Agra in May, 1666. He was not treated with the honour and consideration which Jai Singh had promised and which Shivaji thought he had a right to expect. He protested in the open court and later charged the Emperor with breach of faith. He was forbidden the court and placed under restraint. The letters written by Ram Singh, son of Jai Singh, to his father, preserved at Jaipur, prove that there was a Mughal plan to send him on Mughal service to the north-western frontier and it was even arranged that he would be killed there. Shivaji, however, escaped by a stratagem from Agra and marched with a rapidity that could not be surpassed by the shortest route to the Deccan, where he reached in November, 1666. So rapid was his march that it told upon his health and he fell seriously ill at Raigarh immediately after his return. In his last will Aurangzeb is said to have written, "Negligence for a single moment becomes the cause of disgrace for long years. The escape of the wretch Shiva took place through my carelessness and I have to labour hard [against the Marathas] to the end of my life [as the result of it]." The great Emperor was only conscious of his negligence. He was incapable of feeling that generosity and sympathy might have converted this foe into a friend. Cunning statecraft is not statesmanship.

For three years after his return from Agra Shivaji lived very quietly at home and made his peace with the Mughals in 1668. The Emperor recognised his title of 'Raja' but did not restore his forts. The Yusufzai rising in Peshawar kept the Mughal army busy. During these years of peace Shivaji laid the foundations of his governmental organisation. In 1670 he

renewed his war with the Mughals, recovered several of his forts and looted the rich port of Surat for the second time, his first sack of Surat having taught him that this place would supply him the means of war. Prince Muazzam, the Mughal Governor of the Deccan, quarrelled with his associate Dilir Khan. The Prince himself was inactive and Shivaji was almost free to do what he liked. Shivaji defeated the Mughal general Daud Khan and made raids into Berar and Baglana. His campaigns against the Mughals in 1671—73 were very successful. He crowned himself with the greatest pomp and ceremony at Raigarh on 6th June, 1674, and assumed the title of 'Chhatrapati'.

Meanwhile the Mughals were finding the greatest difficulty in holding their own against the Afghans in the north-west. With Ali Adil Shah II dead and quarrels breaking out at Bijapur between the Deccani and Afghan parties, Bahadur Khan, Mughal Governor of the Deccan, tried to fish in the troubled waters. He, therefore, came to terms with Shivaji. With Golkonda Shivaji entered into an alliance, its powerful *Wazir* Madanna Pandit being anxious to co-operate with him. The Sultan of Golkonda was to pay Shivaji 4½ *lakhs* a month and help him with 5,000 men under one of his generals. Shivaji promised to give his ally those parts of the Carnatic which had not belonged to his father Shahji. The defensive alliance against the Mughals was strengthened. For this Golkonda agreed to pay an annual subsidy of one *lakh* of hun. In 1677 Shivaji took Gingi, Vellore and other important places, advancing as far as Cuddalore. His half-brother, Ekoji, was the ruler of Tanjore. Shivaji seized some portions of Tanjore territory. The operations of 1677 and 1678 brought to him territory in the Carnatic worth 20 *lakhs* of *hun* a year and included a hundred forts. Ekoji was also weaned away from his subordination to Bijapur. Shivaji returned to Panhala in April, 1678, *via* Mysore, whose northern, eastern and central parts he conquered, leaving an army of occupation in the newly conquered territory. He died on April 3, 1680.

EXTENT OF TERRITORY

"At the time of his death Shivaji's kingdom included all the country (except the Portuguese possessions) stretching from

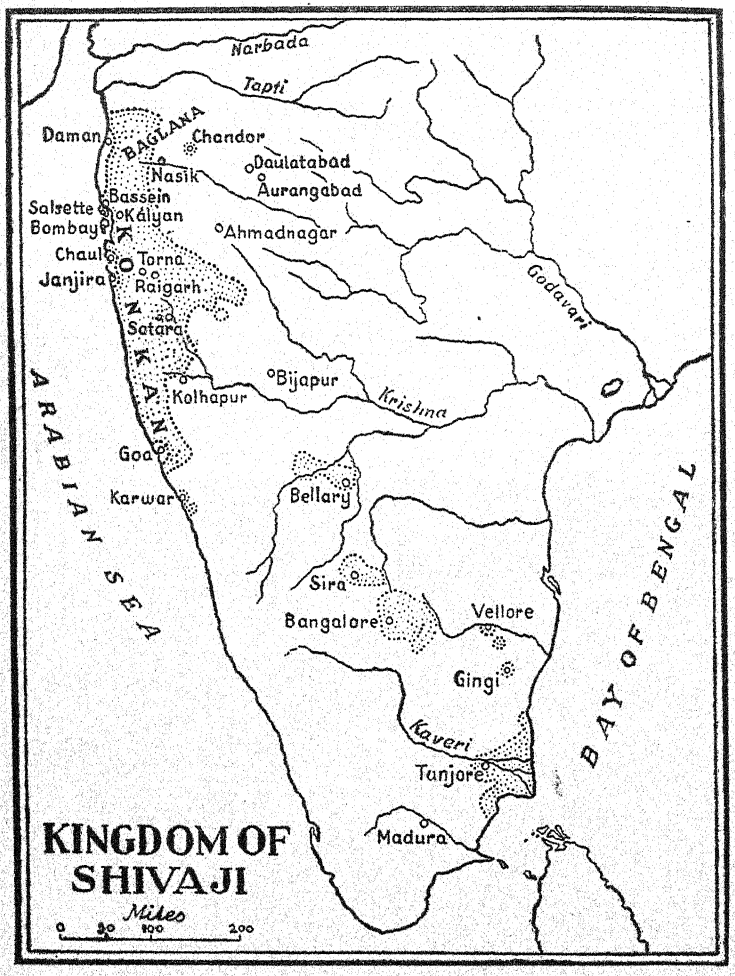
Ramnagar (modern Dharampur State in the Surat Agency) in the north to Karwar or the Gangavati river in the Bombay district of Kanara in the south. Its eastern boundary included Baglana in the north, then ran southward along an irregular shifting line through the middle of the Nasik and Poona districts and encircled the whole of the Satara and much of the Kolhapur districts. A recent but permanent acquisition was the western Karnatak or the Kanarese-speaking country extending from Belgaum to the bank of the Tungabhadra opposite the Bellary district of the Madras Presidency". Besides this he was also in possession of the northern, central and eastern portions of Mysore as also some Madras districts—Bellary, Chittur and Arcot.

CIVIL ADMINISTRATION

Shivaji governed with the assistance of a council of eight Ministers (*Ashta Pradhāna*) composed of the *Peshwā* or the *Mukhya Pradhāna*, the *Mazumdar* or the *Amātya*, the *Wakianavis* or the *Mantrī*, the *Dabir* or the *Sāmanta*, the *Surnis* or the *Sachiva*, the *Senāpati*, the *Pandit Rāo* and the *Nyāyādhīsa*. The *Peshwā* was the Prime Minister ; the other ministers held departmental charges such as finance, record-keeping, correspondence, foreign affairs, army, religious questions and charities, and justice. All the eight Ministers, with the exception of *Nyāyādhīsā* and *Pandit Rāo*, were also actually employed on military business ; during their absence on military duty their work at the capital was performed by deputies. These *Pradhānas* could not select their own subordinates. These were selected by the head of the State. During the Peshwa period these officers became hereditary but in Shivaji's time they were not appointed even for life. They were liable to be dismissed at the King's pleasure. The King was the pivot on which rested the whole administration. Everything depended on his personal ability. The Ministers formed an advisory body and carried out the King's instructions and supervised the work of the departments.

Shivaji's Kingdom was divided into several provinces (*prānt*), each of which was subdivided into *parganas* and *tarafs*. The village was the lowest unit. Shivaji left village commu-

nities undisturbed in their internal organisation. Over a group of these units there were hereditary *Deshmukhs* and *Deshpandes*. Shivaji tried to put an end to this state of things without revolutionising the existing arrangements. He appointed his



own revenue officers but the *Deshmukhs* and *Deshpandes* were left in enjoyment of their perquisites. He prohibited their building of castles and demolished some of their strongholds.

Shivaji did away with the intermediate revenue agency and adopted Malik Ambar's revenue system with modifications to suit his country. His officer Annaji Datto was responsible for an elaborate survey and fixed the rent at 33 per cent. of the gross produce. Shivaji afterwards demanded a consolidated rent of 40 per cent.

Shivaji also realised military contributions termed *Chauth* and *Sardeshmukhi* from regions not owning his sovereignty ; these contributions amounted to one-fourth and one-tenth of the standard assessment of the place. "The payment of the *chauth* merely saved a place from the unwelcome presence of the Maratha soldiers and civil underlings, but did not impose on Shivaji any corresponding obligation to guard the district from foreign invasion or internal disorder." The realisation of such contribution was justified by the exigencies of the situation. Shivaji could not realise a large revenue from the hilly lands of the Maratha country. He had to fight with the Mughals, Bijapur, the Sidis of Janjira, the Portuguese of Goa and petty semi-independent chiefs like the Koli Rajas. He had to organise an army, to build forts, to defend the newly acquired territories, to equip a fleet and to put down pirates. He had to make war pay for war.

MILITARY SYSTEM

Shivaji's Mawalis and Hetkaris have become famous in the military annals of India. Shivaji selected them after a personal examination and each man was trained in the school of experience. His army was mostly composed of light infantry and light cavalry admirably well adapted to guerilla warfare and hill campaign. The cavalry was divided into two classes: *Bargirs* and *Silahdars*. The *Bargir* was equipped with horse and arms by the State while the *Silahdar* brought his own horse. He never allowed his army to be encumbered with heavy arms or costly camp equipage. No one was allowed to keep a woman in the camp. A breach of this rule was punished capitally. The booty of every soldier was to be handed over to the State. Shivaji paid his soldiers either in cash or by assignment in the district governments. He did not pay by *jagir*. He enforced strict discipline in his army and it was admirably efficient.

Forts played a very important part in Shivaji's military system. Every fort was under three officers of equal status—the *Havaldar*, the *Sabnis*, the *Sarnobat*—each of whom served as a check on the others. At the time of Shivaji's death there were 240 forts in his possession. Every important pass in the territory directly under his possession was commmanded by forts.

It has been said that after the conquest of the Konkan Shivaji 'put the saddle on the ocean'. 400 vessels of various sizes and classes—Ghurabs, Gallivats, river crafts—were formed into two squadrons commanded by two admirals. With the Sidis of Janjira Shivaji's navy maintained a continuous fight. His fleet was manned by the Kolis and other sea-faring tribes of Malabar. His principal port was Malwan. The naval spirit roused by Shivaji did not die with him. The Angrias maintained the naval reputation of the Marathas till the middle of the eighteenth century.

ACHIEVEMENTS OF SHIVAJI

Shivaji's career and achievement and the subsequent success of the Maratha power cannot be explained by the standard theory of adventure and freebooting or the illustration of a sudden conflagration. Warren Hastings and Sir Charles Metcalfe noted later that the Marathas were differentiated from the rest of the Indian peoples by the persistence of patriotism under all vicissitudes. It would not, therefore, be wrong to say that the impulse given by Shivaji endured in a sense for about a century and a half. The imperishable achievement of his life was the welding of the Marathas into a nation and the new spirit which he breathed into his people. In the words of a contemporary, he elevated the Maratha nation consisting of 96 clans to an unheard of dignity. He created a compact military State with an excellent administration. Himself a devout Hindu, he observed toleration of all creeds, a chivalry to women and a strict enforcement of morality in the camp which even hostile critics admired. But in the eighteenth century we come across not a compact military State but a loose confederacy, not an admirably well-disciplined army but a disreputable rabble. If many of his institutions failed to

survive him we must seek an explanation for that in the subsequent history of the Marathas. But it was the spirit created by Shivaji that was responsible for the fact that the "Marathas bore the brunt of the attack of the Mughal Empire at the zenith of its splendour" and surprised the British statesmen even in the second half of the eighteenth and the opening years of the nineteenth century by their persistent "reluctance to be connected with them."

SECTION III

AURANGZEB IN THE DECCAN

DECCAN POLICY OF THE FIRST HALF OF THE REIGN

During the period 1658-1681 Aurangzeb achieved no decisive result in the Deccan except in 1665, when Jai Singh compelled Shivaji to conclude the treaty of Purandar. The reasons that can be assigned for this lack of achievement in the South during the first half of the reign are the following: Prince Shah Alam, who was Governor of the Deccan for eleven years, was timid and unenterprising. His chief lieutenant Dilir Khan was openly opposed to him, and so inveterate was their hostility that Mughal Deccan seemed to be torn by civil war. Moreover, the Emperor was much too preoccupied with his wars with the frontier tribes and the Rajput States to be able to send a sufficient supply of men and money and to devote sufficient attention to the affairs of the Deccan. The three Deccani powers—Bijapur, Golkonda and the Marathas—could no longer be pitted against one another. After 1662 there was some sort of understanding between Shivaji and the central government of Bijapur and Shivaji did not molest the heart of the Bijapur Kingdom. The Sultan of Golkonda was the ally of Shivaji.

But events brought a complete change in Imperial policy after Shivaji's death. The rebel Prince Akbar fled to the court of Shambhuji, son and successor of Shivaji. Aurangzeb decided to go to the Deccan himself to crush Shambhuji and overpower Akbar. He arrived at Aurangabad on 22nd March, 1682. With him came three of his sons and all his best generals; the

resources of the Mughal Empire were concentrated in the South. Extensive operations were planned against the Maratha King and the rebel Mughal Prince ; but the Emperor, with his faith in his family shaken, was "hesitating, suspicious, watchful and seemingly capricious and self-contradictory."

SAMBHUJI (1680-1689)

Shivaji was succeeded by his brave but pleasure-loving son Sambhuji, who did not fully realise the gravity of the Mughal menace. Instead of concentrating his strength against the Emperor he frittered it away in desultory campaigns against smaller enemies like the Portuguese and the Sidis of Janjira. Prince Akbar, estranged from the violent and capricious Maratha King, embarked for Persia in 1687. While Sambhuji was sunk in pleasure, his administration was hopelessly disorganised by internal rebellions and court intrigues. When Aurangzeb directed the full strength of the Empire against Bijapur and Golkonda, Sambhuji made no attempt to avert their fall, although he must have known that it was a danger common to all the Deccani powers. For the time being his sporadic raids were rightly ignored by the Emperor, who turned his attention seriously to the Marathas after the fall of Bijapur and Golkonda. Sambhuji himself was captured by a Mughal general while enjoying an 'unguarded life of debauchery' at Sangameswar. He was put to death with horrible torture in March, 1689. Many of the Maratha forts, including Raigarh, Shivaji's capital, were captured, and Sambhuji's entire family, including his minor son Shahu, fell into Aurangzeb's hands.

ANNEXATION OF BIJAPUR (1686) AND GOLKONDA (1687)

After his arrival in the Deccan Aurangzeb wasted about four years in fruitless attempts to capture Prince Akbar and in half-hearted operations against the Marathas. Then he decided to conquer Bijapur and Golkonda. Bijapur was besieged in April, 1685, and captured in September, 1686. Golkonda was besieged in January, 1687, and captured through bribery in September, 1687. The last Adil Shahi and Qutb Shahi Sultans passed their remaining years in the State-prison of Daulatabad ; their territories were annexed to the Mughal Empire.

Aurangzeb has been blamed for the absorption of Bijapur and Golkonda ; it has been argued that these Muslim Kingdoms might have helped him in crushing the Marathas. It is very doubtful, however, whether these decadent Sultanates could have stood successfully against the new-born Maratha people. Moreover, it is necessary to remember that, from the day when Akbar embarked on his policy of expansion south of the Vindhyas to the day when Aurangzeb entered Golkonda, the complete subjugation of the Deccan was the consummation which Mughal policy aspired to achieve. The rulers of Bijapur had an annual revenue of 7 *crores* and 84 *lakhs* of rupees, besides 5¼ *crores* of tribute from vassal Rajas and zamindars. Golkonda, when conquered, had a revenue of 2 *crores* and 87 *lakhs* of rupees. These two Shia powers in India were also in touch with the Shia Monarchy of Persia, the traditional enemy of the Mughal Empire. They were also in an advanced stage of decline, torn by faction, governed by "political Bedouins," unable to check the triumphant and exultant Marathas. An advancing aggressive power cannot put limits to its advance unless a natural frontier checks it or some other power as strong or stronger stops it. It is significant that Aurangzeb, who had failed as a Prince to conquer Balkh and Badakhshan and to reconquer Qandahar, made no attempt as an Emperor to restore the prestige of Mughal arms in these regions and to secure the heritage of Babur and the strategic fort of Qandahar ; he sought the easier and perhaps more profitable line of advance in the South. He underestimated the Marathas but greater men than he have made such mistakes and have been ruined as a consequence. Napoleon's failure was also largely caused by his inability to estimate the toughness of national opposition in Spain.

In conquering Bijapur and Golkonda and in trying to conquer the Maratha State Aurangzeb pursued what was the natural trend of Mughal foreign policy, but he did this in a manner peculiar to himself. "The Mughal crescent rounded to fullness," but the decline was visible in the last eighteen years of his life. He could not treat Shivaji with the statesman-like generosity that characterised Akbar's treatment of the Rajput chiefs or Jahangir's treatment of the Mewar Prince, and he had not the soft corner for a sovereign in distress as Shah

Jahan had shown for the rulers of Bijapur and Golkonda in 1656 and 1657. He was pitiless, unsympathetic, and in his later years out of touch with reality. He could only crush, he could not conciliate. Even his reconciliation with Durgadas was very short-lived and the war-weary Rathors, who could have been easily placated, continued to be enemies of the Mughals. He could have made an honourable peace with Rajaram, recognising him as King of the Western Deccan and Konkan, and returned to Delhi. A senile obstinacy made him oblivious of the risk he was incurring by continuing his fatuous campaign against the Marathas. Aurangzeb lacked one great gift—a very fine and rare gift of high statesmanship, the sense of limits.

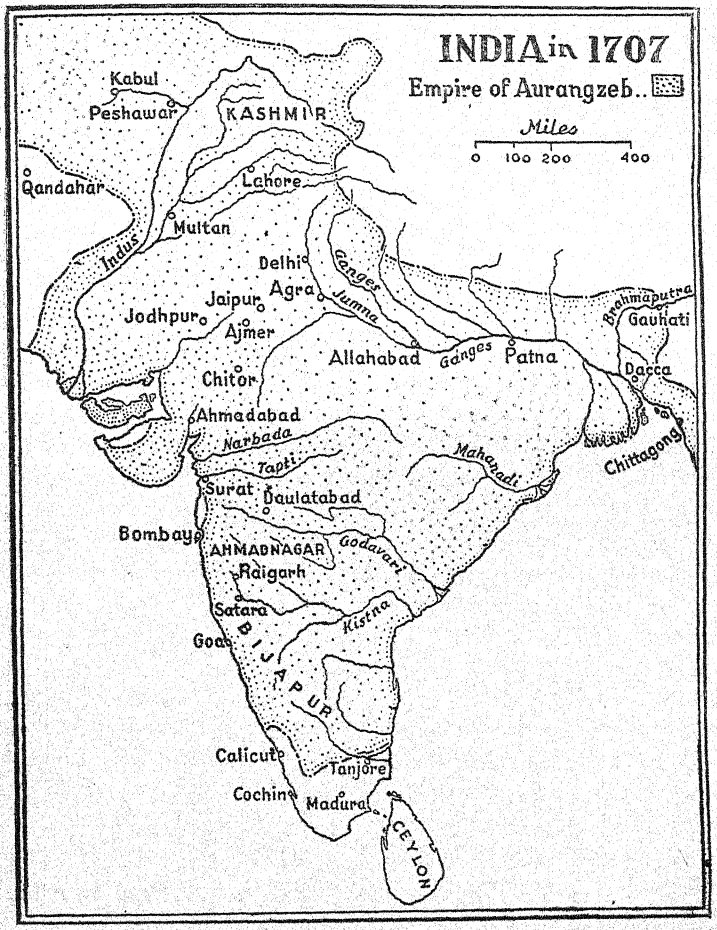
THE MUGHAL EMPIRE AT ITS ZENITH

In the last years of Aurangzeb the Mughal Empire extended from Ghazni to Chittagong and from Kashmir to the Carnatic. "In Maharastra, Kanara, Mysore and the Eastern Karnatak his rule was, however, disputed and this region has been described as *do-amli* or as obeying a double set of masters". This vast Empire was divided into 21 *Subahs*: (1) Agra, (2) Ajmer, (3) Allahabad, (4) Bihar, (5) Bengal, (6) Delhi, (7) Kashmir, (8) Lahore, (9) Gujarat, (10) Malwa, (11) Multan, (12) Thatta (Sind), (13) Orissa, (14) Khandesh, (15) Berar, (16) Aurangabad, (17) Bidar, (18) Bijapur, (19) Hyderabad, (20) Kabul, (21) Oudh. Excluding Afghanistan, which had a revenue of 20 *lakhs* in Akbar's time and 40 *lakhs* under Aurangzeb, the Mughal Empire under the last Great Mughal had a revenue of 33 *crores* and 25 *lakhs*, as contrasted with 13 *crores* and 21 *lakhs* under Akbar. This was the yield of the land revenue. The proportion of assignment (*jagir*) to Crownlands (*khalsa*) in the last years of Aurangzeb may be guessed from the fact that the sum of 27·64 *crores* was assessed on *jagirs* and 5·81 *crores* on *khalsa*.

LONG WAR WITH THE MARATHAS

By 1689 Aurangzeb reached the zenith of his power; Northern India as well the Peninsula lay at his feet. "All seemed to have been gained by Aurangzeb now; but in reality all was lost. It was the beginning of his end. The saddest

and most hopeless chapter of his life now opened. The Mughal Empire had become too large to be ruled by one man or from one centre . . . . His enemies rose on all sides ; he could defeat but not crush them for ever . . . . The endless war in the



Deccan exhausted his treasury ; the Government turned bankrupt ; the soldiers, starving from arrears of pay, mutinied . . . . Napoleon I used to say, 'It was the Spanish ulcer which ruined me'. The Deccan ulcer ruined Aurangzeb."

After Sambhuji's death the Marathas began what was really a people's war. Rajaram, his younger brother, became the acknowledged head of the Maratha State ; but there was no Maratha Central Government. Rajaram took shelter in the strong fort of Gingi in the Carnatic, which became the centre of Maratha enterprise in the east coast. Every Maratha captain with his own retainers harassed the Mughals. Aurangzeb was confronted with an all-pervasive enemy 'from Bombay to Madras across the Indian peninsula, elusive as the wind, without any headman or stronghold whose capture would result in the exhaustion of its power'.

The tide turned against Aurangzeb in May, 1690, when Rustam Khan, a top-ranking Mughal general, was defeated and taken captive by the Marathas. The attempt to capture Panhala from the Marathas ended in failure. Two enterprising Maratha generals, Santaji Ghorpade and Dhanaji Jadav, made incessant raids. So great was the terror of the name of Santaji that "there was no Imperial Amir bold enough to resist him, and every loss he inflicted made the Imperial forces quake." He was murdered in a domestic feud. The Mughals captured Gingi in 1698 ; but Rajaram escaped and returned to Satara, where he organised a new army. The Emperor now devoted his attention to the sieges of successive Maratha forts. A fatuous campaign now began which is best described in the following words : "A hill fort captured by him after a vast expenditure of time, men and money, the fort recovered by the Marathas from the weak Mughal garrison after a few months and its siege begun again by the Mughals a year or two later. The siege of eight forts—Satara, Parli, Panhala, Khelna, Kondana (Singhgarh), Rajgarh, Torna and Wagingera occupied five years and a half."

Rajaram died in 1700. He was succeeded by his minor son, Shivaji III. The Regency was taken up by Rajaram's masterful widow, Tara Bai, who continued to lead the counter-offensive against the Mughals. The Marathas began to plunder the Mughal territories not only in the Deccan but also in Malwa and Gujarat. In 1706 a large Maratha army threatened the Emperor's camp at Ahmadnagar.

Worn out by the indecisive Maratha war, the Emperor fell seriously ill ; he retreated, closely pursued by the Marathas. In the midst of universal disorder, desolation, misery and

destitution, with a sense of utter frustration, he withdrew to Ahmadnagar in 1705. The Maratha counter-offensive gathering momentum became completely dominant. At his journey's end the great Emperor was fully conscious of the failure of his Deccan campaign. He died on February 20, 1707, at Ahmadnagar.

CHARACTER AND POLICY OF AURANGZEB

Aurangzeb wrote in his last letter to his favourite son Kam Bakhsh, "Worldly men are deceivers (literally, they show wheat as sample and deliver barley). Do not do any work in reliance on their fidelity." In his lonely eminence, suspicious of all men, this last Great Mughal in his last days saw in the political disorder around him that his officials were really unfit for positions of trust and responsibility, lacked initiative, made his administration ineffective, his arms unprosperous. Sadulla, famous in the days of Shah Jahan as a very wise administrator, once remarked to a pessimist, "No age is without men of ability. What is needed is a wise master to find them out, cherish them, get his work done by them and never lend his ears to the whispers of selfish men against such officers." Inspite of Aurangzeb's minute supervision, checks and counter-checks, there was an atmosphere of mere self-interested compliance in the higher ranks of Mughal State service as contrasted with the manly tradition of personal responsibility and personal devotion of the days of Akbar and Shah Jahan.

When Muhammad Akbar rebelled, Aurangzeb in his letter sought to dissuade him from following the path of "ill-luck". The rebel Prince wrote in reply, "How can the path which your Majesty himself has trod be the path of ill-luck?" Aurangzeb's breach of allegiance to his own father, and the fate to which he consigned his brothers, had its nemesis. His eldest son Muhammad Sultan joined Shuja and had to be thrown into prison at the very beginning of the reign. Then came the rebellion of Muhammad Akbar and he had to be hounded out of India. Prince Shah Alam, the eldest of his sons living in 1677, was found negotiating with the ruler of Golkonda, perhaps to save that Monarch's throne and dynasty. This was regarded as treason. He was arrested and thrown

into prison from which he did not emerge until seven years later. It is said that after the arrest of the Prince "the Emperor hurriedly broke up his court, ran to his wife Aurangabadi Mahal, kept slapping his knees and moaning, 'Alas! Alas! I have razed to the ground what I had been rearing up for the last forty years'." In his operations against the Marathas reliance could not be placed on Azam and Kam Bakhsh who were anxious to secure Maratha aid in the impending war of succession. In his death bed Aurangzeb expressed an anxious desire to partition the Empire among his sons to avoid fighting between armies and slaughter of mankind. But his own example was too indelibly impressed on the political mind of Mughal India to make such a thing possible.

Austere in morals, never swayed by favourites, his strength of will amounting almost to obstinacy, this great Monarch furnishes an example of the familiar lesson that countries may be overgoverned. With less of pomp than his European contemporary Louis XIV, he had not less of the lust of conquest and of over-centralisation. Foreign travellers as also Muslim chroniclers describe with admiration his marvellous industry in administration. Besides holding daily courts and Wednesday trials he wrote orders on letters and petitions with his own hands and dictated the very language of official replies. The Italian physician Gemelli Careri thus describes the Emperor's public audience of March 21, 1695, "I admired to see him endorse the petitions (of those who had business) with his own hand without spectacles and by his cheerful, smiling countenance he seemed to be pleased with the employment." A very learned and competent scholar, he was largely responsible for that great digest of Muslim Law made in India which bears his name, *Fatawa-i-Alamgiri,* which has regulated Islamic justice in India ever afterwards. But such a ruler could not be a success as an administrator. He could not quicken human energies by his example and he belongs as an administrator to the tamer race of toilers.

Aurangzeb has been described as "the greatest of the Great Mughals save one" inspite of his failure which was prodigious. He failed as an administrator, he failed also as a statesman. For this we must seek an explanation in his character as also in the policy that he pursued. It has been pointed out above

that in his policy of conquest he had no sense of limits. The far-reaching consequences of his religious policy can hardly be over-emphasized.

COLLAPSE OF ADMINISTRATION

Aurangzeb's attempt to suppress the Marathas and his long absence in the Deccan undermined the foundations of "Mughal peace, the sole justification of the Mughal Empire". Manucci, the Italian traveller, tells us that in 1705, as Aurangzeb withdrew from the Maratha country, "he left behind him the fields of these provinces devoid of trees and bare of crops, their places being taken by the bones of men and beasts". Trade almost ceased in the Deccan. Almost continuous warfare caused desolation and universal disorder. Imperial dominions in the Deccan, Malwa and Gujarat were desolated by Maratha bands. Even where war was not raging Provincial Governors disregarded Imperial prohibitions. "Lawlessness reigned in many places in Northern and Central India. The old Emperor in the far-off Deccan lost all control over his officers in Hindustan, and the administration grew slack and corrupt." Administrative decline was naturally accompanied with public disturbances. "The treasury was empty, the Imperial army knew itself beaten and recoiled from its foes. The centrifugal forces were asserting themselves successfully, and the empire was ready for disruption. A strenuous reign of fifty years ends in colossal failure".

FOR FURTHER STUDY

Sir J. N. Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib.*
Sir J. N. Sarkar, *Short History of Aurangzib.*
Sir J. N. Sarkar, *Shivaji.*
S. N. Sen, *Administrative System of the Marathas.*
S. N. Sen, *Military System of the Marathas.*
G. S. Sardesai, *New History of the Marathas,* Vol. I.

CHAPTER XX

THE MUGHAL EMPIRE: A GENERAL SURVEY

SECTION I

LITERATURE

A glorious and victorious reign stimulates the activities of the human mind. "The wealth of Ind dazzled even eyes accustomed to the pomp of Versailles". A long period of peace, a strong and wise government, a rich heritage of culture, and sympathetic sovereigns created exactly those conditions that lead to a brilliant revival of letters and fine arts. This glorious epoch in the realm of Indian art and letters is marked by the enlightened patronage of three remarkable members of the reigning family—Akbar with his genius of epic grandeur, Shah Jahan with his excellent taste and his magnificence, and Dara, the mystic, emotional, eclectic philosopher. Jahangir, though a *dilettante,* was also a skilled connoisseur and a generous patron.

INDO-PERSIAN LITERATURE UNDER AKBAR

The Indo-Persian literature of Akbar's reign had one of its ablest authors in Abul Fazl, an intimate friend of Akbar. He must be regarded as the greatest historian of India writing in Persian. His two famous works are *Akbarnama* and *Ain-i-Akbari.* The former, written in praise of his hero, gives us political and military history ; the latter is an administrative and statistical return. Abul Fazl has been described as a great flatterer ; his style is full of circumlocution and both turgid and obscure. Blochman, however, emphasises his love of truth as well as his correctness of information and rightly says that "the total absence of personal grievances and of expressions of ill-will towards encompassing enemies show that the expanse of his large heart stretched to the clear offing of sterling wisdom". The charge of affectation of style is not applicable to his *Ain-i-Akbari.* This administrative and statistical survey represented a half-fluid condition but there is no denying the fact that his

high official position gave him access to any document he wanted to consult and his long career and training in various departments and his undoubted ability make this laborious record of a contemporary of the highest historical value.

Other important historians of the "Age of Akbar" were Badauni, author of *Muntakhabu-t-Tawarikh*, and Nizam-ud-din, author of *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*. Badauni was a hostile critic of Akbar ; Nizam-ud-din is perfunctory. Among the poets writing in Persian Faizi, Abul Fazl's brother, must be considered as the best. Blochman says that "after Amir Khusrau of Delhi Muhammadan India has seen no greater poet than Faizi". Though illiterate, Akbar had a very liberal culture and he showed an active interest in Persian translations of famous Sanskrit works like the *Mahābhārata*, the *Rāmāyana* and the *Atharva Veda*. He also encouraged calligraphy and music. The famous musician Tansen was a performer at his court. The *Memoirs* of Babur was translated by Abdur Rahim *Khan Khanan* into Persian. The *Khan Khanan* wrote under the pen name Rahim in Arabic, Persian, Turki, Sanskrit and Hindi.

HINDI LITERATURE UNDER AKBAR

Tulsidas (*circa* 1532-1623), the greatest of the Hindi poets, flourished during the "Age of Akbar." He lived a quiet life at Benares and, although perhaps unknown to Akbar, numbered Raja Man Singh and Abdur Rahim *Khan Khanan* among his admirers. He wrote more than a dozen books of which the most famous is the great *Rāma-charita-mānasa*. This immortal work, composed in eastern Hindi, was written with a sympathy with human nature and knowledge of the human heart which have won the loving admiration of the masses as well as the intelligentsia. It is no mere translation of Valmiki's Sanskrit *Rāmāyana* but is quite independent in its treatment. "Tulsidas was a poet of the greatest merit with amazing fluency, richness and depth and a sensitive ear for the harmony and melody of words. His poetry, inspite of its essentially spiritual tone, glows with colour and beauty and occasionally grows even sensuous, though the poet always seems to be apologetic about it. Tulsi made the countryside ring with the simple name of Rama". Sir George Grierson writes, "Looking back along the

vista of centuries we see his noble figure unapproached and solitary in its niche in the temple of Fame, shining in its own pure radiance."

The famous Hindi bard, the blind poet Surdas of Agra, graced the court of Akbar. He wrote in western Hindi. He celebrated the life and career of Krishna in his elaborate song-sequence *Surasāgara,* said to extend to 60,000 lines. "Surdas revels in beauty and does not hold himself back. Tulsi was a simple devotee and almost puritanical". Sir George Grierson writes that the language of Surdas is the purest form of western Hindi speech but he prefers, as do many others, "the nobility of character inherent in all that Tulsi Das wrote to the pleasing but gentler muse of his great contemporary".

LITERATURE UNDER JAHANGIR AND SHAH JAHAN

The impulse given by the great Akbar continued throughout the reign of Jahangir and Shah Jahan. Jahangir was himself an author of considerable merit and besides composing his celebrated *Memoirs* he encouraged the completion of a valuable dictionary, the *Farhang-i-Jahangiri.* The Indo-Persian historical literature of Shah Jahan's reign was enriched by Abdul Hamid Lahori, author of the *Badshahnama,* and by Khafi Khan, author of *Muntakhab-ul-lubab.* The Hindi poet Biharilal of Jaipur, author of *Satsaiya* or collection of 700 detached verses, lived in the days of Shah Jahan. His work is regarded as "one of the daintiest pieces of art in any Indian language". Maharaja Jaswant Singh of Marwar was also a notable writer on Hindi poetics. Dara, a Sufi, a disciple of the Muslim saint Mian Mir, continued the philosophical traditions of his great-grand-father. He was no apostate from Islam,—he himself compiled a biography of Muslim saints—but he studied the *Talmud* and the *New Testament,* the writings of the Muslim Sufis and the Hindu works on Vedanta. He associated with eminent Sufis like Mulla Shah Budakhshi, Shaikh Muhibullah Allahabadi, Shah Dil-Ruba, Muhsin Fani and Sarmad. He wanted to interpret to each community the highest truths of the religion of the other in accordance with his cardinal doctrine *Sulh-i-Kul.*

A retrogression in Indian culture is clearly visible in the days of Aurangzeb and Indian literature steadily fell back to a lower level.

SECTION II

ART

ARCHITECTURE UNDER AKBAR

Akbar built very largely. The most famous monuments of his reign are Humayun's tomb at Delhi, fortress palaces at Agra and Lahore and the buildings at Fathpur Sikri. The structure of Humayun's tomb at Delhi was the conception of Humayun's wife, Haji Begam, who had been her husband's companion in his forced exile in Persia. She gave to the building art of the Mughal period a Persian incentive and introduced the innovation of placing the building in the centre of a park enclosure. The palace fort of Akbar at Agra has walls about 70 ft. high, 'the first conception of dressed stone on such a large scale'. Its main entrance, the Delhi gate, must be considered as the most imposing and impressive gateway in India. The fort at Agra shows that the Rajput citadels must have exercised considerable influence on the architect. Fathpur Sikri, 26 miles distant from Agra, was converted by Akbar with magical speed from a hill full of wild beasts into a city with gardens and elegant edifices. He occupied it during the period 1569-85. The tolerant policy of Akbar is evident even in his monuments and other works of art. In many buildings the indigenous artists were permitted to leave features characteristic of Jain and Hindu temples. This Hindu influence is particularly evident in Jodh Bai's palace at Fathpur Sikri. The most impressive thing at Fathpur Sikri is the Buland Darwaza which commemorates Akbar's conquest of Gujarat. "Each art culture has usually one form of utterance in which it finds the readiest means of expression and with the Mughals it was the entrance gateway". His building activities influenced indigenous schools of art. 'Mughal foundation breaking out into Hindu exuberance' is illustrated at Ambar and at Jodhpur. Abul Fazl thus describes Akbar's style of architecture: "His Majesty plans splendid edifices and dresses the work of his mind and heart in the garment of stone and clay".

PAINTING UNDER AKBAR

Painting was used extensively as an architectural decoration by Akbar. The paintings of the Mughal period are com-

monly frescoes. Akbar collected numerous artists around him at Fathpur Sikri, the most famous of them being Khwaja Abdus Samad, a Persian, and the Indian artists, Daswanath and Basawan. The eminent art of Indian painting revived and received a new direction under his patronage. "A new school began to flourish, a school entirely of portraiture and illustration, delighting in animated and crowded scenes in dramatic motives. The atmosphere resembled that of Imperial Rome rather than that of Florence in the time of Lorenzo the Magnificent. His patronage would have resulted in less of value had it not been for the example and opportunity it gave for the revival of indigenous schools of Indian art".

ART UNDER JAHANGIR

Jahangir was a *dilettante,* with a trained eye for a picture but unable to understand 'the largeness and breadth required for architectural effect'. The tomb of Akbar at Sikandara near Agra and Jahangir's own tomb at Shahdara are unimpressive structures, but in Akbar's tomb at Sikandara minarets rising from the four corners mark a new step in the progress of Mughal architecture. Jahangir was a lover of miniature painting and his reign is remarkable for the perfection of the laying out of the celebrated Mughal gardens, with squares in the form of terraces, with artificial pools and numerous fountains. He constructed the lovely Shalamar Bagh in Kashmir. A new departure in Mughal style of art is noticeable in the tomb of Itimad-ud-daula at Agra, due to the 'refined feminism' of the cultured consort of Jahangir. Besides its high aesthetic taste, it is important because it marks the transition from the simpler sandstone construction of Akbar and Jahangir to the white marble structures of Shah Jahan.

ART UNDER SHAH JAHAN

Shah Jahan did not so much encourage literature or miniature painting as did his predecessors, his entire attention being devoted to architecture. His constructions are remarkable for their elegance and grace. He built magnificent and most exquisitely beautiful palaces at Agra and Delhi. In the words

of the author of the *Badshahnama*, "Lovely things reached the zenith of perfection". In the Agra fort his marble edifices—the Diwan-i-Am, the Diwan-i-Khas, the Khas Mahal, the Shish Mahal, the Mussaman Burj, the Moti *Masjid*—are gems of the Mughal style at its zenith. The new construction for which he was responsible at Delhi—the magnificent royal residence which he erected there—perhaps justifies his famous claim: "If there is a paradise on earth it is this, it is this". The Jami *Masjid* at Delhi was constructed by him on a majestic scale, that at Agra with a 'definitely intimate appeal'.

The finest flower of Mughal art was, however, the Tajmahal, 'a combination of the finest art and the most expert construction', evincing at the same time the highest artistic merit, remarkable scientific thought and technical skill, a perfect layout and the most sensuous charm. Shah Jahan planned on the opposite side of the Jumna his own tomb which would be a replica of the Taj in black marble, the two monuments to be connected by a bridge. The war of succession interrupted his plan and his unfilial successor abandoned the project.

DECLINE OF MUGHAL ART

With the reign of Aurangzeb Mughal artistic activity comes to an abrupt end. With all his religious zeal he did not erect a single tomb or a single mosque that can be regarded as a splendid monument. There is a decline in style. Aurangzeb's personality was to a large extent responsible for this artistic decadence, but, as Percy Brown says, "Under Shah Jahan the country had experienced a period of unrestrained production, during which its exponents had reached the summit of achievement. The usual sequence to such a condition is a marked reaction, of which art history provides several notable instances, including among others that of the great schools of painting in Europe of the seventeenth century, whose finest efforts were followed by an interval of profound exhaustion. And so it was with the architecture of the Mughals". In connection with Mughal art it has been pointed out that "anonymity was the practice of the country and it is thus impossible to trace the reaction between genius and environment which is such a prominent topic in the history of European art."

SECTION III

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CONDITIONS AS DESCRIBED BY EUROPEAN TRAVELLERS

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

"The population of India consisted of a small but extremely wealthy and extravagant upper class, a small and frugal middle class, a very numerous lower class, living generally on the same plane of poverty as now."

The land was cultivated in small holdings by peasants who contributed the largest share of the revenues of the State. Mining and manufacture were also organised in small units. In view of the fact that the Mughal Government was not a strong naval power and there was no big merchant marine, Indian merchants could not seek new markets; but the European traders found that the commercial aptitudes of the Indian merchants were not inferior to those of the foreigners.

In agriculture one remarkable change was the introduction of tobacco. Its consumption developed with great rapidity. Jahangir prohibited smoking in 1617, but Manucci wrote in the early years of Aurangzeb's reign that the farmer of taxes paid 5,000 rupees a day for tobacco duty at Delhi. The demand of indigo, cotton and silk also increased during this period. The peasants were not so conservative as is thought generally. They were shrewd enough to follow the market.

Saltpetre production in Bihar and iron production in Golkonda were important manufactures in the Mughal period, and the most notable thing during this period was the increased production of calico to meet the demand of Western Europe. According to Bernier, there was such a quantity of cotton and silk in Bengal that it might be regarded as the common store-house for these two kinds of merchandise for the Mughal Empire, the neighbouring Kingdoms and even the countries of Europe. The new factor in commerce was the large consumption of Indian silk in Japan and of Indian indigo, calico and saltpetre in Western Europe. The chief ports of India were Lahori Bandar in Sind, Surat, Goa, Calicut, Cochin, Masulipatam, and Satgaon, Sripur, Chittagong and Sonargaon in Bengal.

The ordinary course of production was at times interrupted by famines that were not certainly more frequent than they are now. In those days, however, a local shortage of food could not be quickly met by importation, and in India the tradition existed that 'aimless wandering in search of food' was the indication of the existence of famine conditions. The economic life of a village, a town or a district would break up by migration, disease, death. One of the greatest famines occurred in 1630-32 in the Deccan and Gujarat, dislocating agriculture, industry and commerce for many years.

Almost all contemporary foreign visitors refer to the cheapness of food in Indian towns and they usually attribute it to the fertility of the country. Tavernier says that even in the smallest villages flour, sugar and sweetmeats could be procured in abundance. Manucci wrote about Bengal, "All things are in great plenty here, fruits, pulse, grain, muslin, cloths of gold and silk." But Moreland, a modern writer, tries to explain this in a different way: "The economic system . . . . may be regarded as operating to provide the urban population with subsistence below cost. The harvest glut is still a familiar fact in India . . . . at the period we are considering this recurring glut must have been much more acute than now because the proportion of produce to be sold was much larger while the penalties attaching to default were much more severe. At each harvest there was an urgent demand for coin and the merchants who held coin in stock would practically make their own terms. They had, however, to turn over the stock of produce in time to be in funds for the next harvest and since the urban population was proportionately small, this condition secured to them supplies of food and other produce at less cost than if the markets had been free." Moreland is at some pains to prove the poverty of the mass of the population in the seventeenth century against the cumulative evidence of almost all European travellers. There was a much wider area of well-being than we can find in the twentieth century.

SOCIAL CONDITIONS

The European travellers who came to India in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries have left valuable evidence with

respect to Indian social institutions and economic conditions besides giving us useful information concerning Mughal Court and camp.

The Sebastian Friar Manrique in his *Itinerario* refers to his experience in Bengal in 1612. He describes the fertility of the Ganges plain, the magnificence of its cotton fabrics, reverence for the Ganges and the cow, and the self-immolation practised at Juggernath and Saugar. Pietro della Valle, the Italian traveller, came to Surat in 1623. He refers to the absolute freedom of religion extended to all in Gujarat. If this Italian traveller is to be believed, the practice of "Suttee" seems to have decreased by the Mughal discouragement of the rite. Della Valle refers to the scarcity of "Suttee" near Surat and Cambay. Akbar's regulations against "Suttee" probably produced some temporary effect. Nicolo Conti in the fifteenth century and Della Valle in the seventeenth century travelled in India with their womenfolk. It has been asserted with some truth that nothing shows the high state of Indian civilization as the immunity with which strangers in India could take their womenfolk with them. "Had the positions been reversed and an Indian traveller attempted to travel with his family through any of the more civilised countries of Europe between the beginning of the fifteenth and the close of the sixteenth century, it is doubtful whether the treatment he would have received would have been in any way comparable to that which the natives of India, Hindu and Muhammadan alike, meted out to their 'Feringhi' visitors."

ENGLISH TRAVELLERS

Hawkins, the "Inglis Khan", gives us very valuable information relating to the economic aspect of the *Mansabdari* system in the lax days of Jahangir. Roe gives us an excellent picture of the royal camp, 'one of the wonders of my little existence'. We learn from *Purchas—his Pilgrims* that Hawkins had to introduce two English sailors into the presence of Jahangir 'as is the custom and manner of the country for no person may stay above twenty-four hours before the King to know what he is and whence he cometh'.

Bruton and Cartwright, two English merchants, came to Bengal in 1632. They stayed at Cuttack. Bruton went to Puri. He says that the temple of Juggernath enjoyed freedom from taxation until Akbar's time. This shows that while Akbar did not allow any religious persecution, he would not grant any indulgence. Bruton writes thus about the people of Bengal: "They are notable, ingenious men let it be in what art or science soever and will imitate any workmanship that shall be brought before them."

FRENCH TRAVELLERS

In 1666 three Frenchmen were in India—Bernier, Tavernier and Thevenot. Bernier was a physician, Tavernier a jeweller, Thevenot the companion of a French merchant. Bernier's *History* and his letters, Tavernier's *Six Voyages* and Thevenot's *Narrative* do not cover the same ground, Tavernier's account being the most important of the three. We are told by many Western writers that human life in India was held cheap and punishments were sudden, arbitrary and severe; but referring to the administration of Surat, Thevenot tells us that death sentence could not be inflicted by even the highest officials without referring to the Mughal Emperor. We know that in 1670, when Dr. Graff and another Dutchman were sent from Hughli to assist the recovery of the Dutch governor at Patna, they were arrested at Monghyr, sketching plans of the city and the fort. But the *Faujdar* had to refer the matter to the provincial governor. "He had to consult the Emperor before daring to execute a foreigner caught in the act of flagrant espionage." Mughal administration in its best days was not inefficient, at least in certain matters that it regarded as vital.

Bernier is regarded as a leading authority for the reign of Aurangzeb. After his remark that France before the Revolution was 'held without the violation of any right', it would not be unreasonable to conclude that he did not possess the faculty of judgment. But this adverse critic of Mughal rule, who gives us a glowing picture of good government in France before the French Revolution, thinks it necessary to draw the attention of his Government to the abundance of rice, corn and other necessaries of life in Bengal, its well-populated and well-

cultivated condition, its tapestries, its embroideries and its silk and other manufactures. He explains why India always had a favourable balance of trade swallowing up gold and silver from other parts of the world.

FOR FURTHER STUDY

Moreland, *India at the death of Akbar.*

Moreland, *From Akbar to Aurangzeb.*

Cambridge History of India, Vol. IV.

V. A. Smith, *A History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon.*

E. F. Oaten, *Foreign Travellers in India.*

CHAPTER XXI

FALL OF THE MUGHAL EMPIRE

SECTION I

SUCCESSORS OF AURANGZEB

WAR OF SUCCESSION

The death of Aurangzeb was followed by a war of succession among his sons. The eldest, Prince Muazzam (Shah Alam), was in Kabul ; the second, Prince Azam, and the third, Prince Kam Bakhsh, were in the Deccan. Shah Alam, who had made secret preparations for the inevitable contest, marched quickly to Agra ; his second son Azim-us-Shan, Governor of Bengal on recall to the Deccan, had already marched with his Bengal treasure to Agra and taken possession of the city, though he had failed to take the fort. On the approach of Shah Alam the commandant of the Agra fort capitulated and Shah Alam thus got the accumulated treasures in the vaults at Agra. The decisive battle of this fratricidal contest was fought near Jajau, to the south of Agra, on 18th June, 1707. Azam had with him a very big army of 45,000 foot and 65,000 horse. He was supported by Asad Khan and his son Zulfiqar Khan, who had played a prominent part during the last years of Aurangzeb. The loss on each side was about 10,000, but Azam's army was completely destroyed. He himself lost his life as also his two sons. But the civil war was not over yet. Shah Alam, known as sovereign as Bahadur Shah, had to march to the South to defeat Kam Bakhsh at Hyderabad on 13th January, 1709. Kam Bakhsh died of his wounds.

BAHADUR SHAH (1707-1712)

Fortunately for Bahadur Shah, events in the Deccan had taken a favourable turn. Before proceeding to the North to fight for the throne, Azam had released Shahu, son of Shambhuji, from Mughal captivity. This was done on the

astute advice of Zulfiqar Khan. A civil war began in Maharashtra between the partisans of Shahu and those of Tara Bai. The Maratha menace for sometime ceased to trouble Delhi.[1]

But in the Punjab the Sikhs under the leadership of Banda were successfully carrying on a war of revenge against the Mughals. Though Bahadur Shah succeeded in taking the Sikh fort of Lohgarh, Banda escaped to the hills and the struggle continued.[2] Ajit Singh of Marwar submitted[3], rebelled again and then submitted for the second time. The ruler of Marwar as also Sawai Jai Singh of Jaipur were taken into Mughal service.

Bahadur Shah died in February, 1712. He was an extremely weak man, far too old and easy-going to act with sustained energy. He was so undecided that he could not select his *Wazir* as between Munim Khan, his old minister, and Asad Khan, who joined him after Jajau with the prestige of service under Aurangzeb. He divided authority between the two which made for competition in administration.

JAHANDAR SHAH (1712-1713)

The inevitable civil war between the four sons of Bahadur Shah began immediately after his death. Azim-us-Shan, his second son, was the ablest of the brothers. But Jahandar Shah, the eldest, was supported by Zulfiqar Khan, who secretly brought all the three princes together for joint action against Azim-us-Shan, who was then defeated and slain. The three brothers, Jahandar Shah, Rafi-us-Shan and Jahan Shah, then fell out among themselves. The two younger brothers were slain and Jahandar Shah, a worthless profligate, now became the undisputed master. It was really the triumph of Zulfiqar Khan, but the triumph was very short-lived. About eleven months later Azim-us-Shan's son, Farrukh Siyar, with the help of two Sayyid brothers, Hasan Ali (later known as Abdulla Khan) and Husain Ali, succeeded in defeating Jahandar Shah and Zulfiqar Khan outside the city of Agra. Jahandar Shah was murdered in prison and Zulfiqar Khan was strangled to death.

[1] See pp. 435-436.
[2] See p. 447.
[3] See p. 395.

FARRUKH SIYAR (1713-1719) AND THE ASCENDANCY OF THE SAYYID BROTHERS

Farrukh Siyar ruled for only six years. In the *Akham-i-Alamgiri* there is an alleged will of Aurangzeb in which he thus warned his children about the treatment to be accorded to the Sayyids of Barha, the clan to which the two principal supporters of Farrukh Siyar belonged, "You should be extremely cautious in dealing with the Sayyids of Barha. Be not wanting in love for them at heart, but externally do not increase their rank, because a strong partner in the government soon wants to seize the Kingship for himself. If you let them take the reins ever so little, the result will be your own disgrace". The Sayyid brothers of Barha actually played the part of King-makers during the period 1713-1720. But this was only possible because Farrukh Siyar was 'feeble, false, cowardly and contemptible'. The exertions of the Sayyid brothers won Farrukh Siyar his Empire. Abdulla was appointed *Wazir* and Husain Ali *Mir Bakhshi*. Besides these two chief offices they secured the government of two *subahs* for themselves and one for an uncle, leaving to the Emperor's friends and the Turani chiefs the lion's share of offices. The fickle sovereign, however, began to plot for their overthrow. Quarrels recurred pretty often but were patched up. Husain Ali was sent against Ajit Singh of Marwar. He compelled Ajit Singh to make an abject submission, though the Emperor secretly instigated the Rathor Chief to resist. Farrukh Siyar had to send away to Bengal his leading adviser and favourite, Mir Jumla. Husain Ali was then given the government of the Deccan in supersession of Nizam-ul-Mulk. The Emperor continued his plots against the Sayyid brothers. Husain Ali at last decided to start with his army for the North ; he granted the Marathas the *chauth* and *sardeshmukhi* of the six *subahs* of the Deccan and a Maratha army accompanied him in his Northern expedition[1]. Farrukh Siyar's abject surrender was of no avail. The Sayyids took possession of the Imperial palace, deposed Farrukh Siyar and put him to death two months after deposition.

"There is a local tradition among the Sayyids of Barha that someone proposed to set aside the Imperial house

[1] See p. 437.

altogether, the throne to be transferred to one of the two brothers. Probably the difficulty was to decide which brother should reign''. Rafi-ud-darajat, a son of the third son of Bahadur Shah, was set up as Emperor. Suffering from consumption, he began to sink very fast and had to be deposed soon after, his brother Rafi-ud-daula, another sickly youth, being put in his place. He died in September, 1719, and Raushan-Akhtar, son of Jahan Shah, fourth son of Bahadur Shah, was put on the throne with the title of Muhammad Shah.

FALL OF THE SAYYID BROTHERS

The Sayyid brothers had made too many enemies and the court party leagued with Nizam-ul-Mulk who about this time established himself in the government of the Deccan in opposition to the Sayyid bothers. Husain Ali began his march to the Deccan with the Emperor but was assassinated, the Emperor conniving at the murder. The day before his assassination he is said to have boasted about making Emperor of anyone on whom he chose to cast his shoe.

When Abdulla Khan heard about the murder he set up another puppet Emperor, Ibrahim, but the Imperial army turned northward and at Bilochpur, a village on the Jumna about five miles north of Hassanpur, Abdulla was completely defeated. He was poisoned in his prison two years afterwards. Muhammad Shah ordered that the Sayyids should be referred to after their death, the one as *Namakharam,* the other as *Haramnamak.* During the period of Sayyid ascendency the Sikh movement led by Banda was cruelly suppressed.[1]

MUHAMMAD SHAH (1719-1748)

Muhammad Shah was not the man to restore the prestige of Imperial authority and to revive the glory of Imperial arms. He was weak, devoted to pleasure, perhaps conscious of the hopelessness of the situation. With a demoralised army, a disintegrating administration and a nobility whose 'profession was envy', Muhammad Shah followed the policy of drift, and during his long reign the dissolution of the Mughal Empire

[1] See p. 447.

was practically complete. The process of dismemberment was begun by Nizam-ul-Mulk, who successively became Viceroy of the Mughal Deccan (1713-14, 1720-22) and *Wazir* of the Empire (1722-1724) and finally exercised practically independent authority in the Deccan (1724-1748).[1] He is the founder of the State of Hyderabad. Nadir Shah,[2] before his departure from Delhi with his spoils, warned Muhammad Shah particularly against Nizam-ul-Mulk whom he had found to be the most cunning, self-seeking, crafty and unscrupulous among the courtiers at Delhi. But if the Nizam as the ablest of the self-seeking courtiers achieved the greatest success in his career of independence, others less able also achieved success as founders of independent Viceroyalties—Saadat Khan in Oudh, Alivardi Khan in Bengal,[3] and the Rohilla Afghans in the region now known as Rohilkhand. The Marathas succeeded in seizing Malwa, Bundelkhand, Gujarat, Berar, and shortly afterwards, Orissa.[4] Nadir Shah's invasion in 1739 left the Mughal Empire bleeding and prostrate. Ahmad Shah Abdali[5] completed the work begun by him.

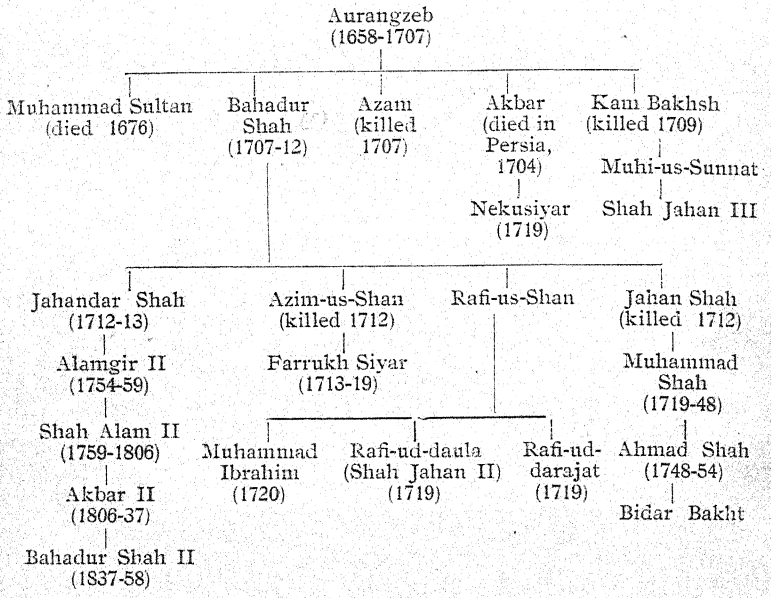
THE PUPPET EMPERORS

Muhammad Shah was succeeded by Ahmad Shah (1748-54), Alamgir II (1754-59) and Shah Alam II (1759-1806). The Delhi Empire gradually shrank to the northern half of the Gangetic Doab with some territory on the west of the Jumna. The Jats in the south and the Sikhs in the west encroached upon what remained in the hands of the puppet monarchs—unworthy descendants of Akbar, Jahangir, Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb. Even in this region the government was not in the hands of the nominal Mughal Emperor and between 1784-1803 it was included within the Maratha sphere of influence. When, in 1803, Lord Lake, the British commander-in-chief, entered Delhi and the Maratha power in the Imperial capital collapsed, there was an end of the phantom of Imperial authority. The name of the dynasty was struck out from the pages of time in 1857,

[1] See pp. 452-453.
[2] See pp. 431-433.
[3] See pp. 451-452.
[4] See pp. 437-443, 452.
[5] See pp. 433-435.

when the rebel sepoys sought to find a legitimate leader in Bahadur Shah II, the last of the Mughals.

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE LATER MUGHALS



SECTION II

PERSIAN AND AFGHAN INVASIONS

The Safavi Empire of Persia and the Mughal Empire of India bordered on each other. The Safavis and the Timurids regarded each other as rivals, but in no instance did the Safavi dynasty embark on a policy of conquest. Bernier says, "If the Persians were in a condition of undertaking anything against Hindustan, why was it that in the last troubles and civil wars which continued so long in Hindustan the Persians sat still and looked on when Dara, Shah Jahan, Sultan Shuja and perhaps the Government of Kabul desired their assistance and they might, with no very great army, nor great expenses have seized on the fairest part of India beginning from the

Kingdom of Kabul unto the river Indus and beyond it and so made themselves umpires of all things." They might have also taken advantage of Aurangzeb's long absence in the South. Persia was not a menace to Mughal India, though it was an asylum for Indian rebels and as a neighbour was regarded naturally as a rival.

INVASION OF NADIR SHAH (1738-39)

The decline of the Safavi Empire began earlier than that of the Mughal Empire. Early in the eighteenth century dissolution came, the Safavi Empire broke to pieces, and Afghan rule in Persia began in 1722. Nizam-ul-Mulk advised Muhammad Shah to march to the assistance of the Safavids. The advice was, of course, rejected. But if the Mughal Emperor refused to march to the assistance of the ruler of Persia, another deliverer appeared in the person of Nadir Quli, son of Imam Quli, a poor Turkoman. After expelling the Afghans he deposed the Safavid ruler Tahmasp and became Regent in 1732 and King in 1736. Early in 1737 he laid siege to the Afghan fort of Qandahar and many Afghans fled to the Mughal province of Kabul in the north. Nadir Shah sent an ambassador to the Delhi Court to protest against this. The Delhi Court detained the ambassador and sent no reply for about a year. The triumphant Turkoman was not to be so easily got rid of. He decided to invade India. The defences of Afghanistan and the Punjab had been neglected by the declining Mughals. Nadir Shah had no difficulty in conquering Afghanistan. He then defeated the Indian forces guarding the Khyber pass. Although primarily a cavalry leader, he could also use his infantry to great effect. He entered Peshawar in November, 1738, and resumed his advance in December. Zakariya Khan, Governor of the Punjab, submitted after some resistance. Nadir Shah then marched from Lahore to Karnal (20 miles north of Panipat), where he met the Imperial army in February, 1739.

"The proceedings of the Imperial court during Nadir's invasion form a tale of disgraceful inefficiency amounting to imbecility". As Ghulam Hussain, the semi-contemporary historian, says, "The roads and passes being neglected, every

one passed and repassed, unobserved ; no intelligence was forwarded to court of what was happening ; and neither Emperor nor Minister ever asked why no intelligence of that kind ever reached their ears". No serious attempt was made to resist the invader till his arrival within striking distance of the Imperial capital.

After the fall of the Punjab the Emperor's advisers, among whom must be included Nizam-ul-Mulk, decided to entrench at Karnal. The Persian army numbered 55,000, the total Indian force about 75,000. But the number of Indian non-combatants was excessive. Nadir did not make any frontal attack but secured Panipat, thus seizing the Mughal line of communications with Delhi. The Mughal army was thus compelled to come out. The battle of Karnal was, however, precipitated by Saadat Khan's insistence on going out to the rescue of his camp followers. The battle lasted three hours, 8,000 Indians being slain. Negotiations for peace began and after some discussion it was agreed that the Persian army would go away on payment of a war indemnity of 50 *lakhs*. This arrangement was upset by personal jealousy. Khan Dauran, the *Mir Bakshi* of the Empire, died of his wounds in the Mughal camp. The Nizam induced Muhammad Shah to confer the office on his eldest son. Saadat Khan, a captive in Nadir's camp, was beside himself with jealousy and anger when he heard it. He assured Nadir Shah that if he went to Delhi he would get 20 *crores* in cash and jewels. The Nizam and the Emperor in their next visit to Nadir Shah were made captives, and the invader marched to Delhi with Muhammad Shah in his train.

A rumour spread in Delhi during Nadir Shah's stay there that he had been assassinated and in a riot some of his troops were slain. In revenge he perpetrated a general massacre in which 20,000 were put to the sword. He spent two months at Delhi, issued coins in his name and the public prayer was read in his name as sovereign. He took with him booty which has been estimated as high as 70 *crores*, including all the crown jewels, the celebrated diamond *Koh-i-nur* and the Peacock Throne of Shah Jahan. At the time of his departure he placed the crown of Hindustan on the head of Muhammad Shah, who ceded to the conqueror the trans-Indus territory of the Mughal Empire. Thus was Afghanistan lost to the Mughals. The

Mughal Governor of Lahore was also to send him 20 *lakhs* a year as the surplus revenue of 4 districts east of the Indus which he had conquered from local chiefs. This invasion left the Mughal Empire 'bleeding and prostrate' ; its weakness was revealed and its prestige was destroyed.

INVASIONS OF AHMAD SHAH ABDALI

Nadir Shah was assassinated in 1747. Afghanistan was made an independent State by Ahmad Shah Abdali. He had come to India in the train of Nadir Shah and he had seen with his own eyes how weak the Mughal Empire was. He naturally followed in the footsteps of Nadir Shah. "With the Khaibar pass and the Peshawar district in foreign hands, the Punjab became a starting point for fresh expeditions against Delhi". He invaded India for the first time in 1748 and seized Lahore ; but at Manupur near Sirhind he was defeated by a Mughal army nominally led by Prince Ahmad Shah. He invaded India for the second time in 1750. At Delhi the Iranis and the Turanis were quarrelling, and with no help forthcoming from the court, the Mughal Governor of Lahore, Mir Mannu, bought him off by agreeing to pay him the surplus revenue of the four districts east of the Indus that Muhammad Shah had agreed to pay to Nadir Shah in 1739.

The third Abdali invasion was undertaken in 1752. Mir Mannu was defeated near Lahore and submitted. Abdali conquered Kashmir and the Mughal Emperor, Ahmad Shah, ceded to him the entire country as far east as Sirhind. Abdali left Mir Mannu as his Governor in Lahore. The Mughal *Wazir*, Safdar Jang, a rival of Mir Mannu, did not come to his help but was making preparations for war in Oudh and Allahabad while the Mughal Emperor made this territorial cession to Abdali's agent.

The fourth Abdali invasion took place in 1756-57. Mir Mannu was dead and the disorganised condition of the Punjab caused by his sudden death brought the invader again to India. He entered Lahore and marched straight upon Delhi. The Rohilla chief, Najib-ud-daula, went over to him. The *Wazir*, Imad-ul-Mulk, surrendered without fight. Abdali looted on an enormous scale. All men, rich and poor, aristocrats and commoners, big merchants and small cultivators, were indiscrimi-

nately plundered. Abdali sacked Mathura and plundered Brindaban, but an outbreak of cholera in his camp compelled him to retreat. The booty which he took with him has been estimated as high as 12 *crores*. The helpless Mughal Emperor, Alamgir II, was forced to cede formally the Punjab, Kashmir as also Sind. Abdali left his eldest son, Timur Shah, at Lahore as his viceroy for the government of these ceded tracts. But the Marathas under Raghunath Rao came to the Punjab and expelled Timur Shah within a year. This made a war to the finish between the Marathas and Ahmad Shah Abdali inevitable. Abdali came, as was not unexpected, in 1759, and undertook a campaign that culminated in the decisive third battle of Panipat.[1] Ahmad Shah did not profit much by this victory. His troops clamoured for their pay which was in arrears and insisted on being led back. He withdrew in March, 1761.

Abdali's idea now was to rule over the Punjab, Sirhind, Kashmir and Sind, with Delhi, Agra, Mathura and other places reserved for plunder. But the rise of the Sikh power very soon made untenable his dominion over the Punjab proper. He came to India in 1762, 1764, 1765 and 1767. With all his military genius and the tradition of victory that attached to his name he failed to crush the Sikhs ; the cunning Sikh strategy, his preoccupations elsewhere, the disadvantage of fighting with a nation in arms and the terrible vitality of the Sikh *Khalsa* (or commonwealth) foiled him and the sovereignty of the Sikhs became established in the greater portion of the Punjab.[2] Keene puts it very aptly, "A few incursions, each less successful than its predecessor ; the famous Khalsa was to settle down, like a wall of concrete, a dam against the encroachments of the northern flood".

The motives of Ahmad Shah in undertaking his Indian expeditions have been thus analysed by Elphinstone. In the first place, he expected thereby to consolidate his power at home. Though his was a national Monarchy, he was himself, after all, an upstart. He hoped by means of his foreign wars to increase his reputation and thereby to win the loyalty of the Afghans. Not only would the Indian campaigns provide him with the expenses of maintaining his army but they would also

[1] See pp. 442-444.
[2] See p. 447.

enable him to heap favours and rewards on the Afghan chiefs. The actual results of Abdali's Indian invasions in Afghanistan are not ascertainable, but, in the Punjab at least, he was indirectly responsible for the ultimate success of the Sikhs and his career in India is very intimately a part of the Sikh struggle for independence.

SECTION III

THE MARATHA EMPIRE

LAST YEARS OF AURANGZEB

The Maratha war of independence against Aurangzeb[1] affected the Maratha State no less than the Mughal Empire. During this confused period, Rajaram had to revive the system of *jagirs* and *saranjams* for the hazardous service which he expected the Maratha chiefs to perform. The Marathas reduced spoliation to a system and the State servants had to support themselves by plundering on all sides. This created a very dangerous tradition. "When the Mughals denuded Maharashtra of all their effectives, the Marathas, who had been long without a State to govern, a Government to control their activities, now found themselves even without an enemy to fight with. The floating mass of lawless elements, now off their anchor, drifted to all sides without a point or purpose. Crowning these confusions broke out a civil war". The following problems remained as the legacy of the Maratha war of independence—to establish a well-regulated internal administration, to reclaim the people to civil life, to destroy the germs of civil war, and to lay the foundations of a stable State.

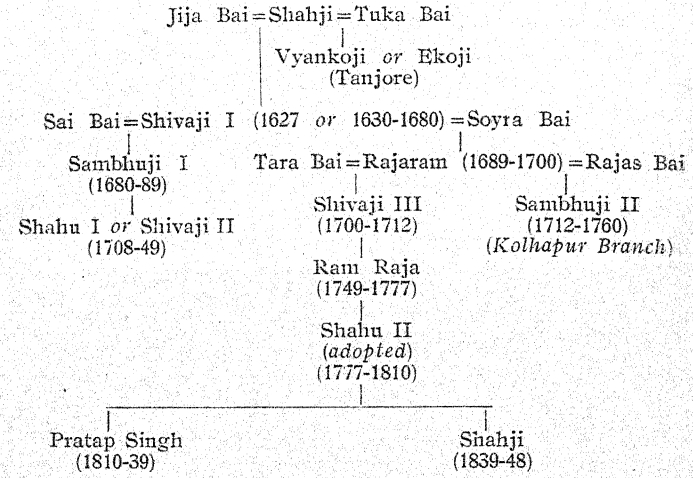
SHAHU (1708-49)

After Aurangzeb's death his son Azam released Shahu[2] (son of Shambhuji) in expectation that his return to Maharashtra would cause a division among the Marathas who were then united under the leadership of Tara Bai. This calculation proved to be quite correct. Tara Bai refused to give up her son's claims. She asserted that Shahu was an impostor, and compelled her courtiers to swear fidelity to her son against

[1] See pp. 406, 408-411.
[2] See p. 406.

other claimants. Thus a civil war began in Maharashtra. Shahu entered Satara and was crowned in January, 1708. Tara Bai fell back upon Panhala, 12 miles from Kolhapur which was made the capital of the rival Kingdom. Her son died in 1712. Tara Bai was removed from the administration of Kolhapur and her place was taken by her co-wife Rajas Bai, who administered the Kolhapur Kingdom on behalf of her son Shambhuji. But Shahu's hold on the Maratha State at Satara was very precarious in view of the prevalence of open anarchy. A very remarkable man now appeared who became the saviour of the Maratha State.

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE BHONSLA CHHATRAPATIS



[Ram Raja was adopted by Shahu I. After the Third Anglo-Maratha War Lord Hastings placed Pratap Singh on the throne of Satara. When Shahji died without leaving any heir Satara was annexed to the Company's dominions by Lord Dalhousie. The descendants of Sambhuji II are still ruling at Kolhapur.]

PESHWA BALAJI VISWANATH (1713-20)

Balaji Viswanath was a Chitpavan Brahmin of the Konkan. His early life is obscure. He rose to prominence in the service of Dhanaji Jadav[1] and it is said that he was one of those who induced Dhanaji to desert Tara Bai and join Shahu. Dhanaji died in 1710. His son Chandrasen Jadav, however, deserted to Kolhapur and afterwards joined Nizam-ul-Mulk. In 1712 Balaji

[1] See p. 410.

was appointed as a *Senakarta* or agent in charge of the army. He brought order and efficiency in the administration of Shahu's Kingdom. He was appointed Peshwa on November 16, 1713. The robber barons were one after another crushed, but Balaji had to conciliate Kanhoji Angria, who had allied himself with Kolhapur and was advancing up the Bhorghat. In February, 1714, a treaty was signed at Lonavala which guaranteed to Angria 10 forts and 16 fortified places of less strength and also recognised him as the *Sarkhel* (admiral) of the Maratha fleet. He transferred his allegiance to Satara and the Satara Government agreed to help him against his enemies—the Sidis, the Portuguese and the English.

After the confusion, weakness and total anarchy of the period 1689-1712, it was necessary to initiate a new policy. In the spirit of the treaty of Lonavala Balaji created what came to be known as the celebrated Maratha confederacy. As the price of Maratha support he secured from Sayyid Husain Ali[1] the grant of *chauth* and *sardeshmukhi* of the six *subahs* of the Mughal Deccan (1718). Balaji accompanied Husain Ali to Delhi and saw with his own eyes the anarchy and confusion there. The grant of *chauth* and *sardeshmukhi* was confirmed by Muhammad Shah later, and on the basis of this grant the Maratha confederacy was brought into existence as an organisation for collecting *chauth* and *sardeshmukhi*. The *Peshwa*, the *Pratinidhi*, the *Senapati*, the *Sena Saheb Subah* and other Maratha chiefs had spheres of influence from which they collected these dues. The *sardeshmukhi* was to be paid entirely to the King ; 25 per cent. of the *chauth* was also to be given to him. Six per cent. (*Sahotra*) and three per cent. (*Nadgunda*) of what remained of the *chauth* could be assigned by the King to whomsoever he pleased. The remainder (66 per cent.) of the *chauth* (*Mokasa*) fell to the share of the chiefs. This complicated system of collection held the confederacy together, and served as an instrument of Maratha imperialism. None had a compact property that might render him altogether independent. The Marathas demanded *chauth* and *sardeshmukhi* on the basis of the standard assessment of the days of Todar Mal or Malik Ambar, which these regions harassed by war could not pay.

[1] See p. 427.

Arrears were thus always due and a standing cause of war was thus always there. The Maratha State refused to take a lump sum or a solid territorial possession and deliberately preferred assignments on proprietors. The crowd of Maratha agents served as watchdogs of Maratha interest in different parts of the Deccan.

PESHWA BAJI RAO I (1720-40)

Balaji Viswanath died in 1720 and was succeeded in his Peshwaship by his son Baji Rao. He pursued the policy of northward expansion in opposition to the policy of *Pratinidhi* Sripat Rao, who preferred the plan of consolidating Maratha hold on the Deccan. Shahu was carried away by the Peshwa's eloquence and his argument which was summed up in the following words: "Let us, strike at the trunk of the withering tree and the branches will fall off themselves." The Maratha flag was to fly from the Krishna to the Indus.

Repeated expeditions were led into Malwa and Gujarat. Malhar Holkar, Udaji Puar, Ranoji Sindhia and other lieutenants of Baji Rao gained experience in these expeditions. As Grant Duff puts it, "Baji Rao comprehended the nature of predatory power and perceived its growth in turbulence and anarchy for which the system of distributing the revenue was the first remedy ; he foresaw that confusion abroad would tend to order at home and that as commander of distant expeditions he should acquire the direction of a larger force than any other chief of the empire. The revenues of the Deccan would improve by withdrawing the hordes of horse which unprofitably consumed them." The victories which the Peshwa gained enabled him to acquire complete ascendancy over the *Chhatrapati*.

In 1726 the Peshwa went to the south and a contribution was levied from Seringapatam, but he was always in favour of northward expansion. Nizam-ul-Mulk blocked his way ; with characteristic artifice he allied with Shambhuji II of Kolhapur and displaced the Maratha collectors of *chauth* and *sardeshmukhi*. This meant war. In 1728 Baji Rao by means of skirmishing succeeded in drawing him into a situation at Palkhed (20 miles west of Daulatabad) in which the Marathas completely surrounded Nizam-ul-Mulk's army in a waterless waste. Nizam-ul-Mulk had to give up the cause of Shambhuji and afford

security for the future collection of *chauth* and *sardeshmukhi* by Maratha agents.

But Nizam-ul-Mulk's diplomacy was at work, fomenting the jealousy of the Maratha *Senapati,* Trimbak Rao Dabhade. There was open war between the Peshwa and the *Senapati,* but the former succeeded in defeating and killing the latter at Dabhoi in 1731: Baji Rao's brother, Chimnaji Appa, defeated and killed Girdhar Bahadur, the Mughal Governor of Malwa, at Amjhera (near Dhar) the same year. Muhammad Khan Bangash, who succeeded Girdhar Bahadur, could not stem the tide of Maratha advance and his successor, Raja Sawai Jai Singh of Jaipur, came to an agreement with the Peshwa. Emperor Muhammad Shah recognised Baji Rao as the Deputy Governor of Malwa. The *chauth* and *sardeshmukhi* of Gujarat were also ceded to the Marathas, the Dabhade family assisted by the Gaikwads dominating in that region. After the battle of Dabhoi the Gaikwads eclipsed the Dabhades in importance.

Baji Rao also led several expeditions into the Ganges-Jumna Doab and the Delhi region. All Mughal attempts to stop him failed completely. He even plundered the suburbs of Delhi. Muhammad Shah at last appealed to Nizam-ul-Mulk to come to Delhi to help him to defeat the Marathas. In 1738 the Mughal army led by Nizam-ul-Mulk and the Marathas under Baji Rao met near Bhopal. Nizam-ul-Mulk was hemmed in on all sides, the Marathas cutting off his supplies. They also prevented reinforcements reaching him and he was compelled to sign a convention granting Baji Rao the whole of Malwa as also complete sovereignty over the territory between the Narbada and the Chambal. Raja Chhatra Sal[1] of Bundelkhand, who died in 1733, had by a will already left to Baji Rao one-third of Bundelhand ; his sons in possession of the rest of Bundelkhand became allies of Baji Rao.

The Peshwa was now in a position to strike with greater vigour at 'the trunk of the withering tree', but Nadir Shah now invaded India and the Delhi Government collapsed under his blow. Baji Rao appears to have thought that Nadir Shah would establish himself as Emperor of Delhi ; he proposed to enter into an alliance with Nasir Jang, son of Nizam-ul-Mulk, who was

[1] See p. 392.

then in charge of Hyderabad during his father's absence at Delhi. Baji Rao said, "Hindus and Mussalmans, the whole power of the Deccan, must assemble and I shall spread my Marathas from the Narbada to the Chambal". He asked his brother Chimnaji, then besieging Bassein (under the Portuguese), to desist. Chimnaji, however, pushed the siege with great vigour and brought it to a triumphant conclusion in May, 1739. He thus removed the Portuguese menace from the Konkan. It was the most vigorous siege prosecuted by the Marathas. The Maratha chiefs hurried with all speed after the fall of Bassein to meet the Persian invader, but news now arrived that Nadir Shah had retreated, after restoring the degraded Muhammad Shah. Baji Rao himself died in April, 1740.

Baji Rao was not only a great soldier but also a great general. He has been rightly described as 'a heaven-born cavalry leader'. In his movements we find a unique combination of speed with surprise. He had all the qualities required in a great leader—character, persistence, energy, courage, political sagacity. He established Maratha supremacy in the Deccan and laid the foundations of their political hegemony in Northern India. But he made no attempt to check the dangerous feudal tendency which was destined to ruin the Maratha cause under his successors.

PESHWA BALAJI BAJI RAO (1740-61)

Baji Rao's eldest son, Balaji Baji Rao, succeeded him in Peshwaship. *Chhatrapati* Shahu was always a factor to reckon with, but he died in December, 1749. Tara Bai declared that there was a posthumous son of Shivaji II, Ram Raja by name, brought up in concealment by a wandering bard after he had been smuggled out of Panhala at birth. In accordance with Shahu's will this young man was brought to Satara and solemnly crowned. Tara Bai had hoped to control the State in his name. But finding this to be impossible she declared him to be an impostor. Ram Raja was brought from Satara to Poona, where he drew up an agreement known as the "Sangola Agreement" by which all the chief offices in the State were given to the agents of the Peshwa (1750). Henceforth the capital of the Maratha Empire was Poona and not Satara. The *Chhatrapati* no longer counted in the Maratha State ; he was a *rois faineant*.

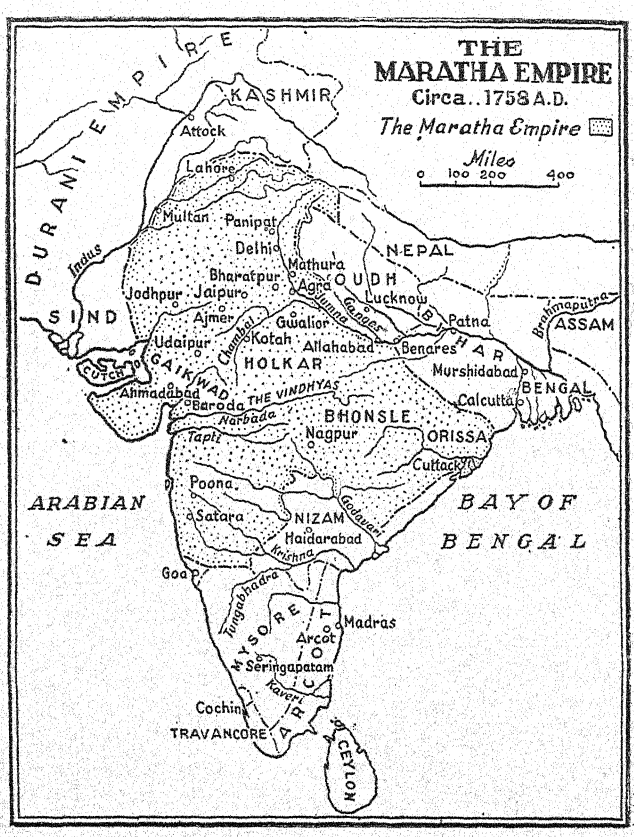
Balaji followed in the footsteps of his illustrious father in his policy of northward expansion, but the South too received his attention. Expeditions were sent to the Carnatic and tribute was realised from districts south of the Krishna. Quite early in his career as Peshwa Balaji bought off the opposition of Raghuji Bhonsle, the Maratha chief of Berar, an inveterate opponent of the Peshwa family, by giving him a free hand in Bengal ; the Berar chief's annual incursions into Bengal compelled Alivardi to surrender to him the province of Orissa and to agree to pay him annually 12 *lakhs* of rupees as the *chauth* of Bengal.[1] Balaji had his tussles with the Nizam, Salabat Jang, who was guided by that brilliant Frenchman, Bussy. Bussy's trained infantry outmanoeuvred the Marathas on more than one occasion in 1751. The Peshwa could not make an effort to eliminate the State of Hyderabad so long as that resourceful Frenchman was there. But he was recalled by Lally, the French Governor of Pondichery, in 1758. Then Balaji made a supreme effort to crush the Nizam's State. The fort of Ahmadnagar was surrendered to the Peshwa. Ibrahim Khan Gardi, a soldier of fortune who commanded the Nizam's artillery and who was trained in the school of Bussy, was persuaded to join the Peshwa's service. Sadashiv Rao Bhau, the Peshwa's cousin, won a spectacular victory over the Nizam at Udgir in 1760 and compelled him to agree to surrender a large territory.[2] It was the apogee of Maratha greatness in the Deccan. The State of Hyderabad would have been crippled for ever, but momentous events happened in the North that were destined soon to nullify the effects of this victory.

NORTH INDIAN EXPEDITIONS

The Peshwa's brother, Raghunath Rao, led two expeditions to the North. The first expedition was in 1754-56. He realized tribute from Jaipur, Kota, Bundi and other States in Rajputana ; he also helped Imad-ul-Mulk, the Mughal *Wazir*, to depose the Mughal Emperor Ahmad Shah and to put Alamgir II on the throne. Imad-ul-Mulk became entirely dependent on the Marathas. Lands in the Gangetic Doab were alienated to the Marathas. Raghunath Rao's second North Indian expedition

[1] See p. 452.
[2] See pp. 453-454.

was in 1757-58. Ahmad Shah Abdali had invaded India for the fourth time in 1756-57, entered Delhi and compelled the Mughal Emperor to cede to him the Punjab and Multan. After Abdali was gone came Raghunath Rao. Imad-ul-Mulk again joined the Marathas. Not content with entering Delhi, Raghunath Rao also advanced to the Chenab and then withdrew,



[This map represents the approximate extent of the Maratha Empire at the conclusion of Raghunath Rao's Punjab expedition.]

leaving Adina Beg Khan as the Maratha viceroy of the Punjab. This expedition was a "hollow show and financially barren". It led to a deficit of 88 *lakhs*, and this provocative advance to the north-west and the expulsion of Abdali's viceroy made a

war *l'outrance* with him inevitable. However, after this spectacular exploit Raghunath Rao was recalled to the South, Dattaji Sindhia being left in charge of Maratha affairs in the North. While the Marathas were fighting with the Nizam in the South, Ahmad Shah Abdali had already succeeded in sweeping away Maratha opposition in the Punjab. He defeated and killed Dattaji Sindhia at Barari Ghat (10 miles north of Delhi) in January, 1760, entered Delhi and defeated Malhar Rao Holkar. He then waited at Aligarh for the impending decisive fight.

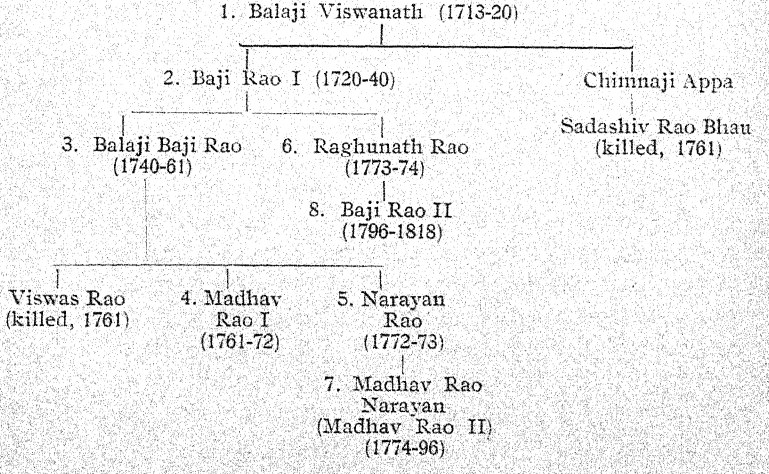
THIRD BATTLE OF PANIPAT (1761)

The victor of Udgir was, therefore, sent to the North to fight it out with Abdali. The plan of Sadashiv Rao Bhau was to build a bridge of boats near Etawa, attack Abdali in the upper Doab and raid the territory of Shuja-ud-daula of Oudh. But rains began too early that year, boats could not be secured, and Bhau changed his plan. He decided to attack Delhi which he succeeded in taking from its Afghan garrison in August, 1760, but the problem of food supply could not be solved thereby. He next reached Panipat in October, 1760. Abdali in the meantime won over Shuja-ud-daula, marched as quickly as he could, crossed the Jumna at Baghpat and came near the Marathas. Bhau entrenched at Panipat in November, 1760. Skirmishes and minor battles took place for sometime between the Marathas and the Afghans, who had entrenched about eight miles away. The Maratha army was by December, 1760, pent up, their food supply exhausted, their horses and guncattle fasting and dying. The starving Marathas decided to fight a desperate battle and on the 14th January, 1761, marched out. The forces actually engaged have been thus estimated: Afghans 60,000; Marathas 45,000 excluding irregular troops and camp followers. The battle raged from dawn to about 3 P.M. No victory was perhaps more complete and no defeat more conclusive. Very few Marathas escaped, and among the few were Nana Fadnavis and Mahadji Sindhia, destined to play a prominent part in Maratha affairs in later years. "An entire generation of leaders was cut off", including Viswas Rao, the eldest son of the Peshwa, who was the nominal commander, as also Bhau himself. "It was a nation-wide disaster like Flodden Field; there was not a home in Maharashtra that had not to

mourn the loss of a member, and several houses their very heads". The news of this terrible disaster hastened the Peshwa's death, which took place in June, 1761.

The third battle of Panipat must be regarded as one of the most decisive events in Indian history. On that fatal field Maratha Imperialism received its greatest blow and the Peshwa's prestige was rudely shaken. The Marathas lost their hold on Malwa, Rajputana and the Doab ; in the Deccan the fruits of the victory of Udgir were lost and the Nizam boldly assumed the offensive. But recovery was not long delayed ; under Peshwa Madhav Rao I the Marathas defeated the Nizam, recovered their hold on Northern India, and brought Emperor Shah Alam II under their protection. By then, however, the Indian world was very much changed. The British had brought Bengal and Bihar under their control and established their suzerainty over Oudh. Panipat made it impossible for the Marathas to resist the growth of British power in the Ganges valley. In the South the temporary eclipse of Maratha power enabled Haidar Ali to consolidate his power in Mysore. Within the Maratha confederacy a great change came after 1772 ; Sindhia, Holkar, Bhonsle and Gaikwad became virtually independent of the Peshwa's control. Maratha Imperialism in Northern India henceforth meant the domination of Sindhia and Holkar, not the supremacy of the Peshwa.

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE PESHWAS



SECTION IV

SIKHS, JATS AND RAJPUTS

THE SIKHS IN THE 17TH CENTURY

A brief account of the Sikhs till the cruel death of Guru Arjan (1606) has been given in previous chapters.[1] Under his son and successor Hargobind (1606-45) a transition to militarism became a feature of Sikh history. Hargobind was warlike ; he kept a stable of 800 horses and 300 mounted followers. "He grasped a sword and marched with his devoted followers among the troops of the empire or boldly led them to oppose or overcome provincial governors or personal enemies. During the ministry of Hargobind the Sikhs increased greatly in numbers and the fiscal policy of Arjan[2] and the armed system of his son formed them into a kind of separate state within the empire".

Hargobind passed over his sons and nominated his grandson Har Rai (1645-61) as successor. He was of a peaceable disposition, but for joining Dara Shukoh in the War of Succession he had to send his eldest son Ram Rai as a hostage to the Mughal court. His second son, Har Krishan (1661-64) succeeded him. Summoned to Delhi, he died there of smallpox, nominating Teg Bahadur, second son of Hargobind, as the ninth Guru.

Quite early in his career Teg Bahadur was summoned to Delhi for his activities that were not liked by the established Government ; but he was protected by Ram Singh, son of Mirza Raja Jai Singh of Amber, and in his company the Guru went to Patna and thence to Assam. After his return to the Punjab he was seized and taken to the capital, where he was ignominiously put to death[3] by an Imperial order in 1675.

It has been said that he was put to death because of the life of violence he led. Sikh tradition, however, asserts that he lived the harmless life of the wandering devotee. This incident, however, powerfully helped the transformation of the Sikhs into a martial people. Before starting for Delhi in answer to Imperial summons he girded upon his young son Gobind the

[1] See pp. 321-322, 366.
[2] See p. 322.
[3] See p. 392.

sword of Hargobind, thus hailing him as his successor in the event of his execution.

GURU GOBIND SINGH (1675-1708)

The last apostle of the Sikhs awakened his followers to a new life. He established the *Khalsa* or the theocracy of the *Singhs*. The philosophical basis of the religion remained unchanged, but the outward forms and ceremonies were transformed. His followers were to be henceforth called *Singhs* or lions. The rite of initiation was to be called *pahul*. Their watchword should be, "Hail Guru". They should honour the memory of Guru Nanak and his successors. They were to have long hair, dagger, comb, bangle, breeches. They should devote their energies to steel alone, ever wage war and slay enemies. By means of a new name, new dress, new equipment and new ceremonies "he called in the human energy of the Sikhs from all other sides and made it flow in a particular direction only. By this means the Sikh nation was poured into the mould of a special purpose". A religious teacher, a military leader and a rebel, it is not easy to place his actions in due order. He fought with the hill Rajas of the Punjab and also with the forces of the Mughal Empire ; his sons were put to death by the Mughal *Faujdar* of Sirhind. He sided with Bahadur Shah in the war of succession, proceeding with him to South India, where he was murdered by an Afghan in 1708. He declared that the Guru would henceforth be found in the *Khalsa*. So the personal Guruship was abolished.

THE SIKH GURUS

1. Nanak (born 1469, died 1538)
2. Angad (period of Gurushlip : 1538-52)
3. Amar Das (1552-74)

Daughter
Bibi Bhani = 4. Ram Das (1574-81)

5. Arjan (1581-1606)

6. Hargobind (1606-45)

Gurditta — 7. Har Rai (1645-61) — 8. Har Krishan (1661-64)

9. Teg Bahadur (1664-75) — 10. Gobind Singh (1675-1708)

SIKH WAR OF INDEPENDENCE IN THE 18TH CENTURY

Banda succeeded Guru Gobind Singh as the temporal leader of the Sikhs. He took Sirhind and slew its *Faujdar* who was responsible for the murder of Guru Gobind Singh's sons. He occupied a portion of the country at the foot of the hills, but was driven out of his stronghold at Lohgarh by Bahadur Shah[1] and Munim Khan. He reappeared in Sirhind in the days of Farrukh Siyar ; compelled to take shelter in the fort of Gurdaspur, he was reduced by starvation to submit. He was put to death at Delhi with his followers in 1716. An active persecution was kept up against the Sikhs by the Governors of the Punjab. But the invasions of Nadir Shah and Ahmad Shah Abdali created conditions favourable to the Sikhs, who never lost the impress of Guru Gobind Singh even in the days of their greatest adversity.

After 1752 the Mughal power ceased to count so far as the Punjab was concerned[2] and the Sikhs had to fight with Ahmad Shah Abdali. After Abdali's great victory over the Marathas at Panipat (1761) it was expected that he would be able to strengthen his hold over the Punjab. But the hovering and harassing tactics of the Sikh marauding bands and the elusive nature of the enemy whom he could not crush wore out the great warrior. He gained a victory over them in 1762 near Ludhiana in which he killed about 12,000 Sikhs, but victory was ineffective. By 1767 he practically confessed that he was beaten and left the Sikhs to themselves.[3]

The success of the Sikhs in the long contest against Abdali was due to several causes. In the first place, the Sikh method of warfare was admirably well suited to the circumstances. Having no chance of success in pitched battles they cut off his supplies and tried to ruin him without fighting. Ahmad Shah could not reach them in their mountain retreats. Secondly, he could not spare a sufficient number of troops in the Punjab to prevent the Sikhs from recovering their possessions and power. Thirdly, there were frequent rebellions in Afghanistan that often diverted his attention from India. Finally, an individual, however gifted, however great, is always

[1] See p. 426.
[2] See p. 433.
[3] See p. 434.

at a disadvantage in fighting with a nation in arms, fired by a consciousness of its own destiny. Ahmad Shah is said to have remarked that it would be necessary for the complete reduction of Sikh power to wait until their religious fervour had evaporated. During the war of independence the Sikhs presented an almost united front, and for the successful termination of this struggle credit should be given to the entire nation, not to any individual. After the virtual extinction of Abdali's power the disciples of Guru Gobind Singh parcelled out the greater portion of the Punjab among themselves and formed twelve *Misls* or associations of warriors led by powerful chiefs, thus developing what has been described as "theocratic confederate feudalism".

RISE AND FALL OF THE JATS

A branch of the Jat people was settled in the country south of the Jumna between Agra and Delhi. They occupied a position on the flank of the road between the two capitals and of the routes leading from these through Ajmer towards the Deccan. In the reign of Aurangzeb this robust race began to create great trouble.[1] The rebellion of Gokla Jat was suppressed in 1669, that of Raja Ram Jat in 1688. The Jats under Bhajja became troublesome again in 1705-1707. Bhajja's son Churaman was taken into Imperial service in 1707. He fell into disfavour in the reign of Muhammad Shah and consolidated his position by constructing a stronghold at a place called Thun. It was deemed necessary to make an attempt to suppress him. Sawai Jai Singh of Amber was sent against him in 1716. He invested Thun, but the courtiers of Delhi persuaded the Emperor to agree to accept terms favourable to the Jat chief. The Jat leader remained a formidable power too near the Imperial capitals. Troubles were created by the sons of Churaman who took refuge in the fort of Thun. Churaman's nephew, Badan Singh, joined the Imperialists who succeeded in taking Thun in 1721. Badan Singh now became the Jat chief.

After Badan Singh's death (1756) his adopted son and successor, Suraj Mal, made the Jats a very formidable power in Hindustan. Badan Singh and Suraj Mal raised or repaired four almost impregnable fortresses in their dominions—Dig, Kum-

[1] See p. 392.

bher, Bharatpur, Ver. Suraj Mal also disciplined a body of cavalry after a method of his own. The Marathas as well as Ahmad Shah Abdali invaded his country on more than one occasion. He would on such occasions retire to his fortresses and bid defiance to the invaders. At the time of the Afghan invasion of 1757, the Jats offered the most stubborn resistance at Chaumuha when the Afghans tried to plunder Mathura. The Jats failed to stem the tide of invasion, but theirs was perhaps the most stubborn resistance on record. When Ahmad Shah Abdali withdrew after the Panipat campaign the Jat Raja was perhaps the strongest potentate in India 'with absolutely unimpaired forces and an overflowing treasury.' He captured Agra fort in June, 1761. Unfortunately for the Jat Kingdom, Suraj Mal was killed in 1763 in a petty skirmish with Najib-ud-daula who was at that time dictator of Delhi. His son, Jawahir Singh, succeeded him. He had a stormy career. He was assassinated in 1768. The Jat power now began to decline. It was torn by family dissensions and factious opposition. The Imperial army of Shah Alam II led by Mirza Najaf Khan recovered Agra in 1773 and Dig in 1776. The declining Jat power continued to exist with its centre in the impregnable fort of Bharatpur.

THE RAJPUTS IN THE 18TH CENTURY

Rana Raj Singh[1] of Mewar died in 1680. His State, unrivalled in its pre-eminence in the eyes of Hindu India, fell into the back-ground due to the weakness of his successors and their isolation from the Mughal court. Amber had played a very important part in Mughal history under Bhagwan Das, Man Singh and Mirza Raja Jai Singh.[2] Jodhpur was perhaps equally important in the Mughal period and the Rathor soldiery formed a very important element in the Mughal army. The thirty years' war in Marwar after Jaswant Singh's death[3] eclipsed that State for some time. In the days of Muhammad Shah two prominent chiefs of Rajputana, Sawai Jai Singh of Jaipur and Abhai Singh of Marwar, were pre-eminent in the Mughal court. Jai Singh

[1] See p. 394.
[2] See pp. 345, 383, 384, 398, 399.
[3] See pp. 393-395.

died in 1743, Abhai Singh in 1749. With the dissolution of the Mughal Empire Rajputana lost that peace which the suzerainty of the Mughals had imposed and maintained for about two centuries. "Rajputana became a zoological garden with the barriers of cages thrown down and the keepers removed". There were three storm centres—Bundi, Jaipur and Marwar—where rivals contended with each other for succession. The Marathas led incursions into these territories, siding with one of the claimants against the other. Holkar and Sindhia regarded Rajputana with its internal distractions as a land to be plundered. Even when the civil wars ended, Maratha visitations continued. This is the history of Rajputana until the establishment of British suzerainty—a story of war, domestic and foreign, with disorder and economic ruin as inevitable consequences. The Rajputs in the eighteenth century seemed to be a played out race.

SECTION V

INDEPENDENT VICEROYALTIES (OUDH, BENGAL, HYDERABAD)

CAUSES OF THE RISE OF INDEPENDENT VICEROYALTIES

The Great Mughals were effective rulers. They had a system of checks and balances in their provincial administration that made it impossible for the *Subahdars* to assert their independence. But under the weak Later Mughals (to be more precise, from the days of Muhammad Shah) the pernicious practice of uniting several rich provinces under the government of one viceroy, as also the lack of supervision, made it easier for the Provincial Satraps to become practically independent. The Nizam, who controlled the resources of all the Mughal *Subahs* of the Deccan, established the state of Hyderabad. Bengal, Bihar and Orissa formed an independent viceroyalty. The hereditary principle came to be acknowledged in Provincial Governments. These viceroyalties were at a considerable distance from the seat of the Central Government. But even viceroys nearer Delhi, like the Nawabs of Oudh, became practically independent.

THE NAWABS OF OUDH

Saadat Khan was a Persian immigrant from Nishapur. Appointed *Faujdar* of Hindaun and Byana in 1720, he showed great ability in the court intrigues in which alone a successful career could be made in those days. He was for some time put in charge of Agra and was appointed also to the government of Oudh. He was given the title of Burhan-ul-Mulk. After his failure against the Jats, he was removed from the government of Agra but continued to enjoy a semi-independent position in Oudh. In the battle of Karnal (1739) he was taken prisoner by Nadir Shah whom he induced to imprison the Mughal Emperor and to go to Delhi,[1] but at the Imperial capital he was threatened with personal chastisement for his failure to raise the promised ransom. He committed suicide to escape dishonour.

He was succeeded in his government of Oudh by his nephew and son-in-law Abul Mansur Khan, better known by his title of Safdar Jang. He rose to be the *Wazir* of Emperor Ahmad Shah. After his death in 1754 his son, Shuja-ud-daula, succeeded in the independent government of Oudh. He also enjoyed the rank of *Wazir* of the Mughal Emperor, the *rois faineant* Shah Alam II. After the battle of Buxar (1764) he gradually became a vassal of the East India Company.

THE NAWABS OF BENGAL

Bengal, Bihar and Orissa became practically an independent viceroyalty under Murshid Quli Khan, the celebrated *Dewan* of Aurangzeb.[2] Towards the close of Aurangzeb's reign Murshid Quli Khan was the *Dewan* of Bengal and Azim-us-Shan was the *Subahdar,* and during the long absence of Azim-us-Shan from his provinces he was also placed in charge of the military administration of Bengal and Orissa. When Farrukh Siyar ascended the throne he was appointed Deputy Governor of Bengal with an absentee Governor, and was made *Subahdar* of Orissa in his own name. On the death of Murshid Quli Khan in 1727 his son-in-law, Shuja-ud-din Muhammad Khan, succeeded him in the government of Bengal and Orissa. Bihar was added to the viceroyalty of Bengal during his administration. He died

[1] See p. 432.
[2] See pp. 376-377.

in 1739 and was succeeded as a matter of course by his son Sarfaraz Khan in these provincial governments. Sarfaraz was defeated and killed in the battle of Giria, in April, 1740, by Alivardi Khan, a favourite of his late father, who had appointed him as the Deputy Governor of Bihar. In May, 1740, Alivardi was recognised by the Mughal Emperor as the Viceroy of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa.

The new *Subahdar* found his provinces exposed to the incursion of the marauding Marathas from Nagpur. The *Bargi* incursions into Bengal began in 1742 and continued until 1751. In this incessant warfare Alivardi Khan was worn out and a large part of his territory ravaged. In 1751 he signed a peace with Raghuji Bhonsle of Nagpur on the following terms: Orissa was practically ceded to Raghuji, and from Bengal a tribute of 12 *lakhs* a year was to be paid as *chauth*. The river Suvarnarekha was fixed as the boundary of Bengal. Alivardi died in April, 1756, and was succeeded by his grandson, Siraj-ud-daula, whose career is a part of the history of the rise of the British power in Bengal.

THE NIZAMS OF HYDERABAD

The founder of the Hyderabad State, Mir Qamar-ud-din Chin Qilich Khan, better known as Nizam-ul-Mulk, was the grandson of an immigrant from Bukhara. He entered Mughal service in the early part of Aurangzeb's reign. Bahadur Shah made him Governor of Oudh. He became Governor of the Deccan for the first time in 1713, but he was soon replaced by Sayyid Hussain Ali.[1] After the fall of the Sayyids he again made himself master of the Deccan. In 1722 Muhammad Shah made him *Wazir* of the Empire ; but he was so disgusted with the frivolities of the court that he left for the Deccan in 1723. Suspicious about his loyalty, Muhammad Shah induced the Deputy Viceroy of the Deccan, Mubariz Khan, to resist him but Mubariz was slain by the Nizam in the battle of Shakarkheda (in Berar) in 1724. Unable to undermine his position, the Emperor confirmed him in his office and granted him the title of Asaf Jah. In his tussles with Baji Rao[2] the Nizam was in-

[1] See p. 427.
[2] See p. 438-439.

variably worsted, but the campaign of Palkhed or the defeat near Bhopal tank did not affect his position as the Viceroy of the six Mughal *Subahs* in the Deccan. He was in the North during the years 1736-40, making a vain attempt to save the Mughal Empire, first from the Marathas and then from Nadir Shah. The defeats suffered by him at Bhopal and Karnal proved that he was incapable of playing the part of saviour of the declining Mughal Empire. He returned to the Deccan in 1741, and suppressed the rebellion of his second son Nasir Jang who had acted as his deputy during his absence. In 1743 Nizam-ul-Mulk established his authority at Arcot and at Trichinopoly. He installed his nominee Anwar-ud-din as the Nawab of Arcot. He died in 1748. He has been described as the most outstanding personality in the declining days of the Mughal Empire, more skilful in diplomacy than in war. He has left his impress on Indian History as the successful founder of the State of Hyderabad.

He left six sons to fight for the heritage. The second son, Nasir Jang, succeeded him at Hyderabad, the eldest Ghazi-ud-din trying to play an important part in the Imperial court at Delhi. But Muzaffar Jang, a favourite grandson of Nizam-ul-Mulk, who was at that time governor of Bijapur and Adoni, set himself up as a rival of Nasir Jang. His cause was taken up by the French. Nasir Jang marched to meet him but was assassinated. Muzaffar Jang was raised to the viceroyalty, but he too was assassinated soon after. A French escort was led by the brilliant French leader Bussy and he declared Salabat Jang, one of Nasir Jang's brothers, as the successor of Muzaffar Jang. Bussy dominated the affairs at Hyderabad from 1751 until his recall by the French Governor Lally in 1758. Salabat Jang was without any ability. After the recall of Bussy he invested his brother Nizam Ali with full power. Peshwa Balaji Baji Rao followed his father's policy of hostility towards Hyderabad. A large Maratha army led by Sadashiv Rao Bhau succeeded in completely defeating the Nizam in the battle of Udgir (3rd February, 1760). He ceded to the Marathas territory yielding 60 *lakhs* of rupees, the forts of Asirgarh and Daulatabad as also the cities of Bijapur and Burhanpur ; he was allowed to retain the rest of his territory on condition of paying *chauth* to the Marathas. This might have been the beginning of the

end of Asaf Jahi dynasty, but the Maratha disaster at Panipat had its repercussions in the South. It was followed by the death of Peshwa Balaji Baji Rao and this temporary paralysis of the Maratha power enabled Nizam Ali to regain much of what was lost. Panipat undid the work of Udgir. Nizam Ali, after his success, threw Salabat Jang into prison, where he died two years afterwards. With Nizam Ali's accession in 1762, the Asaf Jahi dynasty was once again secure, and undisputed succession gave it as much stability as it was possible to attain in those days. Nizam Ali was defeated by the Marathas in the battle of Kharda in 1795. He ruled for forty years and died as a vassal of the East India Company.

SECTION VI

CAUSES OF THE FALL OF THE MUGHAL EMPIRE

MILITARY INEFFICIENCY

Irvine writes in his work, *The Army of the Indian Mughals*, "Military inefficiency was the principal if not the sole cause of the Mughal Empire's final collapse. All other defects and weaknesses were as nothing in comparison with this. Its revenue and judicial system was on the whole suited to the habits of the people ; they looked for nothing different and so far as those matters were concerned, the empire might have endured for ages. But it had lost all military energy at the centre. The rude hand of no Persian or Afghan conqueror, no Nadir, no Ahmad Shah Abdali, the genius of no European adventurer, a Dupleix or a Clive, was needed to precipitate it to the abyss. The Empire of the Mughals was already doomed before any of these had appeared on the scene".

The constitution of the army was thoroughly unsound. A trooper rode his own horse and if it was killed, he was ruined. He very often fled not because he was a coward but to save his horse which was his whole invested capital. As the army was organized he was the soldier of his immediate commander and was not taught to look beyond him. Even in the days of Shah Jahan, in connection with the three sieges of Qandahar we find the Mughals outclassed in the weapons of warfare and

methods of fighting. The admirable personal qualities of the Great Mughals alone enabled them to make an effective use of an instrument otherwise inefficient. About the Later Mughals Irvine writes, "Excepting want of personal courage every other fault in the list of military vices may be attributed to the degenerate Mughals—indiscipline, want of cohesion, luxurious habits, inactivity, bad commissariat and cumbrous equipment".

DECLINE IN THE CHARACTER OF THE NOBILITY

The composite army of Afghans and Turks, Rajputs and Hindustanis, that followed the banner of the Delhi sovereign could only be efficiently led by leaders of tact and patience, gifted with personal bravery and administrative ability, but, as Sir J. N. Sarkar puts it, "To the thoughtful student of Mughal history nothing is more striking than the decline of the peerage". Bloody battles of succession, armed contests between rival nobles for Provincial Governorships, alienation of the Hindus, weak sovereigns unable to select right men, gross favouritism, dirtiest jobbing account for this startling decline in the character of the nobility. In such uncertain conditions adventurers from Bukhara and Khorasan could no longer seek a career in India. The classic example is that of Muhammad Yar Khan who became weary of Nadir Shah's stern discipline, deserted him and remained in India, but he became soon disgusted with the state of things here and went back to Persia. Nadir Shah said, "You feared the violence of my temper ; how is it that you have returned to me?" The reply was, "To be slain by a man like you is preferable to spending life among a pack of cowards".

There was no patriotism in an army composed of Persian, Central Asian and Afghan soldiers of fortune. There was some loyalty to the sovereign's person, and in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the sovereigns were strong personalities. But an imbecile and intriguing Farrukh Siyar or a timid and wavering Muhammad Shah could not inspire personal devotion and prevent factious intrigues. Swayed by their favourites and guided by such *Wazirs* as the aged voluptuary Qamar-ud-din Khan or the incapable and selfish Imad-ul-Mulk, the Mughal Emperors could not prevent inefficiency and factious intrigues

ruining the Empire. The Irani, Turani and Hindustani parties quarrelled with each other. Saadat Khan, an Irani, would betray his master for promoting a Turani[1]; Safdar Jang, an Irani, would not come to the aid of the hard-pressed Governor of the Punjab because he was a Turani rival[2]. Reverence and devotion to the head of the State, which Akbar and his successors had inspired, no longer kept the nobles within proper limits.

INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL ENEMIES

Repeated Maratha incursions into the Doab, Maratha conquest of Gujarat, Malwa and Bundelkhand, and the *Bargi* incursions into Bengal showed that the Mughal Government was unable to meet its own domestic enemies. The reign of anarchy had already begun when Nadir Shah invaded India. The invasions of Nadir Shah and Ahmad Shah merely completed the progress of dissolution which had already advanced very far. The independent Provincial Governors, the triumphant Marathas, the irrepressible Sikhs and the determined Jats were fast undoing the work of Akbar and Shah Jahan when the foreign invaders came in and completed the process.

FOR FURTHER STUDY

Irvine, *Later Mughals*, 2 Vols.
Irvine, *The Army of the Indian Mughals.*
Sir J. N. Sarkar, *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, Vols. I-II.
I. Banerjee, *Evolution of the Khalsa*, Vol. II.
N. K. Sinha, *Rise of the Sikh Power.*
V. G. Dighe, *Baji Rao.*

[1] See p. 432.
[2] See p. 433.

CHAPTER XXII

THE COMING OF THE EUROPEANS

SECTION I

THE PORTUGUESE IN INDIA

VASCO DA GAMA

On the 17th May, 1498, Vasco da Gama and his sailors reached the shores of India, landing at Calicut. The discovery of a direct sea route to India was a great event. The project had been planned by Dom Joao, following the traditional policy of Prince Henry the Navigator. The discovery of the Cape of Good Hope by Bartholomew Diaz made the realization of the project possible, and Vasco da Gama carried out a matured plan based on authentic information gathered during half a century of exploration. The historical results that followed have made popular imagination rank him with Columbus. In 1502 the Pope gave the King of Portugal permission to style himself "Lord of the Navigation, conquest and commerce of Ethiopia, Arabia, Persia and India".

Vasco da Gama's voyage of reconnaisance gave the Portuguese an idea of the articles to be found in the Malabar market and the wares that could be sold there. He was a crude sailor, and inspite of his stay for three months in a Hindu State he remained ignorant of the existence of the Hindu religion. He returned to Portugal in August, 1499.

After him came Cabral. He reached Calicut in September, 1500, established a factory there, but very soon quarrelled with the Zamorin. The Portuguese factory was levelled to the ground. Cabral secured valuable cargoes from Cochin and Cannanore. The Raja of Cochin, an enemy of the Zamorin of Calicut, became a friend of the Portuguese. "The object of the Portuguese was now not only to hinder as far as possible trade between India and the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf, but also to divert to Portugal all the trade of the East with Europe".

Vasco da Gama came for the second time in 1502. He had now a large fleet at his command. An inhuman, greedy sailor, he perpetrated horrible deeds of cruelty, sinking pilgrim vessels without mercy, and by a policy of frightfulness trying to scare the Arab merchants away from trade with India. He erected a factory at Cochin and returned to Lisbon, leaving a small fleet to patrol the coast. The Zamorin of Calicut invaded the territory of Cochin, but Affonso de Albuquerque now arrived with a small Portuguese squadron and drove him out of Cochin. Duarte Pacheco was left with a hundred men to defend Cochin against the Zamorin. With about 8,000 Cochin troops he held his own for about four months against overwhelming odds, the army of the Zamorin numbering about 60,000. A peace was then arranged.

The Portuguese now abandoned the policy of sending annual expeditions and in 1505 decided to appoint a viceroy who would remain at his post for three years. Francisco d'Almeida was the first viceroy. He was to build fortresses at Anjadiva (a group of small islets near the Malabar coast), Cannanore and Cochin. Anjadiva proved useless, but the Raja of Cochin became a Portuguese puppet. A Portuguese garrison at Cannanore held its own. The Zamorin's fleet was destroyed. Almeida also gained a great victory off Diu over a fleet sent by the Sultan of Egypt to drive away the Portuguese intruders from the Indian Ocean.

ALBUQUERQUE

Affonso de Albuquerque succeeded Almeida with the rank of Governor in 1509. Next year he occupied Goa. Yusuf Adil Shah of Bijapur recaptured it, but Albuquerque recovered it not long after. He strengthened it, increased its commercial importance and made it the head-quarters of the Portuguese in the East. He did everything in his power to encourage the Portuguese to take Indian wives in order to secure a permanent population. He captured Malacca in 1511, relieved Goa again in 1512, but failed in his attack on Aden. He succeeded in establishing Portuguese suzerainty over Ormuz. He died in December, 1515, having established a Portuguese Empire with its system of naval bases from Ormuz to Malacca, from which

they commanded all seaborne trade and held to ransom the vessels of all other nations. Almeida believed in the Portuguese fleet with bases at Cochin and other places patrolling the coast and commanding communications. Albuquerque's system was different. He would occupy certain important points and rule there, colonise select districts through mixed marriages, build fortresses at important strategic places and, wherever possible, induce petty local chiefs to recognise the supremacy of Portugal, if necessary by a yearly subsidy in gold.

EXPANSION OF PORTUGUESE POWER

The Portuguese Governors who succeeded Albuquerque followed his trail. They secured Bassein in 1534 and Diu in 1537, erected a fort at Colombo in 1518 and by the middle of the sixteenth century established their hold over the island of Ceylon. Under the Portuguese Governor of India with his head-quarters at Goa five Governors ruled respectively over Mozambique, Ormuz, Maskat, Ceylon and Malacca. But the Portuguese never attempted to penetrate inland into the interior of India. Portuguese India is not a historical fact. They never ruled over any area of India that was outside the range of their ships' guns.

Portugal 'held the gorgeous East in fee' for the whole of the sixteenth century. In the seventeenth century, however, her Indian settlements fell one after another into the hands of the Dutch ; the English later took the place of the Hollanders. The Marathas captured Salsette and Bassein in 1739. The Portuguese retained only Goa, Daman and Diu.

CAUSES OF THE DECLINE OF THE PORTUGUESE POWER

The ultimate decline of the Portuguese power in the East was due to several causes. The Portuguese system of mixed marriages produced a degenerate race that did not possess the military qualities necessary for the maintenance of an Empire. It has been said that the East resented the intrusion of the West by absorbing and degrading the earlier Western intruders. The Portuguese administrative system was also 'surprisingly ineffective', worse than that of the Zamorin or Adil Shah. The officials had no sense of loyalty, even the soldiers had the right

of private trade, corruption was rampant. The Portuguese system was undermined by abuses and corruption.

The religious intolerance of the Portuguese was another important cause of their decline. The Franciscan missionaries arrived in Goa in 1517. Hindu temples were destroyed there. An Inquisition was established in Goa in 1560. An atrocious religious persecution began. The ecclesiastical supremacy established in Goa was alone sufficient to ruin the Portuguese Empire in the East. The horrible cruelty of the Portuguese in their dealings with the Muhammadans, their torturing and burning of relapsed converts, make one wonder why the Portuguese power did not collapse before it did.

After the decline of Vijayanagar Goa lost its importance as a trade centre. The Dutch and the British arrived to contest Portuguese monopoly. In 1580 Portugal joined her fortunes with Spain. Her ships and her men were engaged in Europe fighting the battles of Spain. Defeated first by the Dutch and then by the English, Portuguese domination of the Eastern seas collapsed, their inferior naval power hastening the process.

RESULTS OF PORTUGUESE RULE

The most important political consequence of Portuguese rule in the western coast was that it checked the tendency towards unification in Malabar. The Zamorin of Calicut would have succeeded in his attempt to create a single state but for the Portuguese, who conciliated the local princes and with their sea power and with the support of the petty local chiefs frustrated the attempts of the Zamorin. The Dutch, who succeeded the Portuguese in their political influence in this region, fostered the political disunion of Malabar, which thus fell later an easy prey to Haidar Ali.

Bernier describes the Portuguese in Bengal in the seventeenth century as "Christians only in name ; the lives led by them were most destestable, massacring or poisoning one another without compunction or remorse". The horror and loathing associated with the "Feringhees" make it almost absurd to suggest that the Portuguese have any place in the cultural history of India, but the Jesuit missionaries sent to Akbar's court,—Aquaviva and Monserrate, who were sent in

1579, and Xavier and Pinhiero, who were invited in 1594—were virtuous, learned, active priests and they have made some contribution to Indian culture. They were disappointed to find that the Mughal Emperor and his courtiers were in no mood for conversion, but the *Commentaries* of Monserrate and the letters of Xavier are rich mines of information for the historian of the Mughal period.

It has been said that the Portuguese successfully frustrated all attacks made on them by the Turks. "Although we have no documentary evidence for believing that the Turks ever entertained the idea of establishing a naval and still less a military base in India, it is quite conceivable that if one of their fleets had succeeded in driving the Portuguese out of their fortresses on the Indian coast the establishment of the Christian powers in India might have been infinitely postponed".

SECTION II

OTHER EUROPEAN MERCHANTS IN INDIA

THE DUTCH IN INDIA

The Dutch attempt to attack Portuguese monopoly of trade with the East began in 1595. "The pent-up enterprise of the Dutch commercial class burst forth as if a dyke had been cut". The United East India Company of the Netherlands was formed in 1602. They turned their attention to the Spice Islands. Moluccas was first seized from the Portuguese. Malacca was taken in 1641. Thus the Dutch seized the trade with the Far East. Between 1638 and 1658 Ceylon passed into their hands. Holland sent out an admiral named Coen, one of the most distinguished men to take charge of Dutch affairs in the East. He founded the town of Batavia and succeeded in ousting the British from the East Indies, thus compelling them to concentrate their attention on India. Pepper and spices, the produce of Sumatra, Java and the Moluccas, were in great demand, and trade in these articles was the most lucrative. Early in their career in the East the Dutch made a mistake: they chose the East Indies instead of India. The East Indies have been very well des-

cribed as 'a seductive bypath leading astray from world dominion'. The Dutch found very soon that it was inconvenient to pay in money for pepper and spices and noticed that cotton goods from Gujarat and the Coromondel coast were very much in demand in the Malay Archipelago. They decided to seize this trade from the Arab and Indian merchants and pay for pepper and spices by imported cotton goods. Secure in the Malay Archipelago, the Dutch succeeded in ousting the Portuguese from Malabar, seized Quilon, Cranganore and Cochin, and succeeded to Portuguese influence in this region. Under Van Goens, who broke the Portuguese power in the whole of southern India, Negapatam became the head-quarters of the Dutch in India.

"While the naval power of the Dutch was the despair of their rivals, they themselves were often inclined to envy the English, who were able to carry on their trade without incurring the vast expense for the upkeep of a navy and of fortresses and garrisons which burdened the budget of the Dutch Company". The expenses of the Dutch Company increased throughout the eighteenth century. The English began to copy from 'the wise Dutch' their policy of the strong arm. At first they failed. But about the middle of the eighteenth century, we find the Dutch navy neglected and the British and French power growing. After Clive's successes in Bengal the Dutch attempted to retrieve their position. In 1759 they failed at Biderra ; their fleet sailing up the Hughli was destroyed. In 1781 the Dutch again provoked British hostility and lost Negapatam and Trincomali in Ceylon. They later regained Trincomali through the efforts of their allies, the French. When the war ended Negapatam was permanently lost. The Dutch could never be serious rivals of the English in India.

THE FRENCH IN INDIA (1664-1740)

The French arrived very late on the scene. The English as also the Danes had established trade settlements in India before the arrival of the French. *La Compagnie des Indes* was formed in 1664. The French trading classes, however, lacked enterprise, and even Colbert's energy and enthusiasm could not ensure success to this new French venture. Pondichery was

founded in 1673 and was developed through the energy, ability and courage of Francois Martin until it became the capital of the French settlements in India. But it was not until 1697 that the activity of the French Company in India became manifest. Their Surat factory also shook off its torpor. Their factories at Masulipatam, Calicut, Mahe, Karikal and Chandernagore did some brisk business, but nothing remarkable happened until the outbreak of the War of Austrian Succession in 1740.

THE DANES AND OTHER EUROPEANS IN INDIA

The Danish East India Company was founded in 1616. They established a factory at Tranquebar in 1620 and another at Serampore in 1755. The Danes, however, played no prominent part in Indian affairs and their factories were sold to the British in 1845.

The Emperor of Austria granted a charter in 1723 to an association of merchants in Flanders. This was known as the Ostend Company. It was suppressed in 1731. A Swedish East India Company was chartered in 1731. Another Austrian East India Company was sought to be chartered in 1755. All these projects after some vicissitudes collapsed.

THE ENGLISH EAST INDIA COMPANY (1600-1740)

In 1600 Queen Elizabeth granted to a body of English merchants under the title "The Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading into the Indies" monopoly of English commerce for a term of 15 years from the Cape of Good Hope to the Straits of Magellan. This Company is generally known as the East India Company. The first and second voyages were made to the Spice Islands under James Lancaster, the subscribers dividing up the profits of each undertaking among themselves. A ship of the third separate voyage came to Surat where it did some trade. William Hawkins, captain of this vessel, who could speak Turkish, saw Jahangir with a letter from James I. He was graciously received and allowed to reside at the Mughal court for sometime (1601-11) ; but Portuguese influence at the court was strong enough to prevent any grant to the English of the right to trade in Mughal ports. In

1612 two ships under the command of Thomas Best succeeded in defeating a Portuguese fleet off Surat. This increased the prestige of the English. An Imperial *farman* was granted in 1613, and a permanent British factory was established at Surat. In 1615 the English gained another naval victory over the Portuguese off Surat. The British could as yet bring very small trade, but the Portuguese had a very well-established commerce.

The position of the British merchants was, therefore, still precarious when Sir Thomas Roe arrived as accredited ambassador of James I to the Mughal court. He was in the Mughal court for three years. He could not get concessions for trade in Bengal and Sind, but he got privileges for trade in Gujarat. English factories were established at Agra, Ahmadabad and Broach, all under the authority of the chief at Surat, who was styled President. The British captured Ormuz in 1622, thus very considerably weakening Portuguese power in the Eastern seas. Factories were established at Masulipatam in 1616 and at Armagon (north of Pulicat) in 1626. The English and the Dutch were welcomed by Mughal officials as a counterpoise to the Portuguese. There could not, however, be any co-operation between the two Protestant powers, and after the famous "Massacre of Amboyna" in February, 1623, in which ten Englishmen were put to death after an irregular trial on a charge of conspiracy to seize the fortress, whatever co-operation existed was at an end. On the other hand, truce was concluded between the English and the Portuguese in 1635, and the Anglo-Portuguese treaty of 1642 definitely established accord between the erstwhile enemies.

A direct consequence of this Anglo-Portuguese friendship was the establishment of an English settlement at Madras near the Portuguese fort of St. Thome. The land was rented from the Raja of Chandragiri. The new settlement was named Fort St. George. It superseded Masulipatam as the head-quarters of the East India Company on the Coromondel coast. Factories were also started at Hariharpur in the Mahanadi delta as also at Hughli, Patna and Cossimbazar to secure Bengal silk, sugar and saltpetre. An appalling famine occurred in 1630-31 which affected Gujarat, Ahmadnagar, Bijapur and Golkonda.[1] Thou-

[1] See pp. 385, 421.

sands died of starvation or committed suicide, some even taking to cannibalism. This calamity had a lasting consequence. Depopulated Gujarat had now no calico to export from Surat ; the weavers were 'dead or fled'. The calico trade, therefore, shifted from Gujarat to Madras. Moreover, indigo, an export of Surat, was driven out of the European market by the competition of the West Indies. Thus European commercial activity shifted from the west to the east of India.

The East India Company had its own internal difficulties. A rival body known as Courten's Association was started in England in 1637. It got the support of King Charles I and developed into a rival venture. It established factories at Rajapur, Bhatkal and Karwar but began to languish and soon ceased to trouble the old Company. The East India Company's charter had been renewed in 1609, its privileges being indefinitely extended subject to revocation after three years' notice. But the monopoly, once broken by Courten's Association, could not be so easily re-established. A rival association, the Assada Company, proposed to establish colonies at Assada in Madagascar, and on some part of the coast of India. The venture, however, failed. An exclusive charter was granted to the existing Company by Cromwell in 1657. It lost its validity with the Restoration. But King Charles II granted a fresh charter. A Scottish Company was sought to be floated in 1695, but it failed. In 1698 the Company's position was seriously threatened when a new Company under the style "The English Company Trading to the East Indies" was granted the exclusive right of Indian trade, allowing the old existing Company to continue its operations until the expiry of three years' notice as required by the charter. Various complications arose. The old Company and the new Company hampered each other. The two were, therefore, united in 1702 under the name "The United Company of Merchants of England Trading to the East Indies". The shares were equalised and by the award of Godolphin in 1708 the union was consummated.

In spite of these troubles there was commercial prosperity in the East. But the Company's servants in all their grades—writers, factors, junior merchants and senior merchants—were paid ridiculously low wages, with the privilege of private trade. They became serious rivals of the Company's trade, and it was

impossible to suppress this because they could, if necessary, carry on under the name of Indian merchants. The Company, therefore, gave up port to port trade and confined itself to the direct trade between England and India. The factories in upper India were abandoned and the activities of the Company were concentrated at Surat, Madras and Hughli.

Bombay was acquired in 1661 as part of the dowry of Catherine of Braganza, the Portuguese Infanta who became queen of Charles II. The King made it over to the East India Company. Gerald Aungier, President of Surat and Governor of Bombay (1669-77), organised the settlement. It became the headquarters of the English in Western India in the place of Surat in 1687. About 1686 Sir Joshia Child, at the head of the East India Company Directorate in England, decided to follow the policy of the strong arm, in imitation of the Dutch, instead of trying strenuously to placate the local officials for the continuance of trade privileges. But his attempt "to establish such a policy of civil and military power and create and secure such a large revenue to maintain both as may be the foundation of a large, well-grounded, sure English dominion in India for all time to come" failed disastrously. A fruitless attempt was made to seize Chittagong. On the western side also local shipping was seized. In retaliation Mughal forces besieged Bombay. The English had to fly from Hughli. Peace was concluded with the Mughal authorities in 1690. It was a humiliating submission, one of its conditions being the dismissal of Sir John Child, Governor of Bombay, who had seized some richly laden Mughal vessels. Sir John Child died before the conclusion of the negotiations.

After their failure in Bengal the English had withdrawn to Madras. Job Charnock, their leader, was asked by the Mughal *Subahdar* to return to Bengal. He came back in 1690 and founded Calcutta on an unpromising site. The old privileges were restored by an Imperial *farman*. Kipling's description of the event is not inappropriate:

"Once two hundred years ago the trader came meek and tame,
Where his timid foot just halted there he stayed,
Till mere trade
Grew to Empire—"

In 1714 an embassy was sent to Delhi under John Surman to obtain a comprehensive grant of trade privileges in all the three provinces ; protracted negotiations led to the grant of three Imperial *farmans* in 1717 that formed the basis of the Company's trade. The right to trade in Bengal free of duties in return for the payment of 3,000 rupees per annum was recognised. Freedom from duties was also recognised throughout the Mughal Deccan in return for the rent paid for Madras. A lump sum of 10,000 rupees was to be paid for customs and duties at Surat. The Mughal Empire was, however, dissolving, and soon the United Company had to face new problems and to shape new policies.

SECTION III

ANGLO-FRENCH RIVALRY IN THE DECCAN

FIRST CARNATIC WAR (1746-48)

The War of the Austrian Succession, which broke out in Europe in 1740, extended to India in 1746. In that war England and France fought on opposite sides. At that time the French Governor of Pondichery was Joseph Francis Dupleix, who had already displayed much organising ability. The Governor of the French island of Mauritius (or Isle de France) was Mahe de La Bourdonnais, a man of unlimited resources and of buoyant energy. He had made Mauritius with its harbour (Port Louis) a solid *point d'appui* in the Indian Ocean. As the English and the French were now at war in India, La Bourdonnais with his ships came to the Coromondel coast. The English ships were led by an unenterprising sailor Peyton who withdrew to Ceylon after an indecisive action ; he reappeared after some time only to sail away in alarm to Hughli. La Bourdonnais appeared with his ships and some troops from Pondichery before Madras, which made a pusillanimous surrender (1746). La Bourdonnais was willing to restore the place in return for a ransom. This Dupleix refused and retained the place until 1749. The fleet of La Bourdonnais was crippled by a storm in October, 1746, and he withdrew.

Nawab Anwar-ud-din of Arcot, appointed to the government of the Carnatic by Nizam-ul-Mulk in 1743, could not be an unconcerned spectator of these events happening in his own territory. He resented the seizure of Madras without his permission and sent an army under his eldest son. The French in Madras made a sally and compelled the Arcot army to retire to St. Thome. A tiny force under Paradis marching up with reinforcements succeeded in scattering the Arcot army as it barred its way at St. Thome. This ridiculously easy French victory is rightly regarded as one of the decisive events in the history of India. Orme, a contemporary historian, writes, "It was now more than a century since any of the European nations had gained a decisive advantage in war against the officers of the Great Mughal. The experience of former unsuccessful enterprises and the scantiness of military abilities which prevailed in all the colonies from a long disuse of arms had persuaded them that the Moors were a brave and formidable enemy, when the French at once broke through the charm of that timorous opinion by defeating a whole army with a single battalion". Cavalry fighting according to established Indian practice was useless against well directed field artillery, and against infantry that could keep their ranks and reserve the fire. European predominance at sea was never disputed ; European superiority on land now began. It is relevant to note that French troops at St. Thome were not entirely European but included companies of sepoys, *i.e.*, Indian infantry trained by Europeans.

Dupleix failed to capture Fort St. David but repelled a naval attack made by the English on Pondichery (1748). When the news of the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle (1748) reached India, Madras was restored to the English (1749). As they now acquired it by treaty they no longer paid the quit rent of 1200 pagodas a year which they had formerly paid to the Nawab of the Carnatic. The First Carnatic War between the English and the French, apparently unimportant, 'set the stage for the great projects which Dupleix began to develop.'

SECOND CARNATIC WAR (1749-54)

The Governor of Madras as also the Governor of Pondichery had now troops that they could not send home until the

beginning of the sailing season. They tried to place them at the service of some Indian power in order to save the expense. Floyer, Governor of Madras, took up the cause of a claimant to the throne of Tanjore and secured Devi Kottai with the surrounding country. The plans of Dupleix were, however, more far-reaching, leading ultimately to an unofficial war between the English and French Companies' representatives in India, without the sanction of the authorities in Europe.

Nizam-ul-Mulk died in 1748. His eldest son was at Delhi, trying to play a prominent part in Imperial politics. The second son, Nasir Jang, succeeded at Hyderabad. But his claim was disputed by his nephew Muzaffar Jang. A claimant for the *Nawabi* of Arcot also appeared in the person of Chanda Sahib, son-in-law of the late Nawab Dost Ali of the Carnatic, who had been killed by the Marathas in 1740. Chanda Sahib had been taken to Poona as a captive but was released after seven years. He wanted to recover the possessions of the family and acted in concert with Muzaffar Jang. Dupleix decided to support Muzaffar Jang for the *Subahdari* of the Deccan and Chanda Sahib for the *Nawabi* of Arcot.

The French and their allies defeated and slew Anwar-ud-din in the battle of Ambur near Vellore (1749), and took his eldest son Mahphuz Khan prisoner, his second son Muhammad Ali flying for refuge to Trichinopoly. He made preparations there to resist Chanda Sahib and his allies. The British began to help him as they deemed it necessary to oppose further extension of French influence. Nasir Jang arrived to settle matters in the Carnatic and also to put an end to the pretensions of his nephew. He was joined by some English troops; the opposition of Muzaffar Jang collapsed and he surrendered to his uncle. As Nasir Jang dallied and tarried at Arcot, Dupleix made his preparations. Bussy captured Gingi. Nasir Jang then marched out from Arcot to meet the French. He was assassinated on the field of battle on December 16, 1750, in the battle of Velimadupet, as he was coming out to meet his enemies, by the Pathan Nawab of Cuddapah, a traitor in league with Dupleix. The plunder of Nasir Jang's camp yielded so much spoil to the French "that every one from the councillor to the writer, from the captain to the private, had his share and officers who only joined the service later looked

back with regret to the happy days when a mere ensign received 60,000 rupees. Never had so much gold been seen at Pondichery. It was comparable to the solid gains of Plassey." Muzaffar Jang was proclaimed as *Subahdar* in the place of his dead uncle. He marched north accompanied by Bussy and a French escort, but he was murdered on the way in February, 1751, and Salabat Jang, third son of Nizam-ul-Mulk, was raised to the throne. Bussy remained at Hyderabad with his French contingent of 900 Europeans and 4,000 sepoys. A born diplomat, conciliatory yet resolute, he remained in power at Hyderabad until recalled by Lally in 1758. For the payment of his troops he was granted four *Sarkars*—the coastal districts of Mustafanagar, Ellore, Rajahmundry and Chicacole. Thus Dupleix's policy was very successful in the Deccan because of the skill and wisdom of Bussy.

But the division of forces proved fatal to the schemes of Dupleix. "Although in the Deccan he secured unrivalled glory and almost incredible territorial possessions, he was disabled from securing the Carnatic and thus afforded the English both time and opportunity of making that breach by which they were to overthrow the whole structure". A new Governor was now at Madras, a strong silent man of action. Saunders was appointed in September, 1750, and he decided to encourage Muhammad Ali at Trichinopoly to resist. From 1751 to 1754 the two Companies fought in the Carnatic and the English succeeded in gaining the upper hand. The French siege of Trichinopoly dragged on (1751). Muhammad Ali suggested an attack on Arcot, now the capital of Chanda Saheb. Saunders entrusted this task to Robert Clive of the Company's civil service, who had joined a small military force raised by the Government of Madras under Major Stringer Lawrence. Clive boldly seized Arcot (1751) and defended it against the forces of Chanda Saheb for 53 days. It was a glorious feat of arms and marks a turn in the tide. The French army before Trichinopoly, led by Jacques Law, had to surrender in June, 1752. Chanda Saheb surrendered to the general of Raja of Tanjore whose troops were fighting by the side of the British under Lawrence. Chanda Saheb was beheaded, Lawrence not choosing to interfere. Thus Muhammad Ali became the undisputed Nawab of the Carnatic.

Dupleix was, however, irrepressible. He won over the Mysoreans and Murar Rao, the Maratha chief of Gooty, who were fighting as allies of the English at Trichinopoly. The Raja of Tanjore returned to neutrality. But Clive cleared the Carnatic of all French posts except Pondichery and Gingi. The Pondichery-Mysore-Gooty coalition was about to break up in 1754 for lack of money though Dupleix never despaired of taking Trichinopoly and spent over £350,000 of his own money. But the French Company had already decided to conclude peace ; Godehu, one of the Directors, landed at Pondichery in August, 1754. This meant the recall of Dupleix and the abandonment of his plans so far as the Carnatic was concerned. The unofficial war thus ended. The two Companies decided not to interfere in the quarrels of the Indian princes. Dupleix returned to France, where he lived until 1763.

POLICY OF DUPLEIX AND CAUSES OF HIS FAILURE

With his very clear vision Dupleix could see for himself that the Indian armies were helpless against European discipline, but this discipline could also be imparted to Indians in European service. In the disturbed state of things then prevalent in India he could easily establish French predominance by siding with one of the claimants with his European and Indian troops. He wanted to present before his masters the accomplished fact. The French Company had to import silver to India in return for her commodities. But if it acquired territory in India yielding a sufficient surplus to cover its investment, this annual drain of silver from France would stop. "The surplus revenue of its Indian possessions would be exported in the form of commodities". But he made the mistake of not taking the Company into his confidence and did not let his superiors know his plan in its entirety until it was too late.

One of his greatest defects was that he divided his forces. If Bussy with his troops had been brought from Hyderabad to Trichinopoly he could have perhaps taken that place and secured the Carnatic ; but Dupleix was very anxious to maintain French influence in the Nizam's court. Developments in the Carnatic later led to the recall of Bussy and the collapse of French influence at Hyderabad. As Dodwell says,

"It is unwise to pursue two objects at once and to attempt more than one has the means of accomplishing". A quick victory in the Carnatic was necessary for the success of Dupleix's plans.

Moreover, as the war dragged on money was found wanting. He somehow thought it impolitic to ask the French Company to send money and always drew a rosy picture for his home authorities. Bussy could not supply him the money he required. The military plans of Dupleix crashed to a large extent because he had not the sinews of war.

With Bussy absent at Hyderabad the French soldiers in the Carnatic could not cope with the ability and spirit of Lawrence and the brilliance and daring of Clive. Saunders, grim and tenacious, grasping fully the implication of his policy, was ever ready with his counter-moves and supported Muhammad Ali with all the resources of the English Company. He was thus largely responsible for the failure of Dupleix.

Dupleix had no idea of the importance of naval power, which was the one essential factor in any scheme of European domination in India. But inspite of his failure Dupleix must be regarded as the pioneer of European conquest on Indian soil ; it was the spirit of this Frenchman and his associate at Hyderabad that ruled in the camp of his rival who established British power in Bengal.

THIRD CARNATIC WAR (1756-63)

The Seven Years' War began in Europe in 1756. The French and English settlements in India were again involved in hostilities, but when the news was received in India the Madras and Pondichery authorities had not sufficient troops to begin effective fighting in the Carnatic. The British were busy in Bengal against Siraj-ud-daula, and Bussy, dismissed at Hyderabad on account of the intrigues of Shah Nawaz Khan, could not be reinstated until August, 1756. With his position thus rudely shaken, the latter was busy re-establishing French sway in the Northern *Sarkars* (1757) and could not operate against the British in Bengal or at Madras. Clive thus succeeded in taking Chandernagore (23rd March, 1757) and in crushing Siraj-ud-daula (23rd June, 1757) undisturbed by the French.

Count de Lally, the general selected by the French, arrived at Pondichery in April, 1758. He took Fort St. David and prepared to attack Madras. For making this supreme effort he thought it necessary to gather all the troops and recalled Bussy from Hyderabad. Pigot, the British Governor of Madras, assisted by Stringer Lawrence, put up a stubborn defence ; a British fleet appeared and Lally had to raise the siege (1758). The French detachment left by Bussy in the Northern *Sarkars* was defeated by Colonel Forde (1758) who was sent by Clive from Bengal. The victories gained by Forde at Kondur and Masulipatam undermined the position of the French, already weakened by their failure at Madras. The French fleet under D'Ache suffered a defeat off Pondichery and sailed away, leaving the British supreme on the Coromandel coast. Sir Eyre Coote, the British general, succeeded in defeating Lally in the battle of Wandiwash (22nd January, 1760). Pondichery was besieged and capitulated (16th January, 1761). Gingi and Mahe, the remaining French posts on the east and west coasts of India, fell soon after. Thus the work of Dupleix and Bussy was destroyed in 1760-61 ; the French power in India collapsed. The Peace of Paris (1763) restored the dismantled French possessions.

CAUSES OF FRENCH FAILURE

The principal cause of French failure was the superiority of the British at sea. The British were so strong at sea that they could pour supplies into the Carnatic from Bengal and also bring soldiers from Europe, while the French, unable to replenish their resources for want of command of the sea, became relatively weaker as the campaign progressed. Mauritius proved in this campaign to be too distant a base for effective naval operations on the Coromandel coast.

During the third Carnatic War the British had the resources of Bengal at their disposal, and Bengal was rich at that time. Supplies from Bengal enabled the Government of Madras to fight for about three years without being seriously handicapped for want of resources. Mir Jafar proved to be unable to meet British financial needs. He was deposed in 1760 in favour of Mir Qasim, so that the British might get what they wanted from Bengal. After the arrival of Lally French India did not

receive more than two million francs for the expenses of this decisive war.

Haidar Ali, already established in power in Mysore, entered into a treaty with Lally to help him in his war with the British. But in August, 1760, Khande Rao, his *Dewan*, took up the cause of the *faineant* Mysore monarch and ousted Haidar who did not succeed in re-establishing his position in Mysore until after the fall of Pondichery. The army he sent to help Lally he had to recall hastily. There was nothing to divert British attention from the single purpose of crushing the French.

The personal factor cannot be altogether overlooked. Lally, who was unpleasantly sharp-witted and cursed with an ungovernable temper, was the worst leader possible at this critical hour in the history of the fortunes of the French nation in the East. The quarrel between the Pondichery Council and the French leader paralysed operations, and in the place of united counsels and energetic action there were dissensions on land and inaction at sea. After the surrender of Lally, Dubois, his Intendant, was cut down by another Frenchman Defer because Dubois possessed papers proving official corruption. This old, almost blind, Intendant of the disgraced French general had drawn his sword in vain to save himself. This crossing of swords was 'a fit image and striking resume of the history of the last three years of the French in India'. British superiority lay in the quality of leadership as also in the professional superiority of men like Lawrence and Clive, Forde and Coote.

FOR FURTHER STUDY

Danvers, *History of the Portuguese in India.*
Malleson, *History of the French in India.*
Panikkar, *The Portuguese in Malabar.*
Panikkar, *The Dutch in Malabar.*
Orme, *A History of the Military Transactions in Indostan.*

CHAPTER XXIII

BRITISH ASCENDANCY IN BENGAL AND OUDH

SECTION I

PLASSEY

SIRAJ-UD-DAULA'S HOSTILITIES WITH THE BRITISH

Siraj-ud-daula, grandson and great-nephew of Alivardi Khan, succeeded him as *Subahdar* of Bengal in April, 1756. He was a young man of twenty-three. Two months after his accession he seized the English factory at Cossimbazar and then marched against Calcutta which he captured without any difficulty. Those who surrendered were crowded into a room which had been used as the military prison ; the majority of the captives are said to have died of suffocation. This is known in history as the "Black Hole Tragedy". The truth of the story of the 'Black Hole' has been doubted by many and it is very likely that the vainglorious Holwell, from whom we get details of the story, touched it up to make himself play a conspicuous part in it. We have also no reliable evidence to prove the exact number of persons who remained to surrender. The accepted version of the 'Black Hole' has its perplexities which can hardly be reconciled with its authenticity.

CAUSES OF SIRAJ-UD-DAULA'S ANTI-BRITISH POLICY

The anti-English attitude of Siraj-ud-daula was due to a fear of English aggression. The story of the murder of Nasir Jang and of the protectorate established by the French at Hyderabad and by the English at Arcot was not unknown in Bengal. Ghulam Husain, author of *Siyar-ul-Mutakkherin,* tells us that Alivardi was apprehensive that a court faction would perhaps utilise the services of Englishmen and his successor's fate would be that of Nasir Jang. Ghasiti Begam, the aunt of Siraj, and her adviser Rajballabh appreciated the power and prestige of the English Company and wanted its help to oust

the young Nawab, who was, however, too quick for the conspirators. Shaukat Jang, a cousin of Siraj, revolted at Purnea. He was advised to make an alliance with the English against Siraj. The young Nawab thus felt from the beginning that he should reduce the power of the English in Bengal so that they might remain satisfied with trade 'on the footing they did in (Murshid Quli) Jafar Khan's time'. If Holwell is to be believed, Alivardi had also contemplated 'reducing their trade on the footing of the Armenians'.

SIRAJ-UD-DAULA AND THE FRENCH

An expedition was sent from Madras for the recovery of Calcutta under the command of Clive, who occupied Calcutta on 2nd January, 1757. Siraj once again marched with his army to meet Clive. A night attack made by Clive, though far from successful, disconcerted the Nawab ; he concluded a treaty with the English confirming their privileges, restoring what he had plundered from Calcutta, and granting them the right to fortify the city and coin money. The Seven Years' War had already begun. Clive attacked and took Chandernagore from the French in March, 1757. Ahmad Shah Abdali had entered Delhi and was plundering Mathura and other places.[1] There was for sometime a rumour that he intended advancing eastward. The Nawab dreaded an invasion by the Afghans and dared not alienate the British. Though he was pro-French he was not in a position to alienate the British at this stage and Clive took the fullest advantage of the situation; the Nawab was thus deprived of the support of his natural allies against the English. The English were, however, conscious that the Nawab still entertained hostile feelings against them. He was writing frequently to Bussy in the Deccan. He took the French fugitives from Chandernagore under his protection.

CONSPIRACY AGAINST SIRAJ-UD-DAULA

About this time Clive and the Calcutta Council became aware of a movement at Murshidabad for the subversion of the authority of Siraj. This young man, 'too ignorant and head-

[1] See p. 434.

strong to use management with his dislikes,' had alienated the great bankers—the Seths, as also Mir Jafar, Roy Durlabh, Yar Latif Khan and other prominent personages at Murshidabad. The plan of the conspirators was to dethrone Siraj and to confer the *Nawabi* on Mir Jafar, a prominent general of Alivardi's time. Armed contests between rival nobles for Provincial Governorships were a feature of the history of India in the eighteenth century. This was the consequence of chaos inevitable on the decline of an Empire. The army was full of Persian, Central Asian and Afghan soldiers of fortune, eager to place their swords at the service of the highest bidder. These soldiers looked to their immediate chiefs ; they had no loyalty to the state. The conspiracy at Murshidabad was regarded by those Indians who took part in it as balancing one chieftain against another—'Siraj-ud-daula, the grandson of a usurper, against Mir Jafar, the most powerful noble of the province.'

BATTLE OF PLASSEY (1757)

The English felt that "it would be a great error in politics to remain idle and unconcerned spectators". Clive marched against the Nawab with an army of 3,000 (2,200 sepoys and topasses ; 800 Europeans). The Nawab, surrounded by traitors, distrusted his army. Watts, the British Resident at Murshidabad, had already come to an understanding with Mir Jafar, Roy Durlabh and Yar Latif Khan who led the bulk of the Nawab's army and who promised inactivity in any engagement between the Nawab and the Company. On his way to Plassey in the district of Nadia, not quite sure of the result of the intrigues of Watts, the victor-to-be hesitated but ultimately decided to march forward. Even at Plassey his journal shows that he decided to make a night attack, and nothing was done but replying to the cannonade of the Nawab's army. But as that army began to fall back to the camp, Kilpatrick, during Clive's temporary absence from the field, ordered an advance. The order once given could not be recalled. The Nawab felt that he was betrayed and fled. He did not lose more than 500 men. The English army had 18 killed and 56 wounded. Their six pounders fired 511 round shots. The English army was at the mercy of the hordes of

cavalry under Mir Jafar, Roy Durlabh and Yar Latif who commanded the right flank of the English advance. "But they were as inactive as were the Pathan Nabobs with whom Dupleix had concerted the destruction of Nasir Jang".

This was the epoch-making battle of Plassey (23rd June, 1757). It cannot be considered as a great military achievement of Clive. As Malleson puts it, Clive must have been astonished at the numbers against whom he was about to hurl his tiny band. "What if they should be true to their master!" was a thought which must more than once have traversed his brain as he witnessed that long defiling. Intrigue had done its work and a distant cannonade led to complete collapse. The failure of Siraj was ignominious. He fled, was taken captive and then put to death by Miran, son of Mir Jafar. A few days later Clive placed Mir Jafar on the throne of Bengal.

SECTION II

MIR JAFAR AND MIR QASIM

MIR JAFAR (1757-60)

The era of puppet Nawabs now commences with the East India Company as King-maker. In theory the battle of Plassey only restored the English to the situation in which they were before the capture of Calcutta by Siraj-ud-daula. Mir Jafar granted to them in addition the Zamindari of the Twenty-four Parganas, but his unfortunate predecessor had also consented to it by the treaty of February, 1757. They were also indemnified for their losses. Two clauses of the treaty of 15th July, 1757, however, mark the establishment of British political and military ascendancy: "The enemies of the English are my enemies, whether they be Indians or Europeans"; "whenever I demand the English assistance, I will be at the charge of the maintenance of them". By these clauses Mir Jafar placed himself at the mercy of the Company.

Distracted by the attack of the Mughal Prince Ali Gauhar, later known as Shah Alam II, threatened by the Marathas, with a very troubled financial position, and with the pay of

his army in arrear, this weak and irresolute Nawab became more and more dependent on British support. The affairs of Mir Jafar were in such plight because he started with a great financial handicap. He agreed to pay compensation to the extent of Rs. 1,77,00,000 to those who had suffered in the siege of Calcutta. The total amount of gifts and donations to the English army, navy and officials has been estimated at about £1,250,000, Clive's share amounting to £234,000. But these were only the gifts that were proved or acknowledged. Clive was, in addition, given in 1759 an assignment of the revenue of the Twenty-four Parganas which the Company had to pay to the Nawab for its Zamindari right. When we read about the intolerable financial position of Mir Jafar we are surprised at the statement of Clive made later in England, "Consider the situation in which the victory at Plassey had placed me. A great prince was dependent on my pleasure. An opulent city, more opulent and populous than London, lay at my mercy, its richest bankers bid against each other for my smiles. I walked through vaults thrown open to me alone, piled on either hand with gold and jewels. Mr. Chairman, at this moment I stand astounded at my own moderation."

The revolution of 1757, and the manner in which it was brought about, undermined the foundations of the Nawab's government. But Clive, who was at the head of the Calcutta Council, succeeded in controlling it as also maintaining it so long as he remained here. In 1759 he helped Mir Jafar in expelling Ali Gauhar from Bihar which he had invaded. Mir Jafar, ill at ease under the British protectorate, was intriguing with the Dutch, who were also feeling very uncomfortable on account of the establishment of British ascendancy in Bengal. But the Dutch vessels were captured by the East India Company's ships and Colonel Forde coming from the Northern *Sarkars* was sent by Clive against the Dutch land forces that were worsted at Biderra in November, 1759. Mir Jafar failed 'to substitute for a foreign master a foreign ally'. The Dutch paid the English East India Company ten *lakhs* as damages. Clive was at the head of the affairs of the East India Company in Bengal from December, 1756, to February, 1760, when he vacated the chair of the Governor of the Presidency of Fort William in Bengal and sailed for England.

Clive's successors. Holwell (February-July, 1760) and Vansittart (July, 1760-1764), were unable to maintain this arrangement. The Company as the dominant military power was controlling and maintaining the Nawab's government, but the Nawab, a usurper of British make, was failing to make the promised payments to the Company. Ali Gauhar was now the nominal Mughal Emperor[1] because his father was murdered in November, 1759 ; he was still hovering in Bihar. But he was successfully driven out of Bihar and the Zamindars who afforded him help were chastised. Miran, Mir Jafar's son and chosen successor, was killed by lightning. This brought up the question of succession and Vansittart, following the policy suggested by Holwell, decided to depose Mir Jafar in 1760 in favour of his son-in-law Mir Qasim. The revolution was quietly accomplished, Mir Jafar withdrawing from Murshidabad to Calcutta.

MIR QASIM (1760-63)

A new treaty was concluded with Mir Qasim and he had to give presents 'which cast a sordid air over the whole business'. It was provided that "the Europeans and Telingas of the English army shall be ready to assist the Nawab Mir Md. Kasim Khan Bahadur in the management of all affairs", and "for all charges of the Company and of the said army and provisions for the field etc., the lands of Burdwan, Midnapur and Chittagong shall be assigned . . . and the Company to stand to all losses and receive all the profits of these three countries".

Mir Qasim was an efficient ruler. Within a short time he was able to pay a large sum to his English creditors and the Government at Calcutta was able to remit two and a half *lakhs* to Madras which enabled the English to prosecute the siege of Pondichery successfully. Major Carnac succeeded in defeating the nominal Mughal Emperor Shah Alam II on the banks of the Son. Mir Qasim proclaimed him Emperor in Bengal after his departure from the province. He was for sometime apprehensive that the British would secure a grant of Bengal from the fugitive Emperor. He increased the vigour of his revenue

[1] See pp. 429-430.

system and so great was his skill in accounts that nobody could escape. He is said to have realised in two years almost double the old revenue of the country.

Mir Qasim was from the beginning the object of suspicion and hostility on the part of the majority of the members of the Calcutta Council, who were not guided by any sense of justice ; having no sympathy with the Indian point of view, they cared only for their profits. The abuses of English private trade had advanced very far under Mir Jafar and precipitated an open war between the Calcutta Council and Mir Qasim. Under Imperial *farmans* the Company was exempted from the payment of transit duties on goods passing through Bengal. The Company's servants, who got ridiculously low wages, enjoyed the right of private inland trade with which the Company had no concern.[1] They claimed that this exemption from transit duties extended to this trade as well, which claim was, of course, absurd. As Vansittart put it, "It could never be intended by the Mughal King that private foreign merchants should be upon a better footing than private native merchants". After Plassey Mir Jafar issued orders exempting from duties goods covered by a pass (*Dustuck*) issued by the head of an English factory. After Plassey the great power of the English intimidated people and the trade abuses grew. The privilege was so abused that Mir Qasim felt that he must try to settle the matter. Not only were these *Dustucks* used for the private goods of the Company's servants ; these were even sold to Indian merchants. Warren Hastings remarked in 1762 that such a system "can bode no good to the Nabob's revenues, to the quiet of the country or the honour of our nation." A very reasonable plan was discussed by the Nawab with Vansittart and Warren Hastings, and an agreement was arrived at. But the Calcutta Council would not agree and turned the proposal down. Furious with this rebuff, Mir Qasim remitted all duties on Indian and European traders alike. Matters came to a head at Patna where Ellis, chief of the English factory, tried to seize the city ; he was defeated and war began (1763).

[1] See pp. 465-466.

Dodwell says that "it was a war of circumstances rather than of intentions". After all that had happened after Plassey it was absurd to expect an equipoise between the East India Company and the Nawab of Bengal and a conflict was inevitable. The outrageous proceedings of the Calcutta Board and of Ellis at Patna must not make us blind to the inevitability of the failure of the system of Vansittart. Mir Qasim had discharged the Company's debt, paid the arrears of his army, retrenched the expenses of his court, reduced the power of the Zamindars and established an effective government. He had withdrawn to Monghyr from Murshidabad and there raised an army on European model with the help of European adventurers like the Alsatian Reinhard, better known as Samru, and the Armenian Marker.

When war was precipitated by the assault of the city of Patna by Ellis, Major Adams took the field with an army of 1,100 Europeans and 4,00 sepoys against Mir Qasim's army of 15,000 to 20,000 men. But Mir Qasim had no genius for war and his soldiers, led by adventurers, guided only by their selfish instincts, were defeated in successive engagements near the banks of the Ajai river, at Katwa, at Gheria and at Udhuanala (1763). Adams advanced upon Monghyr and Mir Qasim fled to Patna. There he killed the English prisoners who had fallen into his hands. Adversity developed the cruel side of his nature and he murdered all his enemies who had the misfortune to fall into his hands.

He then fled to Oudh and induced Shuja-ud-daula, the Nawab of Oudh, who was the *Wazir* of the nominal Mughal Emperor, as also the Mughal Emperor Shah Alam II, to become his allies. The terms of co-operation were agreed upon. Carnac, who led the British army now, was supine. The confederates advanced up to Patna but failed to take the city and had to fall back. Major Hector Munro, who succeeded Carnac, restored discipline in British ranks and took the offensive. Shuja-ud-daula, who was now fighting for himself, was after a stubborn contest completely defeated at Buxar (22 October, 1764). He fled into the Rohilla country. Oudh was overrun, Shah Alam joined the English camp, and Mir Qasim became a fugitive, to die in 1777 at Delhi in extreme poverty.

MIR JAFAR RESTORED (1763-1765)

Meanwhile Mir Jafar had been restored in July, 1763. He signed a new treaty in which he agreed to limit the number of troops he would maintain, to receive a permanent Resident at his *Durbar* and to levy only a duty of 2½ per cent. on English trade in salt. He promised to pay 30 *lakhs* for the expenses of the war, to make a donation of 25 *lakhs* to the British army and half of that to the British navy, and to pay compensation to private individuals for the losses they had suffered. In the words of Scrafton, "the Nabob became no more than a banker for the Company's servants, who could draw upon him as often and to as great an amount as they pleased."

Mir Jafar died early in 1765 and his successor, Najm-ud-daula, had to agree to appoint a minister who was to be nominated by the English and who could not be removed without English approval. He was to maintain only such troops as were necessary 'for the dignity of his own person and the business of collections throughout the provinces'. The Nawab was thus deprived of any independent military support for his executive. He became a figurehead with the administration in the hands of the nominees of the English. The Calcutta Councillors again took large presents but they combined their traffic in Nawabship with the assumption of absolute military supremacy in Bengal. Affairs were otherwise in great disarray when Clive reached Calcutta in May, 1765, as the Governor of Bengal for the second time.

SECTION III

DEWANI AND DOUBLE GOVERNMENT

PROBLEMS BEFORE CLIVE (1765-67)

Clive had to face a political as also an administrative problem. He had to settle the exact nature of British relations with the Mughal Emperor, the Nawab *Wazir* of Oudh and the Nawab of Bengal. The administrative questions that required solution were no less difficult—to restore discipline in the Company's service, civil and military, and to put an end to the abuses of the past.

TREATY WITH THE NAWAB OF OUDH (1765)

Vansittart had promised Oudh to the Mughal Emperor. Clive, however, thought it proper to come to terms with Shuja-ud-daula and restored him to his dominions. According to the terms of the treaty of Allahabad, Shuja-ud-daula was to pay fifty *lakhs* to the East India Company for the expenses of the late war, and to enter into a defensive alliance with the Company. The Mughal Emperor, Shah Alam II, was put in full possesssion of Kora and Allahabad as a royal demesne for the support of his dignity and expenses. The union between Shuja-ud-daula and the East India Company proved to be firm. Clive did not want to pursue a policy of conquest. He wrote, "If ideas of conquest were to be the rule of our conduct, I foresee that we should, by necessity, be led from acquisition to acquisition until we had the whole empire up in arms against us". He hoped that Oudh would be a dependent buffer state.

GRANT OF DEWANI BY SHAH ALAM (1765)

In Bengal the process of exhausting the Nawab's functions was continued. On August 12, 1765, Clive secured from the Mughal Emperor a *farman* granting the East India Company the *Dewani* of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, promising in return to remit regularly the sum of 26 *lakhs* of rupees as royal revenue. The Nawab of Bengal sank into a mere pensioner: he was to be paid the annual sum of 53 *lakhs* of rupees for the support of the *Nizamat*. Clive established a Double Government in theory, with the Company as the *Dewan*, and the Nawab as *Nazim*. But the Nawab, having lost all independent military or financial support for his executive, became a mere titled pensioner. Clive, however, did not take over the administration of the country. The general administration remained in the hands of the Deputy Nawabs—Reza Khan in Bengal, Shitab Rai in Bihar. According to Clive's arrangement the Company left to the Deputy Nawabs the functions of *Dewan* as well as *Nazim*—land revenue and customs collection, civil justice, criminal justice and police. The Deputy Nawabs were to administer Bengal really in the interest of the Company while maintaining a fiction of the sovereignty of the Mughal Emperor and the formal authority of the Nawab. Clive had

no sense of responsibility for the good government of Bengal. According to his system, the only addition to the duty of the Company's servants in Bengal was 'superintending the collection of the revenues and receiving the money from the Nabob's treasury to that of the Dewany or the Company'.

This 'masked system' which Clive set up, in which power was separated from responsibility, has been defended on political grounds. According to Mill, it was 'the favourite policy of Clive to whose mind a certain degree of crooked artifice seems to have presented itself pretty congenially in the light of profound and skillful politics'. But avowed dominion would have created difficulties at Paris and the Hague and would have perhaps aroused bitter opposition of the European commercial rivals. As Firminger says, "So far as the Nabob's power and wealth was concerned, he was aware that the English had, so to speak, sucked the orange dry but he imagined that the skin and pulp left behind on the table would delude the other foreign guests in Bengal into the idea that the English had not as yet devoured everything worth eating".

REGULATIONS RELATING TO THE COMPANY'S OFFICERS

During his second Governorship Clive insisted on the East India Company's servants executing covenants prohibiting the acceptance of presents except within certain narrow limits. This was in accordance with orders of the Court of Directors. Many people, however, thought that their signature to the covenant was a mere matter of form. In view of the prevalent attitude of the Court of Directors Clive could not suggest a generous increase of the salary of the East India Company's servants ; but the orders of the Court of Directors prohibiting interference of their servants in the inland trade of the country were positive and he, therefore, tried to find a way out of this difficulty by setting up a society of trade under the control of the Council. Clive wanted to remunerate only the superior servants of the Company who were given shares in the society of trade which enjoyed a monopoly of the inland trade in salt, betelnut and tobacco, 'the three articles next to grain of greatest consumption in the empire'. Fifty-five persons were to share in the proceeds of the society, including the Governor.

Clive sold his shares in 1767 to two of his colleagues for £32,000. This monstrous scheme was disallowed by the Court of Directors in 1768.

During his second Governorship, Clive's attempt to cut down the field allowance of the Bengal officers led to a mutinous combination of the European officers of the Company. Clive met this opposition with characteristic boldness. Most of the officers had to submit and the ringleaders were treated with great severity.

ESTIMATE OF CLIVE

Clive left India in February, 1767. He has been described as the acquirer of an Indian Empire for Britain but, as Mervyn Davies puts it, just as the Mughal Empire was not the work of Babur but of Akbar, so the British Empire in India was the work not of Clive but of the men who followed him. "His gifts were too limited for the larger task. He had not the sympathy, nor the imagination, nor the knowledge, nor the understanding, nor the patience nor the endurance necessary for the setting up of a great new system".

DOUBLE GOVERNMENT AT WORK (1767-72)

The system of government associated with the name of Clive continued under his successors, Verelst (1767-69) and Cartier (1769-72)—the Nawab a figurehead, administration in the hands of the *Naib Subah,* Reza Khan, a nominee of the Company, but the English Resident at the *Darbar* deciding every matter of importance. Power remained divorced from responsibility. Trade abuses continued and as Becher, one of the Company's servants, wrote in 1769, "the fact is undoubted that this fine country which flourished under the most despotic and arbitrary government is verging towards ruin". An attempt was made by Verelst to check highhandedness and venality by appointing English Supervisors for the *Dewani* lands, but it was found in the days of Cartier that they only made confusion worse confounded, and as they were permitted to continue private trade they abused their position of authority. What was really lacking was a principle of government adequate to the substance. In the words of Firminger, "The Court of

Directors imagined that all it behoved their servants to do was to lie beneath the tree and let the ripe fruit tumble into their open mouths".

FAMINE OF 1770

It was not until 1772 that the Company decided to 'stand forth as the *Dewan*' and assume responsibility for the administration of the country, but this decision was perhaps directly due to the great famine of 1770 which made Bengal 'a silent and deserted province'. In this terrible famine the Government relief effort was 'to the extent of £9,000 among thirty millions of people of whom six in every sixteen were officially admitted to have perished'. The famine was caused by the failure of rains but the Supervisors were accused of creating 'corners' in their attempts to preserve sufficiency of grain in their respective districts. Notwithstanding this terrible famine with its 'dire scenes of horror,' the net collections of the year 1771 exceeded even those of 1768. The system of government was brutal and inhuman, and even the Court of Directors felt that the only effective cure would be the assumption of direct responsibility.

FOR FURTHER STUDY

H. Dodwell, *Dupleix and Clive.*
Hunter, *Annals of Rural Bengal.*
Firminger, *Introduction to the Fifth Report.*

CHAPTER XXIV

REVIVAL OF THE MARATHAS AND RISE OF MYSORE

SECTION I

PESHWA MADHAV RAO I

REVIVAL OF THE MARATHAS AFTER 1761

The third battle of Panipat seemed to mark the beginning of the end of Maratha Imperial power.[1] But Maratha recovery was very rapid and Peshwa Madhav Rao I (1761-72), son and successor of Balaji Baji Rao, is entitled to the highest praise for this unexpected recovery of the Maratha Empire from the effects of the stunning blow at Panipat.

WAR WITH NIZAM ALI

Madhav Rao I was in his seventeenth year when he succeeded his father. His uncle Raghunath Rao, a veteran soldier who was very fond of power, became the regent. Nizam Ali, who had practically ousted Salabat Jang from power at Hyderabad, tried to take advantage of Maratha misfortune and marched with about 60,000 troops towards Poona. The Marathas closed their ranks. Nizam Ali was defeated in a decisive battle in January, 1762, but Raghunath Rao, who was perhaps anticipating a struggle for power with his nephew, granted him very favourable terms. Disputes now began between the uncle and the nephew. Raghunath Rao was supported by the Nizam. The Peshwa submitted to his uncle, but the unusually fine character of this youngman enabled him steadily to get the upperhand. In 1763 he helped his uncle to defeat the Nizam in the battle of Rakshasbhuvan on the Godavari river, but Raghunath Rao again granted very favourable terms to the ruler of Hyderabad.

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[1] See pp. 443-444.

WAR WITH HAIDAR ALI

The Peshwa turned his attention against Haidar Ali whose rising power had become a menace to the Maratha territory between the Krishna and the Tungabhadra and who had already encroached on the Maratha sphere of influence north of Mysore. Haidar Ali was completely defeated in 1764-65, but Raghunath Rao prevailed upon the Peshwa to grant him favourable terms. Another campaign in 1766-67 further checked the growing power of Haidar Ali. The Peshwa also brought about the final submission of Janoji Bhonsle of Berar, a Maratha confederate, who was in league with the enemies of the Maratha Empire like the Nizam and Haidar Ali. Raghunath Rao, eager for power and anxious to join these enemies of the Marathas, had to be placed under restraint.

RESTORATION OF MARATHA POWER IN THE NORTH

The Peshwa next sent two expeditions: one to the North to recover the power and influence which the Marathas had in Malwa, Rajputana and the Doab before Panipat, and another to the South to crush Haidar Ali. The southern expedition (1769-72) was brilliantly successful. The Peshwa himself led it but as he fell ill and returned to Poona, Trimbak Rao was nominated as the leader of the expedition. He completely defeated Haidar Ali near Seringapatam; but the Peshwa was dying and this news emboldened Haidar. Though Trimbak Rao's position was strong it was not possible under the circumstances to strive for the complete overthrow of Haidar; a treaty had to be concluded that left Haidar in possession of resources that still made him a formidable antagonist. In the North, the leaders of the Maratha expedition succeeded in re-occupying Malwa and Bundelkhand, in exacting tribute from the Rajput chiefs, in crushing the Jats and Rohillas, and also in occupying Delhi. They brought the fugitive Mughal Emperor Shah Alam II, a British pensioner at Allahabad, back to the Imperial capital (1772). The Peshwa's premature death in November, 1772, was responsible for the return of the Maratha army to the South and this hasty return undid its work in the North. In the words of Grant Duff, "The plains of Panipat were not more fatal to the Maratha empire than the early end of this excellent prince".

SECTION II

HAIDAR ALI

EARLY CAREER

While the Maratha power was again making itself felt in the North as also in the South, the small State of Mysore under Haidar Ali became a factor in the power politics of those days. Haidar was an adventurer of exceptional ability. He began his career as a *Naik* in the army of Nanjaraj, the commander-in-chief of the Mysore State, and very soon became his favourite. In the service of Nanjaraj he took part in the Anglo-French conflict at Trichinopoly and there he gained his experience of the art of war. He was appointed *Faujdar* of Dindigul in 1755. He took advantage of the bankruptcy of the Mysore State and the mutinous condition of the Mysore soldiery to oust Nanjaraj and to become the virtual ruler of Mysore, the nominal King being retained as a mere figure head. His *Dewan* Khande Rao in his turn strove to oust him from power and sought Maratha help for this purpose. But the Panipat campaign diverted Maratha attention. Khande Rao was not effectively supported and Haidar succeeded in overwhelming him. In 1761 he became safely established in supreme authority in Mysore.

TERRITORIAL EXPANSION AND WAR WITH THE MARATHAS

Haidar now embarked upon a career of conquest and seized Sira, Bidnur (Nagar), Sunda and other places. But he had to reckon with the Marathas. Peshwa Madhav Rao was alive to this danger. The Maratha-Mysore wars of 1764-65, 1766-67, and 1769-72 diminished his power and prestige and might have ruined Haidar altogether but for the fatal illness and premature death of the Peshwa. Taking advantage of the chaos and confusion in Maratha affairs that followed the demise of Peshwa Madhav Rao, Haidar conquered Bellary, Gooty, Chitaldrug as also the Maratha territory between the Krishna and the Tungabhadra. He also secured Cuddapah. Towards the south he had already succeeded in bringing Coorg and Malabar under his sway. All Maratha attempts to check his advance to the Krishna in the years 1776-78 failed, though the

Marathas were allied with the Nizam in their effort to stem this tide of expansion. As a French writer puts it, "By steps rather slow but sustained, by a constant good fortune, he has formed a new power, comparable to a torrent that upsets and destroys all that it meets on the way".

RELATIONS WITH THE ENGLISH

With the English Haidar's relations were not friendly. There was enmity between Muhammad Ali of Arcot and Haidar Ali. Besides intense personal dislike, territorial disputes concerning certain districts also caused friction between these two Muslim rulers. The bungling diplomacy of the Government of Madras which controlled the Arcot Nawab precipitated a crisis. The Madras Government entered into an alliance with the Nizam in 1766 and agreed to help him with a British detachment. The Nizam advanced into the Mysore territory with his British auxiliaries at a time when Peshwa Madhav Rao I was also pressing Haidar very hard. Haidar prevailed upon the Peshwa to grant him peace ; he also won the Nizam over and induced him to join him in his project of the invasion of the dominions of the Nawab of Arcot and the British. The unprovoked enmity of the British made him furious and he invaded the Carnatic along with the Nizam. Thus the First Anglo-Mysore War (1767-69) began. Haidar and the Nizam were defeated by Colonel Smith in the battles of Changama and Trinomali (1767). The Nizam withdrew and later concluded a separate peace with the Madras Government (1768). Haidar was not to be so easily thwarted. He knew thoroughly well how to keep the effects of his defeats confined within narrow limits. He was to some extent successful against other British commandants though he was not able to defeat Colonel Smith. The war dragged on. At the head of his swift cavalry Haidar made a sudden dash and approached Madras in March, 1769. The panic-stricken Madras Council was thus compelled to conclude a treaty providing for mutual restitution of conquests and a defensive alliance (April, 1769).

As a realist Haidar felt that this defensive alliance must be the mainstay of his foreign policy. The Nizam was undependable. The Peshwa was his principal enemy who had

twice defeated him and seized valuable territory from him. British military power might be utilized in a defensive alliance against the Marathas. But when the Marathas again invaded his territory (1769-72) he requested the British in vain to come to his aid. The Madras Government was shifty, intractable and undependable. Even after 1772 he tried to bring about a closer rapproachment with Muhammad Ali and the Madras Government. But he grew disgusted with their shifts and subterfuges. He felt that he had to reckon with the prospect of their joining an offensive alliance against him in future. When the First Anglo-Maratha War (1775-82) began, the Marathas with a better sense of the realities of the situation approached him and the active anti-Maratha phase of his career ended. War with the British being more or less inevitable after this,[1] the main preoccupation of his life as that of his son later on was to crush the British. As Haidar told a British ambassador later, he decided to expunge the English name from the Carnatic.

SECTION III

OUDH AND THE ROHILLA WAR

REVISION OF CLIVE'S FOREIGN POLICY BY WARREN HASTINGS

When the Marathas reappeared in Northern India in 1769, occupied Delhi in 1771 and induced the Mughal Emperor to come to Delhi and place himself under Maratha protection, Warren Hastings, Governor of Bengal (1772-74), naturally found that in the changed circumstances Clive's foreign policy required revision. The districts of Kora and Allahabad had been given to the Mughal Emperor. Now that he was in Maratha custody and the Maratha menace was real, Hastings decided to restore Kora and Allahabad to the Nawab of Oudh who was to pay 50 *lakhs* for this restoration. The payment of the tribute of 26 *lakhs* to Shah Alam was also discontinued. The other important British problem in foreign affairs concerned Rohilkhand.

[1] See pp. 497, 499-500.

BRITISH TREATY WITH OUDH (1773)

"The central pillar of Hastings's foreign policy was the alliance with Oudh". He tried to strengthen Oudh in every way. He concluded a treaty with the Nawab of Oudh at Benares in August, 1773. He sought to establish a definite agreement with Shuja-ud-daula in place of the loose manner in which British concerns with him were conducted. The Nawab raised the question of Rohilkhand, which was now exposed to Maratha invasion. The Rohilla Afghans formed a loose confederacy and ruled over a fertile country along the base of the Himalayas. Warren Hastings referred to the strategic importance of the Rohilla country in the following words, "It is to the province of Oudh, in respect to both its geographical and political relations, exactly what Scotland was to England before the reign of Queen Elizabeth. The reduction of this territory would have completed the defensive line of the Vizier's dominions and of course left us less to defend, as he subsists on our strength entirely". This was the policy underlying what is called the Rohilla War.

THE ROHILLA WAR (1774)

The events leading up to the Rohilla war and the details of the war are not pleasant reading. In June, 1772, Hafiz Rahamat Khan, the Rohilla chief, agreed to pay Shuja-ud-daula 40 *lakhs* if he succeeded in compelling the Marathas to withdraw from the Rohilla country. The treaty was signed in the presence of Sir Robert Barker, the British commander-in-chief. The Marathas withdrew, came again in 1773, but again withdrew. They had soon to return to the Deccan on account of domestic complications following the death of Peshwa Madhav Rao I. Shuja-ud-daula demanded payment from the Rohillas but they declined to pay. When the treaty of Benares was concluded he wanted British help to punish the Rohillas and to conquer Rohilkhand. He promised to meet all the expenses of the campaign and to pay a sum of 40 *lakhs*. Hastings agreed. The Nawab, however, changed his mind. But in February, 1774, the vacillating Nawab asked for British aid in terms of the treaty of Benares. A British army under Colonel Champion marched to Rohilkhand and, with Oudh forces, defeated and

killed Hafiz Rahamat Khan at Mirankatra in April, 1774. The Rohillas were driven out and the country was incorporated within the dominions of Oudh.

The Nawab *Wazir* had at one stage desired to give up the Rohilla expedition to which Warren Hastings had readily agreed. Hastings wrote then, "I was glad to be freed from the Rohilla expedition because I was doubtful of the judgment which would have been passed upon it at home, where I see too much stress laid upon general maxims and too little attention given to the circumstances which require an exception to be made for them". Sir Alfred Lyall criticises the political immorality of the whole transaction. He writes, "a shifty line of policy is far more unsafe than a weaker frontier". The invasion was unprovoked and the operations of Oudh troops were uncontrolled. The Rohillas "were in reality suppressed for reasons not unlike those which led to the political destruction of Poland because they could not be trusted to hold an important position on the frontiers of more powerful states". Oudh had to be strengthened against the growing menace of the Maratha power ; so the Rohillas were sacrificed. The financial part of the transaction was the most avowedly cynical aspect of it. Hastings himself observed, "The absence of the Marathas and the weak state of the Rohillas, promised an easy conquest of them, and I own that such was my idea of the Company's distress at home added to my knowledge of their wants abroad, that I should have been glad of any occasion to employ their forces, that saves so much of their pay and expenses."

SECTION IV

THE FIRST ANGLO-MARATHA WAR AND THE SECOND ANGLO-MYSORE WAR

WARREN HASTINGS AS GOVERNOR-GENERAL (1774-85)

By strengthening and giving armed support to Oudh Warren Hastings succeeded in building up 'a firm breakwater against the incessant fluctuations of predatory warfare that distracted Northern India' ; but as Governor-General (1774-85)

he found the British power in India entangled by the Bombay Government in a war with the Marathas, and some years later the bungling diplomacy of the Madras Government was responsible for a war with Haidar Ali and the Nizam. Hastings found himself in the midst of a tremendous conflict against a combination of the most formidable powers in India—the Marathas, the Nizam, Haidar Ali—as also the European rival in India—France.

ORIGIN OF THE FIRST ANGLO-MARATHA WAR

After the death of Peshwa Madhav Rao I in 1772 his brother Narayan Rao succeeded, but he was murdered nine months later (1773) by some adherents of his uncle Raghunath and confusion began in Maratha history. Raghunath was recognised as the Peshwa, but the birth of a posthumous son to Narayan Rao led to the development of a concerted opposition.[1] The child was formally invested as the Peshwa and Raghunath Rao became an exile and pretender. The Bombay Government in their anxiety to secure possession of the adjoining island of Salsette entered into an agreement with him. They seized the island of Salsette by force and concluded with him a treaty known as the treaty of Surat on 7th March, 1775. Raghunath Rao agreed to cede in perpetuity the islands of Salsette and Bassein with a share of the revenues of the Broach and Surat districts. The English agreed to assist him with a force of 2,500 whose cost he would defray. Thus began a war between the Council of Regency at Poona and the Government of Bombay.

THE FIRST ANGLO-MARATHA WAR (1775-82)

Colonel Keatinge was sent with troops to Gujarat to act in concert with Raghunath Rao who was there. After some skirmishes a battle was fought with the Poona troops at Adas (Arras) on 18th May, 1775. Keatinge won, but at a heavy cost. In the meantime the Supreme Government at Calcutta expressed its disapproval of the treaty of Surat, declaring the war to be 'impolitic, dangerous, unauthorised and unjust'. Inspite of the protest of the Bombay Government Colonel Upton was sent from Calcutta to negotiate with the Poona Govern-

[1] See Genealogical Table, p. 444.

ment. He concluded a treaty which is known as the treaty of Purandhar (March, 1776). The treaty of Surat was formally annulled. Raghunath Rao was to get a generous pension and to reside in Gujarat. Salsette was to be retained by the English if the Governor-General so desired. The provisions of this treaty included the cession of Broach revenues and payment of 12 *lakhs* to defray the war expenses.

Raghunath Rao could not understand the nature of this interference and he decided on his part to refuse these terms. The Bombay Government afforded him asylum at Surat in violation of the treaty of Purandhar. In this unsettled state of affairs a despatch arrived from the Court of Directors in which they approved 'under every circumstance' of the treaty of Surat. This emboldened the Bombay Government to disregard the treaty of Purandhar and they invited Raghunath Rao to Bombay. Another despatch of the Court of Directors in 1778 further emboldened the Bombay Government to form a fresh alliance with Raghunath Rao on the basis of the treaty of Surat. Suspicions of French intrigue at Poona added to the existing complications. The Bombay Government decided that Raghunath Rao should be installed at Poona as Regent for the young Peshwa Madhav Rao Narayan and Nana Fadnavis, the leading Minister, and his Council of Regency should be ousted. They sent an expedition towards Poona in November, 1778. The army was composed of 3,000 men. It proceeded up the *ghats* but, confronted by a big Maratha army, fell back, and at Wadgaon found further retreat to be impossible. A convention disgraceful to British political and military prestige was signed at Wadgaon and the humiliated British army was allowed to retire (January, 1779). To avoid surrender Raghunath took refuge with the Maratha chief Mahadji Sindhia.

The Convention of Wadgaon was repudiated by Hastings. He had already sent a detachment under Leslie whom he had instructed to march by the land route to Bombay. Leslie embroiled himself with the chiefs in Bundelkhand. But he died in October, 1778, and was succeeded in command by Goddard who led his detachment to Surat in safety. This successful march across the breadth of the Indian continent increased the prestige of British arms. Raghunath Rao escaped from the custody of Mahadji Sindhia to the protection of Goddard.

According to Grant Duff, this escape was Mahadji's contrivance. But Raghunath Rao could no longer be regarded as of any importance and for all practical purposes the English now became a principal in this contest.

A general confederacy was now formed against the English. It was composed of the Marathas, Haidar Ali and the Nizam. The insane desire of the Bombay Government to show what they could do on their own initiative was only surpassed by the diplomatic blunders perpetrated by the Madras Government. The Nizam was alienated by a treaty concluded in 1779 by the Madras Government with his brother Basalat Jang, whom they took under their protection on condition of his allowing them to rent the district of Guntur. Haidar had become anti-English because he could not persuade the Madras Government to enter into a defensive alliance which he might utilise against the Marathas. He became exasperated by the British capture of Mahe, a French possession in Malabar, by the Basalat Jang affair, by frequent boundary disputes, and as a consequence of constant friction in Malabar. The Wadgaon Convention helped the building of this hostile confederacy. The Poona Government recognised Haidar's conquests as far as the Krishna. It was arranged that the Nizam would invade the Northern *Sarkars*, Haidar would invade the Carnatic, Mudhoji Bhonsle of Berar would attack Bengal, and the Poona Government would continue the war on the Bombay side. Haidar could also count upon the possibility of French co-operation. France and England were at war since 1778. Mudhoji was, however, bought off by Hastings, who also succeeded in securing the neutrality of the Nizam by giving up Guntur in 1780.

Warren Hastings struck hard. Goddard, having concluded a treaty with Fateh Singh Gaikwad, carried Ahmadabad by assault in February, 1780. Hastings won over the Rana of Gohad, who might be expected to give sufficient trouble to Mahadji Sindhia. In order to support him he despatched Captain Popham from Bengal. Popham escaladed the strong fort of Gwalior in August, 1780, assisted by spies supplied by the Rana of Gohad. It was followed by important consequences. Mahadji Sindhia had to hurry to the north. General Goddard captured Bassein in December, 1780, and defeated the Maratha army in the Konkan. But he made the mistake of advancing

to the Bhore Ghat. He allowed himself to be entangled by Nana Fadnavis in negotiations which led to nothing, and in his effort to retire on Kalyan and Bombay to canton for the rains he suffered a reverse.

While these events were happening on the Bombay coast the plan of Warren Hastings to create a powerful diversion in the heart of Sindhia's territory was further developed. Colonel Camac invaded Malwa and in February, 1781, reduced Sipri, advanced to Sironj and succeeded in surprising Sindhia's camp and frightening him. Sindhia showed willingness to come to terms. He concluded a separate treaty with the British in October, 1781, and bound himself to stand neutral. The British army recrossed the Jumna.

TREATY OF SALBAI (1782)

Warren Hastings had earlier a plan of mediation through Mudhoji Bhonsle, but it was now considered better to negotiate with the Poona *Darbar* through Mahadji Sindhia. The treaty of Salbai was concluded on the 17th May, 1782, Sindhia being at the same time the plenipotentiary of the Peshwa and the mutual guarantee of both parties for the due performance of the treaty. The British secured Salsette but restored the territory conquered since the treaty of Purandhar. Raghunath Rao was granted a generous pension by the Poona Government. The Peshwa and the English undertook that their allies should maintain peace with one another. It was provided in the treaty that Haidar was to be obliged to relinquish the territory he had conquered from the English and the Nawab of Arcot. This article was never acted upon and the treaty itself was not ratified at Poona until after the death of Haidar in December, 1782. "The Maratha prime minister (*i.e.*, Nana Fadnavis), a man of high degree in statecraft, saw that by holding it in suspense over the belligerents he could keep in his hands the balance of power between Haidar Ali or Tipu and Hastings." The treaty gave the British 'peace with the Marathas for twenty years' and possession of Salsette, but the war imposed a heavy financial burden.[1]

[1] See pp. 507-509.

THE SECOND ANGLO-MYSORE WAR (1780-84)

The Second Anglo-Mysore war began in July, 1780. Though the Nizam and Bhonsle did not co-operate, Haidar succeeded in giving the British, in the words of MacLeod, second in command at Madras, 'a damned rap over the knuckles'. He entered the Carnatic with an army of about 90,000. The Madras Government was unprepared and in the opening stages of the campaign its Commander-in-Chief, Sir Hector Munro, the well-known hero of Buxar, showed the greatest indecision, amounting almost to imbecility. Haidar created a circle of desolation around Madras, its lines of communications, and round Vellore. It was not wanton and indiscriminate destruction but a war measure. With certain exceptions due to the exigencies of the military situation, the country he conquered below the *ghats* was as well protected as possible. Assisted by his son Tipu, he overwhelmed at Pollilore a detachment of about 4,000 under Baillie that was marching from Guntur to Conjeveram to join Munro. Munro fidgeted in indecision within the hearing of the guns and after this disaster withdrew as precipitately as he could to Madras.

When Warren Hastings heard of this state of things he made a supreme effort. He sent Sir Eyre Coote, with reinforcements in men and money, to lead the campaign against Haidar Ali. A French fleet under D'Orves appeared on the Madras coast. When Sir Eyre Coote arrived with his army at Cuddalore from Madras, the French fleet put a stop to his supplies coming by the sea. Haidar with his army cut off his communications by land. Coote's position at Cuddalore resembled that of Cornwallis at Yorktown, but for some inexplicable reason D'Orves sailed away and Coote could now secure provisions from Madras by sea. On account of the incapacity of the French admiral, Haidar missed the greatest opportunity of his career. The Cuddalore escapade of Coote must be regarded as one of the greatest events in Indo-British history.

After this Coote gained three victories over Haidar in succession—Porto Novo (1st July, 1781), second battle of Pollilore (August 27th, 1781), Sholinghur (September 27th, 1781). But these British victories did not lead to much. Haidar merely lost the ground on which he stood. With his swift

cavalry he commanded the communications, and the British were not able to move into the interior from the seacoast because they could not get sufficient supplies. Early in 1782 a powerful French squadron appeared in the Indian Ocean under the brilliant Admiral de Suffrein. Five indecisive actions were fought between him and the British admiral Sir Edward Hughes. But as a consequence of these engagements superiority rested with the French. According to the French plan Bussy, the old French leader of the days of Dupleix and Lally, was to land with an army and co-operate with Haidar, but he did not land until after Haidar's death. Either by bad management or bad fortune France never had in India an able general or an able admiral at the right moment. Suffrein arrived off Pondichery a year too late, while at the summit of Haidar's fortune the indolent or cowardly D'Orves robbed Haidar of an otherwise certain triumph.

In his campaign of 1782, Haidar had only one major victory to boast of: Tipu surrounded a detachment of 2,000 under Braithwaite at Tanjore and compelled their surrender. Haidar died in December, 1782. The war continued even after his death. But peace was concluded between England and France in June, 1783. A British attempt to take Bidnur failed disastrously. Tipu besieged Mangalore which the British had occupied. A British army under Colonel Fullarton occupied Coimbatore in November, 1783. Lord Macartney, Governor of Madras, became impatient to conclude a treaty and Tipu agreed. The treaty of Mangalore (March, 1784) concluded the war on the basis of the mutual restitution of conquests and liberation of prisoners of war. Hastings did not like the terms of this treaty.

ACHIEVEMENT OF HASTINGS

In connection with the First Anglo-Maratha and the Second Anglo-Mysore Wars Warren Hastings made the following claim, "I had no more concern in the origin and commencement of the Maratha war than the Lord Advocate of Scotland. . . . I have been the instrument of saving one Presidency from infamy and both from annihilation." Considering the part he played in saving the Bombay and Madras Presidencies the claim must be regarded as modest.

FOR FURTHER STUDY

Grant Duff, *History of the Mahrattas* (edited by S. M. Edwardes), Vols. I-II.

A. C. Banerjee, *Peshwa Madhav Rao I.*

N. K. Sinha, *Haidar Ali.*

Sir Alfred Lyall, *Warren Hastings.*

CHAPTER XXV

GROWTH OF BRITISH ADMINISTRATION (1772-1793)

SECTION I

WARREN HASTINGS

END OF DOUBLE GOVERNMENT

Warren Hastings became Governor of Bengal in April, 1772, and Governor-General in October, 1774. Sir Alfred Lyall says that he 'showed a genius for pioneering administration'. The Company decided to abandon the Dual system of internal government. As Governor Hastings had not the least difficulty in managing his Council of 12 or 13 members ; he succeeded in establishing his personal ascendancy. He sought to bring freedom into the markets of Bengal. He totally abolished the use of the *Dustuck* or free pass which exempted the Company's servants or agents from Government dues and of which such fraudulent use was made.[1] As the Company was now the Government there was no difficulty in enforcing this. He also suppressed the Zamindari *chokeys* or customs houses. Only five central customs houses were henceforth to be maintained at Calcutta, Hughli, Murshidabad, Patna and Dacca. Customs duties were lowered to a fixed rate of 2½ per cent. on all goods except the monopolies of salt, betelnut and tobacco, and this duty was to be paid by all alike. Warren Hastings carried out this reform which was long overdue at the instance of the Court of Directors.

The Company's decision to 'stand forth as the *Dewan*' involved the abolition of the offices of *Naib Dewan* of Bengal and Bihar. Reza Khan and Shitab Rai were not only dismissed but prosecuted for peculation in accordance with the instructions of the Court of Directors, but they were honourably acquitted. Hastings reduced the Nawab's pension which had already been brought down from 32 *lakhs* to 16 *lakhs*.

[1] See p. 481.

REVENUE SYSTEM OF HASTINGS

Hastings had, however, the greatest difficulty in devising a simple system of land revenue administration ; he failed in this task. The existing system has been described as an 'impenetrable labyrinth of which the key was sought in vain'. Clive had retained the old organisation. Warren Hastings sought to create his own machinery for assessment and collection. The Zamindars of Bengal were even in the days of Akbar 'rich, powerful and numerous'. In the early years of the eighteenth century, when Murshid Quli Khan was the *Dewan* and *Nazim* of Bengal, the hereditary character of the Zamindars' connection with the land was recognised, though that masterful ruler has left behind him a tradition as a chastiser of Zamindars. Besides the Zamindar, another existing revenue agency was the Kanungo, who was the registrar of a district, the custodian of its records.

Hastings did not co-operate with these existing agencies. He appointed a Committee of Circuit to tour through various districts. It was decided to farm the revenue for five years to the highest bidders in order to ascertain the true value of the land. The result was naturally disastrous : the country, already ruined by the famine of 1770, fell into the hands of speculators who rack-rented and absconded. The opinion gained ground that it would be far better to deal with the Zamindars who were men of substance and character and could be depended upon. The President and Council formed a Committee of Revenue and revenue administration was placed directly under their control. The *Khalsa* (or the treasury office) was removed from Murshidabad to Calcutta. In each district the Supervisor (under the name of Collector), assisted by an Indian *Dewan,* was made responsible for revenue administration.

In 1772 the Court of Directors sent orders to recall the Collectors and to adopt other measures for the collection of revenue. A Committee of Revenue was set up at Calcutta consisting of two members of the Council and three senior servants below the Council to supervise the work in the districts. They were to be assisted by the *Ray Rayan,* an Indian official who was supervising the work of the Indian *Dewans.* Occasional inspectors could be sent. The three provinces were

temporarily to be divided into six divisions, each under a Provincial Council, each consisting of a chief and four senior servants of the Company. Each district was to be under an Indian *Dewan*, the Collector being withdrawn.

JUDICIAL SYSTEM OF HASTINGS

The Governorship of Warren Hastings marks the beginning of an administrative service separated from the commercial organisation. The greatest achievement of Warren Hastings as Governor was the creation of judicial courts. From Mughal times there was a close connection between land revenue and civil justice. In accordance with the recommendations of the Committee of Circuit, two courts were established in each district—the *Mufassil Dewani Adalat* over which the Collector presided, and the *Faujdari Adalat* (or the court of criminal police) where the *Qazi* or the *Mufti* expounded the law and inflicted punishment and the Collector attended with a view to regulate the proceedings. At the Presidency of Fort William superior courts were established—the *Sadr Dewani Adalat* to deal with appeals from the *Mufassil Dewani Adalats,* and the *Sadr Nizamat Adalat* to deal with appeals from the *Faujdari Adalats.* Over the *Sadr Dewani Adalat* the President with two members of the Council presided ; over the *Sadr Nizamat Adalat* a chief officer of justice appointed by the *Nazim* presided. Supervision was also exercised over criminal justice so that the Company's administration in the character of the King's *Dewan* might be satisfied.

The tendency of Warren Hastings to centralize is clearly visible. "In transferring from Murshidabad to Calcutta the seat of the supreme courts of justice, the head seat of revenue administration and the *Khalsa,* Hastings was instituting a policy deliberately designed to make the last named place the capital of British Bengal." "Under the plea that they were acting within the constitution of the Mughal Empire, the Company's servants built up a system of internal government and when the walls of their government had reached a certain height, the sun of the British crown rose to its meridian and the shadow cast by the setting constellation of the Mughal Empire disappeared for ever."

HASTINGS AND HIS COUNCIL

After the passing of the Regulating Act Warren Hastings as Governor-General was, during the period 1774-76, constantly outvoted in his small Council by Francis, Clavering and Monson. In 1776 Monson died and Hastings held the mastery by his casting vote. Clavering died in August, 1777, and Hastings's control over the Council was thereby greatly strengthened. On the whole he retained his mastery until his departure from India in 1785. One of the consequences of his quarrel with the Council was the creation of a spirit of partisanship throughout the entire service, but the new Council also brought a new spirit of enquiry. Sir Philip Francis showed a remarkable grasp of the revenue problem and in his minutes advocated a fixed settlement with the Zamindars. The idea might have been suggested by some district officers but Francis must be described as 'the original promoter of the Permanent Settlement of Bengal'.

DEVELOPMENT OF HASTINGS'S REVENUE POLICY

Hastings gradually came to favour settlement for a life or two joint lives. He appointed a Commission in 1776 known as the *Amini* Commission ; it collected valuable data. But the Directors' policy of marking time in view of conflicting data was responsible for annual settlements. Warren Hastings, master of his Council, was, however, responsible for carrying to completion his favourite policy of centralisation. The Provincial Councils were dissolved and their powers were transferred to the Committee of Revenue. The Collectors were re-appointed but were denied any interference with the new settlement of revenue. "It was hoped that a central authority aloof from the corruption of the country would be able almost unaided to control an unknown and antiquated system". As Sir John Shore put it in 1782, "the real state of the districts is now less known and the revenue less understood than in 1774." Warren Hastings thus failed to devise a system of land revenue administration that could be regarded as workable.

BEGINNINGS OF CIVIL SERVICE

Another limitation should also be noted so far as the growth of British administration was concerned. Hastings laid

the foundations of a civil service, distinct from commerce, but he could not create very healthy traditions for it as he made many improper appointments to gratify persons in power. This demoralised his system. He secured the support of the Archbishop of York by giving the control of Benares to his son aged 21, and of Sullivan, Chairman of the Court of Directors, by granting the opium contract to his son who sold it for £40,000. It should not be forgotten that he was the principal servant of a chartered commercial Company, not a senatorial Proconsul like Cornwallis and Wellesley, and in his shaky position he had to compromise to a large extent with evil. But there is one redeeming feature. He had not the distrust of Indian agency that characterised the administrative system of Lord Cornwallis who built on the foundations laid by him.

IMPEACHMENT OF HASTINGS (1788-1795)

An estimate of the achievements of Warren Hastings as an administrator raises certain controversial issues. On his return to England he was impeached by the House of Commons before the House of Lords on some grave charges—his treatment of Chait Singh and the Begams of Oudh, his fraudulent contracts, as also the presents and bribes which he took. He was sought to be impeached for the Rohilla War, but the Commons did not sanction the inclusion of this among the articles of impeachment.

CASE OF NANDA KUMAR (1775)

Suspicion also attaches to him in connection with the Nanda Kumar case. The facts of this case are well-known. Nanda Kumar, an influential Brahmin who had held important posts under the Nawabs, accused Warren Hastings in the Council of taking a heavy bribe for nominating Moni Begam, the widow of Mir Jafar, as the guardian of the Nawab. Hastings had taken a sum of 150,000 rupees as his allowance during his stay at Murshidabad. Therefore, there was some substratum of truth in the charge of Nanda Kumar. While this was being enquired into, Nanda Kumar was committed for trial on a charge of forgery brought against him by a

banker's agent ; he was found guilty by the Supreme Court and put to death, as it was generally believed, nominally for forgery but really for accusing the Governor-General. Collusion between the Governor-General and the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court cannot be proved. But, in the words of Sir Alfred Lyall, Impey, the Chief Justice, was always inclined to pull the chestnuts out of the fire for Hastings and later even gave 'legal countenance to raids upon the Begams' money bags'. It was a fit case for reprieve as the Act under which Nanda Kumar was condemned was of doubtful application to India, and the idea of forgery as a capital offence was opposed to the customs and manners of the country. No Indian after Nanda Kumar was executed for forgery and later, in 1802, the Judges of the Supreme Court expressly admitted that the crime was not capital. The condemned man was also the accuser of the Governor-General. The Chief Justice had the power of reprieve which he did not exercise, and there is also evidence to prove that one of the dependents of Warren Hastings attempted to prevent Farrer, Nanda Kumar's counsel, from presenting a petition for reprieve.

CASE OF CHAIT SINGH (1778-1781)

Hastings's treatment of Chait Singh, Raja of Benares, has been described as 'merciless and vindictive'. He wanted money for the wars against France and the Marathas. The Raja of Benares had great wealth. He had also incurred the resentment of Warren Hastings. In 1777, when there was a dispute on the question as to whether Warren Hastings had resigned, the Raja had sent an agent to Clavering who had set himself up as a rival Governor-General. The Supreme Court decided in favour of Warren Hastings, who perhaps never forgave the Raja for trying to make terms with his rival. When the Maratha War and the outbreak of hostilities with France compelled the Governor-General to seek expedients to replenish his treasury, he decided to ask the Raja to pay an extraordinary war subsidy of 5 *lakhs*, which was paid (1778). In 1779 the demand was renewed and payment was made after some delay. In 1780 the Governor-General asked him to furnish a contigent of 2,000 cavalry. He protested and the demand was reduced

to 1,000 cavalry. He got together 500 horse and 500 infantry and informed Hastings who had, however, by now made up his mind to impose on him the extraordinary fine of 50 *lakhs*. Hastings wrote, "I was resolved to draw from his guilt the means of relief to the Company's distress". He also decided to remove the Raja in case of non-compliance and came to Benares. The Raja's answers were deemed equivocal and he was ordered to be put under arrest. His troops resented this, suddenly rose, and massacred a company of Sepoys and their officers. Hastings had to fly to Chunar. British troops arrived. Chait Singh escaped to Gwalior. His territory was sequestered and conferred upon a nephew, the tribute being almost doubled. The Company got nothing out of this affair, the soldiers keeping what they seized as prize money. The heavy increase of tribute was responsible for the rack-renting of the Benares district which did not recover until the heavy financial imposition was reduced.

The question whether Chait Singh was an almost independent Raja or a 'mere Zamindar' has been argued at length Even if he was a mere Zamindar it is curious to find that no other Zamindar was called upon to meet such extraordinary demands and there was no general tax levied on all Zamindars. The insurrection was precipitated by the imprudence of Hastings. We would not be wrong in concluding that Hastings deserved severe censure in view of 'impolitic severity and precipitation' about his proceedings against Chait Singh.

CASE OF THE BEGAMS OF OUDH (1782)

Hastings failed to get any money from Benares and turned to Oudh. The state of things in Madras and Bombay necessitated an immediate supply of money. Nawab Asaf-ud-daula of Oudh, son and successor of Shuja-ud-daula, was in debt to the Company. He declared his inability to pay unless his mother and grandmother, who were in possession of a very considerable portion of the treasure of the late Nawab, were made to pay. But the Company had in 1775 guaranteed those Begams of Oudh in possession of their treasure and estates. Hastings withdrew this guarantee, and when the Nawab began to hang back he was goaded by the British authorities. The

Resident, Middleton, was not sufficiently energetic in applying coercion and was replaced by Bristow. The Begams' ministers were kept in prison for many months and were for sometime even put in irons and deprived of food. The eunuchs were kept in confinement. The treasure of the Begams was seized in December, 1782.

Hastings alleged that the Begams had supported the rising of Chait Singh. Impey took affidavits to support the Governor-General. The evidence is not, however, convincing and, as Roberts says, 'it was a sordid, shabby and sorry business'. It should be noted in this connection that, as Chait Singh made a present of Rs. 20,000 to Hastings to escape from his demands, so the Nawab of Oudh offered him ten *lakhs* as a bribe to release him from his task of coercing these old relatives. Hastings took this bribe, employed the money in the Company's service and persisted in his course of action. Well might the accusers of Hastings describe these as 'the donations of misery to power, the gifts of wretchedness to the oppressors'. These 'sinister fiscal operations' of Warren Hastings must be regarded as unworthy and indefensible. His only argument was the state of public emergency.

RESULT OF IMPEACHMENT

The impeachment of Hastings was a long trial and though he was acquitted on all the counts the highest number of votes was recorded against him on the cases of Chait Singh and the Begams. The Whig party made this occasion 'a manifesto for their humanitarian sentiments and an exercise in vituperation'. An enquiry was certainly necessary in order that 'the unhappy features of his period of office should not be allowed to become precedents for British policy in the East', but the long drawn agony of a trial that left him financially broken must be regarded as an act of British ingratitude. Warren Hastings's case is best put in his own words: "I received the government of Bengal with incumbrances, ... I gave it both form and system. The valour of others acquired, I enlarged and gave shape and consistency to the dominion you hold there; I preserved it. I sent forth its armies with an effective but economical hand, through unknown and hostile regions, to the

support of your other possessions, to the retrieval of one from degradation and dishonour and the other from utter loss and subjection . . . . I gave you all and you have rewarded me with confiscation, disgrace and a life of impeachment."

HASTINGS AS A PATRON OF LEARNING

From the Indian point of view the most remarkable achievement of Warren Hastings was his patronage of literature, scholarship and the arts—"Nathaniel Halhead and Sir Charles Wilkins as pioneers, Sir William Jones and Henry Thomas Colebrooke as scholars and Hastings as their enthusiastic patron."

THE REGULATING ACT, 1773

The intervention of Parliament with definite authority in Indian affairs was inevitable after 1757. The East India Company's financial embarrassments precipitated this intervention in 1773. The Regulating Act of 1773, passed at the instance of Lord North, was the first of the long series of Parliamentary enactments relating to India. The constitution of the Company in England was changed, but more important was the change of the structure of the Government in India.

In England the power of vote in the Court of Proprietors was restricted and it was provided that the Directors would be elected for four years. The number of Directors was 24, of whom one-fourth would retire every year. The Directors were required to 'lay before the Treasury all correspondence from India dealing with the revenues ; and before a Secretary of State everything dealing with civil or military administration'. Thus for the first time the British Cabinet was given the right of controlling Indian affairs, although the right was imperfect.

As regards the government of India the Act laid down that there was to be a Governor-General of Bengal who was to be assisted by four Councillors.[1] They were all appointed by name for five years and could be removed earlier only by the King on the recommendation of the Court of Directors. Future appointments were to be made by the Company. The vote of

[1] Clavering, Monson, Barwell, Philip Francis.

the majority was to bind the whole body, the Governor-General having only a casting vote in case of an equal division. The Governor-General and Council were vested with the civil and military government of the Presidency of Fort William. They were also to manage and govern the territorial acquisitions and revenues in Bengal, Bihar, and Orissa as they were exercised by the President and Council or Select Committee. They were to superintend the subordinate Presidencies of Madras and Bombay in the making of war and in the conclusion of peace. But in case of imminent necessity or on the receipt of special orders from the Home Government the subordinate Presidencies might act otherwise. The Act also provided for the establishment of a Supreme Court of Justice by a Royal Charter, which would consist of a Chief Justice[1] and three puisne Judges. Liberal salaries were granted to the Governor-General, Councillors and Judges.

DEFECTS OF THE REGULATING ACT

Ilbert writes, "The provisions of the Act of 1773 are obscure and defective as to the nature and extent of the authority exercised by the Governor-General and his Council, as to the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court and as to the relation between the Bengal Government and the Court". It was very unfortunate that the Governor-General was not given the power to override his Council in the last resort.[2] Hastings argued in vain in favour of this right which was not conceded until 1786. Sir John Strachey describes this plan of governing an Empire by a constantly shifting majority at Council board as 'impossible' and 'folly'. Secondly, Calcutta's power to control the subordinate Presidencies was a mere negative power and nothing more. They were so long independent and the exceptions noted in the Act provided them with a disastrous latitude. Bombay's dealings with the Poona *Darbar* during the First Anglo-Maratha War and the relations of Madras with the Nizam and Haidar Ali during the Second Anglo-Mysore War showed that the Act did not certainly help the development of a tradition of loyalty to the Supreme Government.

[1] Sir Elijah Impey.
[2] See p. 505.

Thirdly, the Supreme Court was given jurisdiction over British subjects in India, but the term 'British subject' was not explained. The Act avoided a declaration on the question of sovereignty and this was not actually done until the Charter Act of 1813. It brought into existence a Court of King's Judges and professional men of the law but it did not define the field of jurisdiction, the law that was to be administered and the relations between the Council and the Court. A violent quarrel between the Executive and the Judiciary thus developed. The Judges felt that they were entrusted with the task of dealing with oppression in the executive government ; but there is no doubt that the government of the country was seriously disturbed because the Supreme Court intervened in matters belonging to the *Dewani* and the *Nizamat*. In the Kasijura case the Supreme Court claimed that a Zamindar must be held subject to its jurisdiction in a case of a claim for a private debt. In the Patna case the Court asserted authority to penalise the judicial action of officers of the Company. All this made for confusion. Warren Hastings sought a way out of the difficulty by obtaining Impey's acceptance of the Presidency of the *Sadr Dewani Adalat*. Impey was granted a large salary for this additional work of supervising the *Dewani* Courts. Macaulay calls the offer a bribe and describes the Chief Justice as 'rich, quiet and infamous'. It was felt by many that the Chief Justice compromised the independence of the Supreme Court by taking this salary. In 1782 under instructions from the Court of Directors the Governor-General and Council resumed the *Sadr Dewani Adalat* jurisdiction which had been assigned to the Chief Justice in 1780.

ACT OF 1781

An amending act was passed in 1781 which effected important changes in the system of 1773. It laid down that the Governor-General and Council were not to be jointly and severally subject to the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court, and the Supreme Court was not to exercise any jurisdiction in matters concerning the revenue. The extent of its general jurisdiction was also precisely defined. The Courts dependent on the country constitution were also recognised. The two

systems were to remain side by side until a final fusion took place in 1861.

PITT'S INDIA ACT (1784)

The Regulating Act was in operation for eleven years until it was superseded by Pitt's India Act in 1784. The Act of 1784 concerned itself mainly with the Company's Home Government in London. The Act established a Board of Commissioners to supervise the civil and military government of the Company, popularly known as the Board of Control, which was to consist of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, a Secretary of State and four Privy Councillors appointed by the King. Its secret orders were to be transmitted to India by a Secret Committee of three Directors. The Court of Proprietors could not annul or suspend a joint decision of the Board and these Directors. The Governor-General was to have three Councillors, one of whom was to be the Commander-in-Chief. The subordinate Presidencies were to be definitely subject to Bengal in all questions of diplomacy, war and revenue. By a supplementary Act passed in 1786 the Governor-General was authorised in special cases to override his Council and also to hold the office of Commander-in-Chief.

The Act of 1784 was a very skilful enactment bearing all the marks of a political compromise. The Board of Control had no independent executive power. It had no patronage, its power was veiled. But it had access to all the Company's papers and its approval was necessary for all despatches that were not purely commercial, and in case of emergency the Board could send its own draft to the Secret Committee of the Directors to be signed and sent out in its name. The Act thus placed the civil and military government of the Company in due subordination to the Government in England. The Court of Directors remained satisfied because they retained their patronage and their right of dismissing their servants. Mill says, "Of the power which the Directors retain much is inseparable from the management of detail". It is also relevant to note that "the Board of Control passed into oblivion as such." Dundas succeeded in eliminating the other members; the management fell in practice to the President who became practi-

cally a Secretary of State for India, Indian affairs thus becoming a matter for the British Cabinet. Pitt's India Act thus settled the main lines of the Company's Home and Indian government for more than seventy years. It also laid down that "to pursue schemes of conquest and extension of dominion in India are measures repugnant to the wish, the honour and policy of this nation"—a declaration more honoured in breach than in observance in India.

SECTION II

LORD CORNWALLIS

ADVANTAGES OF CORNWALLIS

After the resignation of Warren Hastings the post of Governor-General was held temporarily for more than a year (1785-86) by Sir John Macpherson, who was succeeded by Lord Cornwallis in September, 1786. Cornwallis was the first senatorial Proconsul. He has been described as 'the right kind of aristocrat'. He was the personal friend of Henry Dundas, President of the Board of Control, and of Pitt, the Prime Minister. He had the most enthusiastic support of the Court of Directors. According to the Act of 1786 he could overrule his Council. He exercised effective control over Madras and Bombay. He was also invested with military control as Commander-in-Chief. He could determine policy with the full assurance of support from the House of Commons. His position as the first Parliamentary Governor-General was thus very secure and he made very good use of his time. His main task in India was administrative organisation and he had excellent administrators to guide him, who had come into prominence in the days of Warren Hastings—John Shore, James Grant and Jonathan Duncan in the field of revenue and general administration, Charles Grant on the commercial side and Sir William Jones in judicial matters. Cornwallis himself had not perhaps conspicuous abilities, but he had industry, honesty and public spirit.

COMMERCIAL REFORMS

He first reformed the commercial administration of the Company in Bengal. Provisions for the Company's investment

were made by a Board of Trade of eleven members. It was reduced to five members. Instead of contracts for supply with the Company's own servants the Board was to provide investments by contracts with the merchants. Warren Hastings had tried to deliver the weavers from the oppression of the Company's *gomasthas* who practised roguery beyond imagination, exercising a quasi-monopolistic control, but the Court of Directors had prevented any real reform. This oppression, this monopoly and coercion proved destructive of the industry, and regulations had to be laid down to prevent oppression of the primary producer or the Indian or foreign trader. Cornwallis boasted in 1789 that "the investment is now reasonably and intelligently purchased and delivered to the Government at its real cost." But the Company's commerce became progressively of less importance and the Company lost its monopoly of trade with India in 1813.

JUDICIAL REFORMS

The judicial reforms of Cornwallis concerned civil as also criminal justice and police. By his regulation dated 3rd December, 1790, he took away from the Nawab his power of administering criminal justice and removed the *Sadr Nizamat Adalat* to Calcutta. It was to be presided henceforth by the Governor-General and Council, aided by the Chief *Qazi* and *Muftis*. Four Courts of Circuit were established, each under two British judges aided by *Qazis* and *Muftis*. They were to make tours twice a year throughout the districts. The Collectors in the 23 districts were given further magisterial powers. In 1791 Superintendents of Police were created for Calcutta. Small areas were put under a *Daroga* who was placed at the head of a police station. He was to be subject to the control of the District Magistrate. It was the beginning of the establishment of a regular police force.

After his establishment of the Permanent Settlement Cornwallis finally separated civil jurisdiction from revenue administration. He took away the purely judicial powers of the Collectors even in matters of revenue and vested them in the civil judge. Revenue Courts disappeared and revenue cases were referred to district courts, now reorganised as three city

courts and 23 *zilla* courts, each presided over by an English Judge. Four Provincial Courts of Appeal at Calcutta, Patna, Dacca and Murshidabad intervened between the district court and the *Sadr Dewani Adalat*. To the *Sadr Dewani Adalat*, consisting of the Governor-General and Council, appeal could be made in larger causes, with a further appeal to the King in Council in still larger cases. Over the Provincial Courts were three English Judges who were also to preside over the criminal Courts of Circuit at those towns. The Collectors of revenue and all the officers of government were made amenable to these courts for acts done in their official capacity. For very minor cases upto 50 rupees Indian *Munsifs* and *Sadar Amins* were given jurisdiction, and Registrars of the courts dealt with cases upto 200 rupees subject to appeal.

In this connection it is only fair to note that Warren Hastings had already brought *Faujdari* or criminal jurisdiction under the control of British officers. He had already begun the separation of revenue work from judicial work. He had already provided for the 'addition of new courts of justice distributed at equal distance throughout the provinces.' Cornwallis thus developed and completed a scheme of reform which in its main features had been initiated by Hastings. The judicial system of Cornwallis was concerned mainly with procedure and it was sometime before a good system of laws came and reasonably speedy justice could be ensured.

PERMANENT SETTLEMENT

One of the most important contributions of Cornwallis was in the field of land revenue. In the days of Hastings the view had come to the forefront that revenue should be fixed once for all with the Zamindars. Sir Philip Francis made this idea popular in England. It would ensure a uniform and simple title in place of the complex conditions and uncertainty that then prevailed. Cornwallis was not the originator of the Permanent Settlement in any way. His instructions required him to make a settlement with the Zamindars for a period of ten years. Cornwallis differed from his expert, Sir John Shore, in his conclusion that the data collected in connection with the settlement of 1790 could be regarded as sufficient to justify the Com-

pany in making the settlement permanent. His view was accepted in England and the Permanent Settlement of Bengal came formally into existence in 1793.

Hunter has pointed to the imperfections in form and also the fundamental errors that vitiated the settlement. The areas of the Zamindari estates were unknown, the areas of rent free grants and maintenance lands were unascertained, the areas of pasture lands and waste lands remained unascertained, when the settlement was declared permanent. This led to endless confusion and opened the flood gates of litigation. These defects were, however, capable of amendment. But the rigour of the sale law was disastrous in its immediate consequences. "It was vain to expect the ancient Rajas of Bengal, encumbered with all the costly paraphernalia of petty courts and military retainers, to suddenly transform themselves into punctual tax-collectors. The ancient houses of Bengal broke down under the strain. Within 22 years from ⅓ to ½ of the landed property of Bengal was actually sold on this account." It was found that the only escape for the ancient houses was to lease the land to middlemen. Sub-infeudation, though opposed to the purposes of the Permanent Settlement, had to be recognised as one of its essential features.

The authors of the Permanent Settlement were aware of the necessity of 'securing to the tenants the same certainty as to the amount of their rents and the same undisturbed enjoyment of the fruits of their industry' as the Zamindars were allowed, but the flood of new business made it impossible to undertake the minute investigation necessary for the declaratory leases. The cultivators were vaguely apprehensive and were not willing to execute their counterpart agreement. Moreover, the twenty years following 1770 were a period of falling rents on account of the loss of population ; but during twenty years after the introduction of the Permanent Settlement the tenants were competing for holdings and this state of things meant an unearned increment to the Zamindars. The haste after fixity was a blunder. The tenants were saved by subsequent legislation in their favour ; the Courts of Justice also arrayed themselves on their side. The cultivators developed a power for combined resistance. Another saving factor was the 'easy going,

indolent and not altogether self-centred life of the Zamindars'. "The landlords and tenants worked a *modus vivendi* from a legislative blunder which might have led to agrarian anomaly among a less self-controlled or a less forbearing people."

CIVIL SERVICE

Cornwallis created new traditions for the Company's Civil Service. He insisted on 'strict discipline and the maintenance in India of the ethical standards which had *now* won acceptance in England'. His panacea for the existing venality and corruption was high salary, strict supervision and Europeanisation. Upto 1781 the administrative personnel was mixed. In 1781 European Collectors were re-appointed. Sir John Macpherson began Europeanisation of the civil establishment on a very wide scale. Lord Cornwallis adopted this principle of Anglicising the personnel of public administration with a thoroughness that marks a new departure. The testimony of Cornwallis himself, as also that of Shore, is there to prove that the European servants of the East India Company were no less corrupt than the Indian. If the remedies proposed by Cornwallis could cure the evils so far as the Europeans were concerned, they could have also raised the Indians out of the rut. A Collector in 1787, according to the system of Cornwallis, was not to receive Rs. 1,200/- a month, which was considered inadequate, but was to be paid Rs. 1,500/- and he was to have in addition a commission on the revenue of about 1 per cent. The commission of the Collector of the district of Burdwan amounted to 27,500/- rupees per annum. The principle of exclusion of Indians was confirmed by the Charter Act of 1793, which laid down that "no office, place or employment, the salary and perquisites whereof shall exceed £500 per annum, was to be conferred on anybody for the space of three years who was not a covenanted servant of the Company." As no Indian could be a covenanted servant of the Company, the exclusion of the Indian Agency was thus placed on a legislative basis.

The consequence of this system from the Indian standpoint is best described in the words of Sir Thomas Munro, who was one of the most gifted servants of the East India Company and rose to be the Governor of Madras. He wrote, "The natives of

the British provinces may without fear pursue their different occupations as traders, *meerasidars* or husbandmen, and enjoy the fruits of their labour in tranquillity, but none of them can aspire to anything beyond this mere animal state of thriving in peace. It is from men who either hold or are eligible to public offices that natives take their character. Where no such men exist, there can be no energy in any other class of community. No elevation of character can be expected from men who in the military line cannot attain to any rank above that of Subahdar and in the civil line can hope for nothing beyond some petty judicial or revenue office in which by corrupt means he can make up for his slender salary." The increasing Europeanisation of the bureaucracy and the diminution of Indian influence set up barriers between the two races and the growing alienation was apparent to the discerning student of contemporary history as early as 1815.

THE CHARTER ACT OF 1793

When the Regulating Act was passed the Charter of the Company had been extended for twenty years. As the time for its renewal came near an agitation was started in England in favour of the opening of the Indian trade to private merchants. Lord Cornwallis opposed the abolition of the Company's monopoly on the ground that the opening of the trade would bring to India 'desperate speculators' from England. In 1793 the Charter was renewed for twenty years without any material change. The Company's privileges were not abolished. No important constitutional change was introduced by this statute of consolidation.

FOR FURTHER STUDY

A. B. Keith, *A Constitutional History of India.*
Firminger, *Introduction to the Fifth Report.*
Hunter, *Bengal Mss. Records* (Introduction).
Cambridge History of India, Vol. V.
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CHAPTER XXVI

FALL OF MYSORE AND DECLINE OF THE MARATHAS
(1786-1805)

SECTION I

THE THIRD ANGLO-MYSORE WAR

TIPU'S WAR WITH THE MARATHAS AND THE NIZAM (1786-87)

The most important political event of Cornwallis' term of office was the Third Anglo-Mysore War. Tipu had succeeded in bringing the Second Anglo-Mysore War to a successful close by the treaty of Mangalore which Hastings regarded as a 'humiliating pacification' from the British point of view. Hastings had even asserted that he did not disavow or annul it because of the 'confusion which must have resulted to the Company's affairs'. But Tipu was restless and war very soon began between him and the Marathas who were in league with the Nizam. This was the great difference between the father and the son. Haidar had certain rules which made the practice of power politics in his hands relatively safe. He somehow saw to it that his enemies—the Marathas, the Nizam and the British —did not combine against him ; he normally fought one enemy at a time and in his last years brought about a combination of all the Indian Powers against the British. Tipu stands in the same relation to Haidar in the matter of foreign policy as did Kaiser Wilhelm II to Bismarck. He violated every one of the rules that governed the foreign policy of his predecessor and thus drove his enemies who were hostile to each other to combine against him. In 1786 he fought against both these Powers, and though triumphant in the engagements, he expressed his anxiety to end the war, as he was apprehensive that the British might join the confederates. The terms were more favourable to the Marathas and the Nizam than the state of the campaign warranted.

ORIGIN OF THE THIRD ANGLO-MYSORE WAR

Tipu's conduct was capricious and he was responsible, inspite of the treaty, for fresh aggressions against the Marathas. The Nizam, apprehensive of the Marathas and distrustful of the British, made approaches to Tipu who, however, wanted a marriage alliance. The Nizam haughtily rejected such a connection and tried to draw closer to the British. Tipu sent envoys to France and received some encouragement ; but in the nature of the circumstances he could not hope for any effective support. He also matured his plan of invading Travancore. He calculated that if he succeeded he would invade from the south and by the time the British army could be assembled "he could commence the war with the Caveri as his northern frontier towards Coromandel, a boundary anxiously and incessantly desired by the rulers of Mysore since 1751."

Cornwallis considered a rupture with Tipu as a certainty and wanted vigorous co-operation with the Nizam and the Marathas. He was bound by the non-intervention clause of Pitt's India Act,[1] but he was so anxious for an 'intelligible offensive alliance' that he discovered a way out. On July 7, 1789, he wrote a letter to the Nizam, in which he agreed to furnish him with a subsidiary force not to be employed against certain Powers specifically mentioned ; in that enumeration every one was included with the single exception of Tipu. Cornwallis declared that this letter was as binding 'as a treaty in due form could be'. There could hardly be a clearer enunciation of British policy towards Tipu.

Tipu's attack on the celebrated Travancore lines, which had been created as a defensive measure against possible aggression, was launched in December, 1789. He was not at first successful. The next attack in April, 1790, however, met with success. Travancore was in alliance with the English and Cornwallis now intervened. He concluded a treaty of offensive and defensive alliance with the Peshwa and the Nizam in July, 1790. Each of these Powers was to send a contingent of 10,000 horse to act with the English army. There would be an equal division of conquests, but the territory of particular Zamindars

[1] See p. 514.

and Poligars formerly dependent on the Marathas should be restored to them in full sovereignty. The English wanted to retain the conquests made by them before the commencement of war by the other parties.

THE THIRD ANGLO-MYSORE WAR (1790-92)

The war that now began lasted for nearly two years. It fell into three campaigns. In 1790 General Medows marched with an army of 15,000. According to the British plan the principal army was to secure the Coimbatore district and advance to Mysore. Another British army, first under Kelly and then under Maxwell, was to watch the passes leading from Mysore to the Carnatic. A Bombay army was to seize the possessions of Tipu in Malabar. Tipu very nearly overwhelmed the force of Maxwell, but Medows at last succeeded in effecting a junction. Though the British army succeeded as a result of the first year's campaign in occupying Dindigul, Coimbatore and Palghat, the aspect of affairs was responsible for the decision of Lord Cornwallis to assume the chief command. In 1791 Lord Cornwallis took a new point of attack, moving by Vellore and Ambur to capture Bangalore. After taking it he advanced to Seringapatam ; but Tipu's scorched earth policy was largely responsible for a famine in his camp and he had to destroy his battering guns and relinquish the siege. As he fell back his Maratha allies, who had taken Dharwar in the north and were hastening to join him, brought for him ample supplies that relieved his famished camp. The next campaign was more favourable to British arms. Cornwallis succeeded in drawing his lines around Seringapatam, took possession of the outworks of Tipu's capital and compelled Tipu to sue for peace.

RESULTS OF THE WAR

By the treaty of Seringapatam (March, 1792) Tipu had to agree to surrender half of his territory. The Maratha share lay principally between the Wardha and the Krishna, including also the valley of Sundur near Bellary. The Nizam got the districts extending from the Krishna to beyond the Pennar river, including Gooty and Cuddapah. The English got

Dindigul, Baramahal, Coorg and Malabar. Cornwallis justified these territorial acquisitions to the authorities in England as best calculated for securing 'a strong defensive frontier'.

This settlement Cornwallis regarded as final. His triple alliance was the basis of his policy. At the end of the war he perhaps wanted to make this more specific for the future, but the stipulations of the treaty remained merely defensive and could not operate unless Tipu attacked any of the three parties without any just provocation. The policy of reducing the formidable power of Tipu Sultan proved ineffective and another war was to follow in a few years' time.

SECTION II

SIR JOHN SHORE AND THE POLICY OF NON-INTERVENTION

JUSTIFICATION OF NON-INTERVENTION POLICY

Sir John Shore, a distinguished civil servant of the Company, succeeded Cornwallis in 1793. He maintained a strict attitude of non-intervention. He has been very much blamed by Imperialists for pursuing this impracticable policy of restraint which led to a collapse of British prestige. But it is overlooked that "at the root of Shore's policy of non-intervention, as of Cornwallis, was the conviction that the East India Company's army was not strong enough to wage a successful war against the five Maratha powers[1] when united among themselves and actively allied with Tipu Sultan who was searching heaven and earth to secure allies." There was no competent British general in India. The Sepoys in the British army outnumbered the British troops as six to one or as seven to one, which was not regarded as a safe proportion. The Third Anglo-Mysore War had left a legacy of heavy debt and in 1795 Shore was not financially in a position to support a war. He believed like Cornwallis that if the Marathas were left alone their internal dissensions would lead to the disintegration of their power,

[1] Peshwa, Sindhia, Holkar, Bhonsle, Gaikwad.

whereas any attack by the British on what they considered their just rights or a point of national honour would unite them and would bring about a Maratha-Mysore combination as in the days of Warren Hastings. It is forgotten that in 1795, with Peshwa Madhav Rao Narayan living and with Nana Fadnavis presiding over the destinies of the Maratha nation, the state of things was very different from what Wellesley was fortunate enough to find in 1802. It is also overlooked that intervals of peace and retrenchment are necessary even in expansionism. The English conquest of India is said to have been of a pulsatory character. A period of war and conquest was followed by a period of recuperation that lay by reserve for future wars. Shore, Barlow and Minto, with their much abused non-interventionism, played a part that was necessary for the success of the frenzy of conquest which characterised the policy of Wellesley and Lord Hastings.

NANA FADNAVIS

The two outstanding personalities who dominated Maratha affairs at the time when Sir John Shore became Governor-General were Nana Fadnavis and Mahadji Sindhia. Nana Fadnavis, who made the young Peshwa, Madhav Rao Narayan, a mere puppet in his hands, has been described by his European contemporaries as the Maratha Machiavelli. Grant Duff says that "the vigour of his judgment, the fertility of his expedients, the extent of his influence and the combination of instruments which he called into action surprised all India." Though he was very much inimical to Tipu he was also very much opposed to the total overthrow of Mysore.

MAHADJI SINDHIA

Mahadji Sindhia dominated affairs in the North. He had his districts in Malwa. He became the Regent of Delhi in 1784 and took over control of the puppet Mughal Emperor, Shah Alam II. In 1787-88 he was placed in a very critical position by a combination of his enemies in the North against him. He suffered a defeat in the battle of Tunga (near Jaipur) and Ghulam Qadir, the Rohilla chief, and his associate Ismail Beg

secured Delhi ; but Mahadji succeeded in defeating and killing both Ghulam Qadir and Ismail Beg. Sindhia had to a large extent abandoned the traditional Maratha method of warfare ; he relied upon regular troops, who were trained and led by Frenchmen in his service, of whom the most prominent was De Boigne. Mahadji Sindhia was opposed to the entire conquest of Tipu's territory in 1792. The English were suspicious of him and there is ample evidence of their watchful jealousy. He has been described by Grant Duff as 'a man of great political sagacity and of considerable genius, of deep artifice, of restless ambition and of implacable revenge'. He died suddenly in 1794 and was succeeded by his grand-nephew Daulat Rao Sindhia. Mahadji was in a sense a rival of Nana Fadnavis and his sudden death left Nana all-powerful in Maratha affairs.

The state of Maratha relations with the British in 1794 is best described in the words of the great historian of the Marathas, "The Nizam saw in the British a disposition to assist him and hoped to realize his meditated scheme of raising a barrier between himself and the Marathas so that he might not only resist their future encroachments but evade their present demands. On the propriety of resisting this interposition both Nana Fadnavis and Mahadji Sindhia concurred ; but they differed in their opinions with regard to the supposed designs of the English. Sindhia conjectured that they projected an alliance with Nizam Ali for the purpose of obtaining the command of the Nizam's resources and turning them against the Marathas ; in consequence of which, for a short time previous to his death, he carried on a friendly correspondence with Tipu Sultan. Nana Fadnavis took a more correct view of the subject in supposing that the English, desirous of becoming umpires, would not risk a war unless to save the Hyderabad state from being subverted."

MARATHA WAR AGAINST THE NIZAM (1795)

After Mahadji's death the situation rapidly developed. The Marathas had outstanding balances against the Nizam on account of *Chauth* and *Sardeshmukhi*. For more than a decade discussions on the subject had been going on and the Nizam had been compelled to acknowledge some of these demands.

After the war with Tipu, the Nizam wanted to obtain first from Lord Cornwallis and then from Sir John Shore a treaty of guarantee. Sir John Shore would not, however, compel the Marathas to accept British mediation in their dispute with the Nizam and adopted a policy of neutrality. Grant Duff comments, "Whatever might have been the apparent advantage of the Governor-General's interference, if it had enabled Nizam Ali to effect his evasive purposes it must have been recorded as an injustice to the Marathas". The Nizam was raising regular troops and these were trained by a Savoyard officer named Raymond. His prime minister became so full of confidence in his strength that he told Maratha envoys who had come to discuss Maratha claims that Nana Fadnavis should be made to attend at the Court of Hyderabad. He boasted that the Peshwa should be despatched to Benares 'with a cloth about his loins and a pot of water in his hand, to mutter incantations on the banks of the Ganges.'

The inevitable war was very short. All the Maratha chiefs responded to the call from Poona. The battle of Kharda (March, 1795) itself was nothing. The fighting was really contemptible. Scarcely 200 men were slain on the field of battle. The young Peshwa Madhav Rao Narayan could not rejoice over the victory and is said to have remarked, "I grieve to observe such degeneracy as there must be on both sides when such a disgraceful submission has been made by the Mughals and our soldiers are vaunting of a victory obtained without an effort". The Nizam's defeat was, however, complete. He surrendered his boastful minister to make amends for the insult, ceded half his territories and paid a large sum of money. He fell from the state of a great and leading power in India and in his impotent rage increased his battalions that were now trained, disciplined and commanded by French officers. Fortunately for the British cause, the suicide of Peshwa Madhav Rao Narayan (in October, 1795) shortly after Kharda was followed by a complicated struggle for power that nullified the effects of the Maratha victory over the Nizam and disorganised the Maratha State. The confusion at Poona provided the British not long after with the welcome opportunity of taking advantage of the internal discords of the Marathas to establish their paramount power in India.

OUDH

In Oudh Sir John Shore did not pursue the policy of non-intervention. On the death of Nawab Asaf-ud-daula in 1797 he found two claimants for succession—Sa'adat Ali, the deceased Nawab's brother, and Wazir Ali, whom the late Nawab had looked upon as his successor. Sir John Shore recognised the claim of Sa'adat Ali and compelled him to sign a treaty (1798) by which the subsidy payable by the Nawab was increased and the fort of Allahabad, 'the military key of the province', was annexed to the Company's dominions.

SECTION III

THE FOURTH ANGLO-MYSORE WAR

IMPERIALISM OF LORD WELLESLEY

Lord Wellesley succeeded Sir John Shore in April, 1798. "With the exception of Lord Curzon no Governor-General had come out so well informed concerning all the problems of Indian government as the Marquess of Wellesley was". He was 'a ripe and accomplished scholar', and as a member of the Board of Control he was in close contact with Indian affairs for several years. He was a strong Imperialist. His object was, to quote his own words, 'to establish a comprehensive system of alliance and political relation over every region of Hindustan and the Deccan'. In other words, he aimed at 'the elevation of the British Government to the position of paramount power in India'. It has been said that his administration was 'but a series of graduated upheavals from chaos to cosmos'. The oft-repeated statement that during his Governor-Generalship the British Empire *in* India became the British Empire *of* India is historically true.

JUSTIFICATION OF WELLESLEY'S POLICY TO MYSORE

The first important triumph of British policy and British arms that marks the beginning of this great transformation was the overthrow of the power of Mysore. Mill says that there

was no reason for destroying Tipu in 1799 which had not existed at every moment since the commencement of the negotiations for the peace of 1792. He adds that the connection between Tipu and the French was trifling and their mode of intercourse childish and absurd. On the other hand Wilson, who has edited Mill's book, draws a very lurid picture in justification of the policy of the Governor-General. Was the British Government to wait till Tipu should be strong, till the negotiations he was publicly carrying on with France should mature, or till he succeeded in securing the effective co-operation of the trained army of 14,000 men that was under the control of Raymond at Hyderabad? "The same chances that landed a large army in Egypt at this very period, inspite of the superiority and vigilance of the British fleets, might have operated in sending to Tipu Sultan a body of officers and men, by whose aid his resources would have been made powerfully to contribute to the annoyance and perils of British Indian Empire." Zaman Shah, grandson of Ahmad Shah Abdali, was in league with Tipu and was threatening to invade India from the north-west. Lord Wellesley's promptitude and determination is said to have thus saved the situation. In the words of the Governor-General himself, it was a 'critical, not alarming' state. Wellesley regarded the conquest of Mysore as his greatest triumph and again and again reverted to it 'as Cicero did to the suppression of Catiline's conspiracy'. The peril of French aggression from within and without has been perhaps exaggerated, but there is no denying the fact that the collapse of the power of Mysore strengthened British position in India *vis-a-vis* the Marathas more or less in the same way as the victory of Sadowa strengthened German position as against France, ensuring ultimate triumph.

SUBSIDIARY ALLIANCE WITH THE NIZAM (1798)

Wellesley made serious attempts at negotiations with Tipu, who not unnaturally regarded them as endeavours to gain time. But negotiations at Hyderabad resulted in the substitution of a British force for a French force at the Nizam's capital. A treaty was concluded in September, 1798. The Nizam had proposed to Sir John Shore that he would dismiss the French

officers in his service as also the French-trained battalians, provided he got sufficient British support and was assured that he would be defended against the Marathas. Sir John Shore had not agreed. Wellesley was now prepared to give him a subsidiary force that would be 'at all times ready to execute services of importance'. The Nizam agreed to pay a subsidy of Rs. 24,17,000 per annum for this force, to expel all European officers of non-British origin, and to conduct his foreign relations according to British advice. The French force was disarmed without bloodshed and the Nizam was thus restored to the British as an ally.

THE FOURTH ANGLO-MYSORE WAR (1799)

Negotiations between the Governor-General and Tipu Sultan ended in August, 1798, and both sides were ready for the contest at the beginning of 1799. Wellesley's object in beginning this war was to cut off Tipu's communications with the French by taking Kanara, to exact from him an indemnity and to compel him to receive an English Resident at his capital. The British plan was well-prepared and operations were well-combined. General Harris moved from Vellore, General Stewart from Cannanore. Arthur Wellesley, later famous in history as Duke of Wellington, commanded the Hyderabad contingent. Tipu was out-generalled. The ring was closed around Seringapatam. The siege of Seringapatam began on 17th April and it was captured on 4th May. Tipu was killed, his son surrendered. Thus ended the rule of the dynasty of Haidar Ali.

The principal and the central part of the territories of Tipu were given to a descendant of the ancient Rajas of Mysore. The East India Company annexed Kanara. The Nizam was given territory lying to the north-east. He later surrendered his share of the conquest to the British when he concluded his second treaty with the Company in 1800. The new state of Mysore thus came to be completely surrounded by British territory and was cut off from the sea. The new Raja was a minor. Purnia, minister of finance under Tipu, was placed in charge of the administration. Arthur Wellesley was for sometime the military guardian of the state.

CAUSES OF TIPU'S FALL

There is an observation almost proverbial in Mysore that "Haidar was born to create an empire, Tipu to lose one." Tipu's military preparations in the last years of his life consisted in adding to the defences of Seringapatam and storing it with provisions for a siege. His father had on more than one occasion triumphed over his enemies by defending his capital till the rains. But his strategy had never been entirely defensive. Tipu neglected his cavalry which had played such a prominent part in the campaigns of his father and had kept the effects of his defeats confined within narrow limits. Haidar often lost his battles but very seldom lost his campaigns and excelled, as Wilks says, in the political rather than in the military conduct of war.

Unlike Haidar, Tipu with his active mind devoted his energy too much to minute details and evinced little capacity of taking a marshalling view of a great whole. With his restless spirit of innovation and his passion for detail he was not successful as an administrator. As Wilks says, "Haidar was an improving monarch and exhibited few innovations. Tipu was an innovating monarch and made no improvements". Tipu's intolerant bigotry and his cruelty have been perhaps over-emphasised. It is relevant to quote Mill in this connection: "Of his cruelty we have heard the more because our own countrymen were among the victims of it. But it is to be observed that unless in certain instances, the proof of which cannot be regarded as better than doubtful, their sufferings, however intense, were only the sufferings of a very rigorous imprisonment".

SECTION IV

LORD WELLESLEY AND THE POLICY OF SUBSIDIARY ALLIANCE

ANNEXATION OF TANJORE AND THE CARNATIC

Lord Wellesley absorbed the principality of Tanjore taking advantage of a disputed succession (1799). The Raja of Tanjore accepted the position of a pensioned nobleman. Wellesley also

annexed the Carnatic (1801). The papers found at Seringapatam after Tipu's death are said to have incriminated Umdat-ul-Umra, son and successor of Muhammad Ali who had died in 1795. The Carnatic was a sink of iniquity. The Company gave protection to Muhammad Ali on condition of a regular monthly payment of a stipulated subsidy and it did not interfere in the internal concerns of his government. He borrowed money of Englishmen, some of them even members of the Madras Council, in order to be able to pay his subsidies regularly. These English creditors were assigned certain districts. The inhabitants were oppressed, maladministration was rampant, but English cupidity was so strong that there was always serious trouble. Wellesley took advantage of the evidence against Umdat-ul-Umra, took over the administration and selected a grandson of Muhammad Ali as the titular Nawab. Thus he put an end to the anomalous state of things that existed in the Carnatic.

SUBSIDIARY TREATY WITH THE NIZAM (1800)

With the Nizam a new treaty was concluded in 1800. It provided for the cession of his territories south of the Tungabhadra and the Krishna for the payment of the subsidiary British force. Wellesley was no doubt right in preferring this system of payment and the treaty of defensive alliance assured the Nizam protection against all external enemies including the Marathas.

TREATY WITH OUDH (1801)

By a new treaty with Oudh Lord Wellesley took from the Nawab a large part of his territory, consisting of the Gorakhpur and Rohilkhand Divisions and some portions of the Doab. This revised arrangement did not establish a better state of things in Oudh proper, though it led to an extension of British influence over the territory now ceded. These were known as the Ceded Districts. Under existing arrangements made by Warren Hastings, Cornwallis and Sir John Shore, Oudh was defended mainly by British troops, for whom the Nawab made a yearly cash payment. Under British protection corruption and maladministration flourished. Payments

fell into arrear. "English adventurers infested the capital and ministered to the debauchery of the court". In view of the threatened invasion of Zaman Shah,[1] Wellesley felt it necessary to strengthen the defences on that side. According to the new treaty the Nawab dismissed his 'rabble force' and filled its place by increasing the number of the Company's troops. He made the territorial cessions above referred to in commutation for the subsidy. What the Nawab retained was completely enclosed by British territory, and in these districts he engaged to introduce a better system of administration. Oudh was no longer a buffer State. But it became very soon clear after this subsidiary treaty, as in the case of others that followed, that the Company made itself responsible for a Government which remained hopelessly incompetent with all the faults of idleness and luxury, disaffection and anarchy.

CRITICISM OF THE POLICY OF SUBSIDIARY ALLIANCE

The treaty with the Nizam (1800) and the Oudh treaty of 1801 show Wellesley's Subsidiary Alliance system in its mature form. Mill gives us an estimate of the evils of dependence on the English: "The oppressions of the native government were limited by their weakness. When they received the use of English strength their oppressions were limited by nothing. . . Among the small sovereignties of India, misgovernment produced weakness and weakness invited conquest. The misgovernment, for example, of the Carnatic and Oudh, would infallibly have produced the conquest of the one by Tipu, of the other by the Marathas, and as a prince was commonly strong only because he governed well, to be conquered was among the happiest results which the people knew." "The native Prince guaranteed in the possession of his dominions under British protection became a *rois faineant*, the higher classes lost their self-respect and the spirit of indigenous political life departed." Wellington described the state of the Nizam's country as late as January 10th, 1804, as 'chaos itself'. Annexation on the ground of chronic misrule, as in the case of Oudh later, was a natural consequence of Wellesley's system.

[1] See p. 528.

Wellesley's justification of his Subsidiary Policy lies in the more general or imperial aspect. Wellington, while fully aware that it sapped the spontaneous energy of the native State, creating a tendency to lawlessness, justified it on that ground. He wrote, "The consequences have been that in this war with the Marathas, which it is obvious must have occurred sooner or later, the Company's territories have not been invaded and the evils of war have been kept at a distance from the sources of our wealth and power." The Duke wrote to Canning in 1816 that the Subsidiary System as distinct from looser alliances should not be extended to other powers than the Peshwa and the Nizam. The great defect of the Subsidiary System was that it failed to maintain a certain standard of internal administration. But in Wellesley's time this policy formed the line of least resistance. It strengthened the position of the Company and relieved its finances 'by making the native Princes themselves defray the expenses of the troops by which they were to be overawed'.

SECTION V

TREATY OF BASSEIN AND THE SECOND ANGLO-MARATHA WAR

CONFUSION IN THE MARATHA EMPIRE

The great statesman Nana Fadnavis died in March, 1800. "With him departed all the wisdom and moderation of the Maratha Government". The Maratha Confederacy was now leaderless. Baji Rao II, weak, wily and treacherous, had succeeded Madhav Rao Narayan as Peshwa[1] in 1796. The disputes that were going on among the Marathas came to a head. Fate had taken a malicious delight in removing all the great men and women who had played a dominant part in Maratha affairs in the last quarter of the eighteenth century. Daulat Rao Sindhia, a lad of fifteen, had inherited the resources of Mahadji, but he was unable to emerge triumphant in the complicated struggle for power that now ensued. Ahalya Bai,

[1] See Genealogical Table, p. 444.

daughter-in-law of Malhar Rao Holkar, had died in 1795, having administered Holkar dominions with conspicuous success for about 30 years. Tukoji Holkar, who used to command her army, got the rank and power but died in 1797 ; after some confusion Jaswant Rao Holkar, an illegitimate son of Tukoji, seized power. Soon he became a rival of Daulat Rao for ascendancy at Poona. On the 25th October, 1802, he succeeded in defeating the troops of the Peshwa and Sindhia almost within sight of the city of Poona.

SUBSIDIARY ALLIANCE WITH THE PESHWA (1802)

Baji Rao II fled from Poona into the Koṇkan, arrived at Bassein, and concluded a treaty of Subsidiary Alliance with the British on 31st December, 1802. A subsidiary force of not less than 6,000 was to be permanently stationed in the Peshwa's dominions. Districts yielding 26 *lakhs* of rupees were assigned for the payment of this force. The Peshwa submitted to British arbitration in the adjustment of his claims on the Nizam and Gaikwad, who were already under British protection. The British Government was to control his foreign relations. The Peshwa thus 'sacrificed his independence as the price of protection'. He was restored to Poona by British troops in May, 1803, and Jaswant Rao Holkar withdrew from Poona to the north.

Sidney Owen says, "The line which Wellesley pursued in his Maratha negotiations was a bolder and more original one than had ever been adopted or probably conceived by any European statesman in India, Dupleix perhaps excepted." Wellesley's idea was to treat the Peshwa and other great chiefs of the Maratha Confederacy as separate and independent powers, to break up for ever this political confederacy, and to abolish the vague Maratha claims over Indian Princes. Circumstances helped him. The Peshwa acknowledged British paramount power. The Maratha Confederacy, whether we regard it as an institution like the Holy Roman Empire or as a mere family compact between the Peshwa and other members, stood practically dissolved. The treaty with the Peshwa completed the diplomatic cordon by which the Nizam was fenced off and the possession of the Peshwa's territory

facilitated British control over the military movements of the other Maratha chiefs.

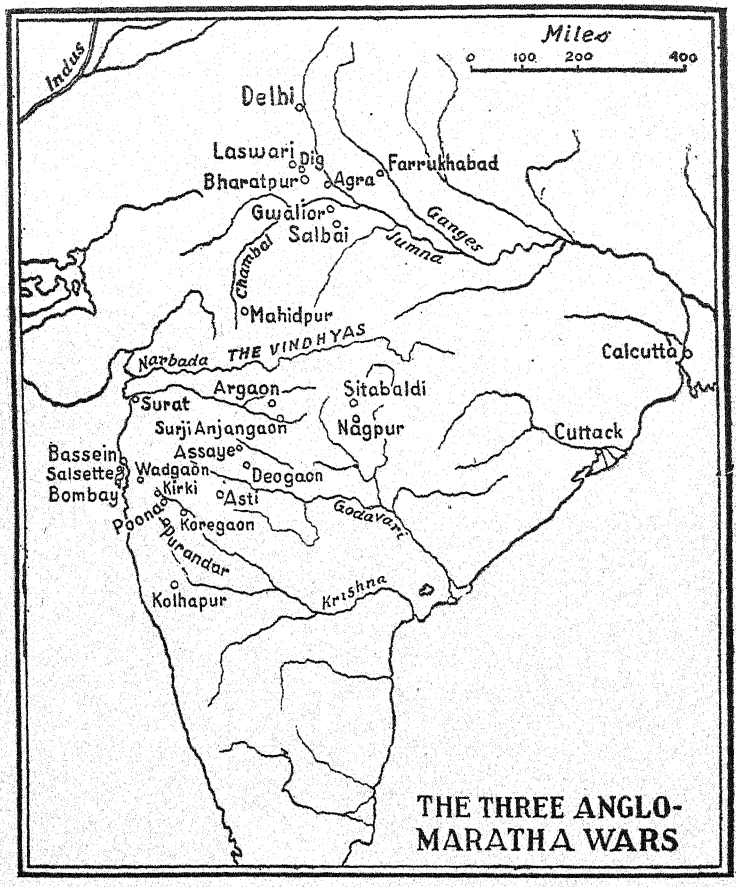
If Wellesley expected that Sindhia would agree to this imposition of British power on the Marathas it merely shows that he was unable to understand his opponents' standpoint. Wellesley perhaps hoped that the divisions and jealousies of the Maratha chiefs would avert war and he would be able to disarm them by degrees and establish the peaceful supremacy of the Company. But, as the thoroughness of British preparation showed, he did not shrink from the issue of a war.

THE SECOND ANGLO-MARATHA WAR (1803-5)

The three great Maratha chiefs—Raghuji Bhonsle of Berar, Daulat Rao Sindhia and Jaswant Rao Holkar—were not inclined to submit tamely to the dissolution of the Maratha Confederacy and the establishment of British paramount power. The Raja of Berar succeeded in patching up a peace between Sindhia and Holkar, but Holkar, instead of immediately joining them against the British, decided to be guided by the issue of events. Sindhia and Bhonsle moved southward. Wellesley declared war. General Arthur Wellesley commanded British operations in Southern India and Lord Lake in the North. General Wellesley captured Ahmadnagar and defeated the combined armies of Sindhia and Bhonsle at Assaye in September, 1803, compelled Sindhia temporarily to suspend hostilities, and then defeated the Bhonsle Raja very decisively at Argaon in November, 1803. The Raja was forced to sign the treaty of Deogaon (December, 1803) under which he ceded Cuttack and agreed to accept a position similar to that which Sindhia accepted later.

Meanwhile Lord Lake, operating against Sindhia's possessions in the North, captured Aligarh ; Perron, a French officer commanding Sindhia's trained battalions in the North, retired from Sindhia's service. His successor Louis Bourquin was defeated near Delhi (September, 1803). The Imperial capital was occupied ; old blind Mughal Emperor Shah Alam II became a British pensioner. Sindhia's remaining forces were defeated in November, 1803, at Laswari in Alwar State. His regular army was completely destroyed and Sindhia had to

conclude the subsidiary treaty of Surji Anjangaon (December, 1803). He ceded to the British his territory between the Jumna and the Ganges and all districts situated north of the Rajput principalities of Jaipur, Jodhpur and Gohad. The forts



[This map shows the principal places connected with the three Anglo-Maratha Wars.]

of Ahmadnagar and Broach, with their districts, and all claims on the Mughal Emperor, the Peshwa, the Nizam and Gaikward were renounced. By another treaty concluded at Burhanpur in February, 1804, Sindhia agreed to receive a subsidiary force to be stationed near his boundary but within British territory.

Grant Duff writes, "The rapidity of the conquests and the speedy termination of the War surprised all India." Sir Thomas Munro thus described the causes of this collapse of Maratha military power, "I thought their cavalry could have shown a little more enterprise, but they ruined it and destroyed its spirit by teaching the troopers that they did not depend upon cavalry but upon infantry. By coming forward with regular infantry they gave us every advantage we could desire. They opposed to us men that could never be as good as our own, from the want of a national spirit among the officers." He had written earlier about the regular battalions in Maratha service, "Its discipline, its arms, and uniform clothing I regard merely as the means of dressing it out for the sacrifice."

But the old Maratha predatory system of warfare, of which the Holkar family was a great advocate, now came to have a fair trial in 1804-5. Jaswant Rao was being watched by Lake. After the surrender of Bhonsle and Sindhia he determined to fight on his own account. The British plan of campaign was to press Holkar from all directions ; but when Lake went into quarters at Cawnpur for the rainy season, Monson, who was to keep Holkar in check, bungled. His forces were practically overwhelmed in the Mukund Dara pass in Rajputana, 30 miles south of Kotah, in August, 1804. With his remnants he reached Agra in utter disorder. It was the greatest humiliation which the British had experienced since the defeat of Baillie.[1] The Raja of Bharatpur was emboldened to renounce alliance with the British and to support Holkar in his attack on Delhi which, however, failed. On November 13, 1804, Holkar's infantry was defeated with heavy loss at the battle of Dig. Lake was responsible for a breathless cavalry chase along the Doab and Holkar's cavalry was routed at Farrukhabad. Holkar's capital Indore was taken by a detachment of the Bombay army, while Holkar was wasting British provinces with fire and sword. Four vehement assaults by Lake's victorious army were, however, repulsed by the Jats at Bharatpur early in 1805. Lake was eventually obliged to make peace with the Raja. Holkar with his fortunes so low took the route to the Punjab, closely pursued by Lord Lake.

[1] See p. 499.

Maratha predatory warfare now stood almost as much discredited as the new model army of Sindhia. But as a consequence of the failures of Monson and Lake the authorities in England, who had never really favoured Wellesley's aggressive policy, recalled him and sent Lord Cornwallis back to India. "The vehement tide of public opinion in England condemned the rash, ambitious and war-loving statesman and floated out the good old noblemen who had first broken Tipu's power".

ESTIMATE OF WELLESLEY

In spite of the hasty recall of Wellesley and a timid pacification under Cornwallis and Barlow, it cannot be denied that Maratha military prestige was gone, Maratha power was no longer a rival of the British, and the Company was now paramount in India. This was the greatest achievement of Lord Wellesley, the most successful Imperialist in British Indian history.

Smith says, "Lord Wellesley, like Lords Lytton and Dufferin in later times, looked upon the affairs of India as seen by a British nobleman and politician from a Foreign Office point of view. He was a statesman, rather than an administrator, concerned chiefly with matters of high policy and little inclined to examine closely the details of departmental administration". But Lord Wellesley was conscious of the importance of a strong and efficient system of administration. He observed, "The stability of that Empire . . . must be secured by the durable principles of internal order ; by a pure, upright, and uniform administration of justice ; by a prudent and temperate system of revenue." He established the Fort William College for the training of young Civilians imported from England. His regime constitutes a landmark in the history of the development of the British Civil Service in India. He was an adept in the art of selecting promising youngmen for responsible posts. Munro, Malcolm, Metcalfe, Elphinstone—great names in British Indian history—practically began their careers under him, and from him they derived the inspiration which shaped them in their impressionable years. Malcolm says, "His great mind pervaded the whole: and a portion of his spirit was infused into every agent whom he employed". If

Lord Hastings completed the task of Empire-building left unfinished by Lord Wellesley, he found in the civil and military officers trained under the latter able instruments and sagacious advisers.

FOR FURTHER STUDY

Wilks, *History of Mysore,* Vol. III.

Grant Duff, *History of the Mahrattas* (edited by S. M. Edwardes), Vol. II.

Owen, *A Selection from Wellesley's Despatches* (Introduction).

Owen, *A Selection from Wellington's Despatches* (Introduction).

CHAPTER XXVII

THE COMPLETION OF BRITISH ASCENDANCY

SECTION I

THE ERA OF NON-INTERVENTION (1805-1813)

SECOND GOVERNOR-GENERALSHIP OF CORNWALLIS (1805)

Lord Wellesley's recall was followed by the appointment of Lord Cornwallis as his successor, for the authorities in England were convinced that that aged statesman would be the best instrument for giving effect to their policy of non-intervention, which was rendered imperative not only by the ill-informed clamour of the Company's share-holders, but also by the acute financial distress of the Government of Bengal. Cornwallis came to India at the age of 66, and his first task was to conciliate Sindhia and to conclude the lingering war with Holkar. If he could not reverse Wellesley's policy with regard to Mysore, Oudh, the Nizam, and the Peshwa, he hoped to be able to undo the effects of the war with Sindhia and Holkar. The former was to be conciliated by the restoration of Gwalior, Gohad, and all the territory west of the Jumna except Agra. Cornwallis was so anxious for peace that he did not hesitate to contemplate the return of Delhi to Sindhia and the removal of Shah Alam to some other place within British territory. Unable to discern the impending collapse of Holkar's power, he was ready to buy peace at any price. His weak policy excited the distrust and alarm of the officers trained under Wellesley, and Lord Lake protested against the desertion of those Rajput Princes who had rendered loyal service in the late war in the hope of getting rid of Maratha control. But Cornwallis did not survive to put his plan in action; he died within three months of his arrival in India.

SIR GEORGE BARLOW (1805-1807)

After the sudden death of Lord Cornwallis his place was assumed temporarily by Sir George Barlow, senior member of

Council, an experienced official of narrow political views and unpopular manners. He was determined to carry out the instructions of the authorities of the Company at all costs, and he displayed unnecessary zeal in pursuing the policy inaugurated by his predecessor. A new treaty with Sindhia (November, 1805) modified some of the terms of the treaty of Surji Anjangaon, renounced the defensive alliance, recognised the Chambal as the boundary between the territories of the Company and those of Sindhia, and guaranteed British non-interference in the affairs of Rajputana. This was followed by the conclusion of peace with Holkar (January, 1806). Lord Lake had compelled him to take refuge in the Punjab, where he appealed in vain for assistance to Ranjit Singh. Instead of taking advantage of his desperate position, Barlow concluded peace by restoring his territories and giving him a free hand in Rajputana. The treaty concluded by Wellesley with Jaipur in 1803 was cancelled on the alleged ground that the Raja had not loyally fulfilled its terms. Grant Duff points out that the treaties with Sindhia, Holkar, and Bhonsle were "mere instruments of general amity; their intercourse was completely unrestrained, and no control, except in relation to the allies of the British Government, was to be exercised over them." He continues, "Plausible reasons were not wanting for supposing that the whole pacification was wise and politic. The progress of conquest was at least impeded; a considerable territory, pretty equally balanced, remained to each of the chiefs; and it was expected that their domestic wars, the plunder of their neighbours and the fear of losing what they possessed, would deter them from hostile proceedings against the British Government."

LORD MINTO (1807-1813)

Lord Minto, President of the Board of Control, came to India in 1807 as permanent Governor-General. He had been one of the managers for the impeachments of Warren Hastings and Sir Elijah Impey; he could, therefore, claim some acquaintance with Indian affairs. He was committed to the policy of non-intervention, and during his tenure of office he made an honest attempt to eschew the policy of conquest ushered

in by Wellesley. But it was becoming increasingly difficult to take no notice of the political obligations arising out of the Company's relations with the Indian powers since the days of Warren Hastings. As Malcolm, one of the shrewdest of contemporary political actors, observes, "The Government of Lord Minto had no result more important, than the impression it conveyed to the authorities at home, of the utter impracticability of perseverance in that neutral policy they had desired to pursue."

MARATHA AFFAIRS

Jaswant Rao Holkar's active career came to a tragic end soon after the conclusion of the treaty of 1806. In 1808 he became insane, and he had to be put under restraint. He died miserably three years later. Amir Khan, a turbulent Pathan Chief who commanded a large army consisting mainly of Pindaris, became the *de facto* ruler of the Holkar dominions, which were nominally controlled by a Council of Regency in the name of Malhar Rao Holkar, a minor son of Jaswant Rao. Amir Khan realised large sums of money from the Rajput Princes by violence and treachery and brought Bhopal under his control. Lord Minto's loyalty to the policy of non-intervention made it easy for him to pursue a steadily aggressive policy. The Governor-General could not, however, remain silent when Amir Khan invaded Berar (1809). Apprehending that troubles in Berar might endanger the safety of the Nizam's Dominions, he sent a force to help the Bhonsle *Darbar* against the Pathan Chief.

After the conclusion of the war with the British, Daulat Rao Sindhia continued to harass the Princes of Rajputana and the petty chiefs of Malwa. He established his head-quarters at Gwalior ; "hence," says Grant Duff, "Sindhia's camp, as it is called, has become a great city." His military establishment far exceeded his financial means, and he followed the example of Holkar by sending his troops out to subsist upon the districts nominally under his rule.

On his restoration to power after the treaty of Bassein Peshwa Baji Rao II alienated his subjects, specially some powerful and influential chiefs, by systematic tyranny.

Mountstuart Elphinstone, who came to Poona as Resident in 1811, brought about a better understanding between the Peshwa and the Maratha *Jagirdars*. The rulers of Kolhapur and Sawantwadi became, through Elphinstone's diplomacy, practically independent of the Peshwa's suzerainty.

THE FRENCH MENACE

The period of Lord Minto's administration coincided with the Napoleonic War, and the dread of a Franco-Russian invasion of India through Persia and Afghanistan haunted the imagination of British statesmen and officers in those days. It is possible for us to take a more reasonable view about Napoleon's motive regarding India, but "no one, in those days when ancient kingdoms in Europe were falling like ninepins, could set a limit to the power and ambition of Napoleon." The traditional hostility between Russia and Persia, the fluctuating relations between France and Russia, the anarchy and confusion in Afghanistan, the difficulties of transport and communication—these factors were overlooked by terrified Britishers in their anxiety to preserve their Indian Empire.

Lord Wellesley had sent John Malcolm to Persia in 1799, and in the following year a treaty had been concluded with the Shah. In 1808 Lord Minto again sent him to that country; at the same time another envoy, Sir Harford Jones, was sent to Teheran by the Home Government. The latter concluded a treaty with the Shah, which the Governor-General had to accept. The Shah promised to dismiss Napoleon's ambassador and to resist the passage through Persia of a Franco-Russian army marching on India. During his stay in Persia Malcolm collected materials for his famous work entitled *History of Persia*.

In 1808 Mountstuart Elphinstone was sent to Kabul to counteract French intrigues in that country. Before his entry into Afghanistan he was met at Peshawar by the Amir, Shah Shuja, who gave him some vague assurances. Shortly afterwards Shah Shuja lost his throne as a result of internal troubles and fled to India. Thus Elphinstone's mission to Kabul proved to be a barren political adventure. But he resembled Malcolm in his interest in history and literature. The information

collected by him regarding Afghanistan was incorporated in his *An Account of the Kingdom of Caubul*, an authoritative work on the history, geography, and manners and customs of the Afghans.

While trying to establish friendly relations with Persia and Afghanistan, Lord Minto did not forget the important frontier states of Sind and the Sikh Kingdom of the Punjab. Sind was ruled by several Muslim Amirs, who were practically independent, although they owed nominal allegiance to the Amir of Kabul. A treaty concluded with them secured their promise to exclude the French from their territory. An account of Lord Minto's relations with Ranjit Singh will be given below.[1]

The rupture between France and Russia (1810) removed the nightmare of a Franco-Russian invasion of India. Gradually the British assumed the offensive against the French in the East. Goa was occupied when Portugal fell under French control. Bourbon and Mauritius were captured in 1810 by an expedition sent from India ; in the same year Amboyna and the Spice Islands were conquered. Java was conquered in 1811 ; Lord Minto himself accompanied this expedition. In 1815 Bourbon was restored to the French and Java was restored to the Dutch.

SECTION II

FALL OF THE MARATHA EMPIRE

LORD MOIRA OR LORD HASTINGS (1813-1823)

Lord Minto was succeeded in 1813 by Lord Moira, who was created Marquess of Hastings in 1817 as a reward for his success in the war with Nepal. After a not very distinguished military career he became an intimate friend of the Prince Regent, afterwards King George IV, to whom he owed his high appointment in India. He did not come to this country with any political reputation behind him. In the notorious case of William Palmer & Co. he was suspected by many

[1] See Section V.

contemporaries to be guilty of nepotism. Yet he is undoubtedly one of the greatest Proconsuls sent by England to govern India. Although he was nearly 59 years of age when he assumed his high office, he showed surprising industry and energy in the discharge of his duties. In England he had spoken bitterly against Wellesley's policy of expansion and he came to India to continue the peaceful work of Cornwallis, Barlow, and Minto. But circumstances compelled him to change his views, and he left the British Empire in India larger than he had found it.

TREATIES WITH PESHWA AND BHONSLE

Peshwa Baji Rao II was restlessly waiting for an opportunity to shake off the intolerable burden of British control. His position became comparatively strong after the consolidation of his authority over his *Jagirdars*, and under the influence of an unscrupulous favourite named Trimbakji Danglia, he began anti-British negotiations with the courts of Sindhia, Holkar, and Bhonsle. In 1814 Gaikward's *Dewan*, Gangadhar Sastri, came to Poona to settle some outstanding claims of the Peshwa on his master ; he was treacherously murdered at the instigation of Trimbakji. The Peshwa refused to surrender Trimbakji at Elphinstone's request, and when the Resident confined him in a fort, Baji Rao connived at his escape. The Peshwa's hostile attitude did not escape the notice of the British Government. In June, 1817, he was compelled to sign a new treaty, by which he renounced the headship of the Maratha Empire, engaged not to conduct any negotiations with other Powers except through the British Resident, ceded to the Company territory worth 34 *lakhs* in lieu of furnishing troops according to previous arrangement, transferred to the Company his rights in Malwa, Bundelkhand and Hindustan, and surrendered his claims on Gaikwad in lieu of an annual payment of four *lakhs*. It is clear that this treaty was a deathblow to the Peshwa, and he could hardly be expected to accept it as the final settlement of his relations with the Company and his former subordinates.

About the same time the Bhonsle State was suffering from the evils of disputed succession and factious intrigue. Raghuji

Bhonsle II died in March, 1816, and was succeeded by his imbecile son Parsoji. Parsoji's ambitious cousin, Appa Saheb, secured the Regency. The British Government took advantage of this opportunity to compel Appa Saheb to conclude a subsidiary treaty (May, 1816). This treaty not only deprived Nagpur of its independence, but also hastened the break up of the Maratha Confederacy. Malcolm says that "in the actual condition of India, no event could be more fortunate than the subsidiary alliance with Nagpur."

THE PINDARI WAR (1817-18)

The Pindaris, 'a class of the lowest free-booters,' were associated with the Maratha armies for a long time. In the early years of the last century they were grouped under different leaders, of whom Karim Khan, Chitu, Dost Muhammad, Namdar Khan, and Shaikh Dullo became the most conspicuous. All of them were, at different times, under the general control of the Pathan Chief, Amir Khan. Grant Duff says, "When the Marathas ceased to spread themselves, the Pindaris, who had attended their armies, were obliged to plunder the territories of their former protectors for subsistence, ... and their numbers were very soon augmented. To the unemployed soldiery of India, particularly to the Muhammadans, the life of a Pindari had many allurements. . . . The awful consequences of a visitation from the Pindaris can scarcely be imagined by those who have not witnessed them. For some time, until the districts in Malwa, Marwar, Mewar, and the whole of Rajputana were exhausted and the Pindaris were encouraged and excited to venture on more fertile fields, their ravages were chiefly confined to those countries and Berar ; a few of them, however, ventured almost every year into the dominions of the Nizam and the Peshwa, though little notice was taken of them by the British Government whilst they refrained from molesting its own subjects and territory."

In 1816 the Pindaris devastated British territory in the Northern *Sarkars*, and Lord Hastings decided to crush them. A large army, consisting of about 120,000 men and 300 guns, rooted out the Pindaris from their haunts. The operations covered the closing months of 1817 and the early months of

1818. Karim Khan surrendered and was granted an estate in U. P. Chitu took refuge in a jungle near Asirgarh, where he was killed by a tiger. Amir Khan had concluded peace before the outbreak of war, and he was conciliated by the grant of the principality of Tonk in Rajputana.

THE THIRD ANGLO-MARATHA WAR (1817-18)

Lord Hastings knew that the war against the Pindaris might merge into a general war with the Maratha Powers, for the Pindaris were closely connected with Sindhia and Holkar, and the area ravaged by them lay within the sphere of Maratha influence. So he tried to strengthen the diplomatic position of the Company by special treaties with the Marathas and the Rajputs. The treaties with Poona and Nagpur have been referred to above. In November, 1817, a treaty was concluded with Daulat Rao Sindhia, who engaged to assist the operations against the Pindaris, and gave full liberty to the Company to enter into treaty relations with the Rajput States on the left bank of the river Chambal.

But diplomacy failed to conciliate the Marathas. In November, 1817, the Peshwa burnt the British Residency at Poona and attacked the British camp at Kirki, four miles to the north-west of that city. A small British force repulsed this attack. Later on reinforcements arrived and the British occupied Poona. The Peshwa's revolt was a signal to the other Maratha Chiefs. The troops of Appa Saheb of Nagpur were defeated in the battle of Sitabaldi (near Nagpur) towards the close of November, 1817. A further defeat was inflicted on them in the battle of Nagpur (December, 1817). Appa Saheb fled to the Punjab and some time later took refuge in Jodhpur, where he died in 1840. The army of Malhar Rao Holkar II was completely routed in the battle of Mahidpur in December, 1817. This fierce battle has been described as 'the only general action of primary order in India since 1804'. The Peshwa's army, driven from Poona, failed to capture Koregaon (January, 1818) and was again defeated in the battle of Ashti (Sholapur district) in February, 1818. Bapu Gokhale, or Gokla, Baji Rao's faithful and able general, was killed. Baji Rao surrendered to Sir John Malcolm in June, 1818. The fortress of Asirgarh was not captured till April, 1819.

POLITICAL SETTLEMENT OF MARATHA TERRITORIES (1818)

The Marathas were not slow to accept the political results of their military defeats. Holkar did not resist after the decisive battle of Mahidpur. Malcolm negotiated with Tantia Jog, minor Holkar's able minister, and a treaty was concluded in January, 1818. Holkar renounced his claims on the Rajput States, on the territories of the Pathan Chief Amir Khan, and also on his own territories 'within or south of the Satpura range of hills'. He bound himself to maintain a British force within his own territory and to have no communication with any other state except through the British Resident.

With regard to the Peshwa, Lord Hastings decided 'in favour of . . . . the perpetual exclusion of his family from any share of influence or dominion, and the annihilation of the Peshwa's name and authority for ever'. No symbol of Maratha unity was to be left ; no further opportunity was to be given to the Marathas to rally round their traditional chief. Baji Rao was confined at Bithur (near Cawnpore) ; he was granted a pension of eight *lakhs* a year. He died in 1853. His favourite, Trimbakji Danglia, was imprisoned for life in the fort of Chunar. A small principality carved out of the Peshwa's dominions was given to Pratap Singh, a lineal descendant of Shivaji, who established his capital at Satara.[1] A contemporary writer observes that "the re-establishment of the Satara Raja, in the very seat of the ancient power and splendour of his race, was well adapted to reconcile the older Marhatta families to the annihilation of the more recent title and authority of Peshwa." The remaining portions of the Peshwa's territory were brought under British rule and incorporated within the Bombay Presidency. The civil administration of the conquered tracts was organised by Elphinstone, who was ably assisted by Grant Duff, the well-known historian of the Marathas.

Appa Saheb's revolt was punished by the annexation of a portion of the Bhonsle State (the Saugar and Narbada Territories) ; the remaining districts were placed under a vassal Raja.

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[1] See Genealogical Table, p. 436.

ESTABLISHMENT OF BRITISH SUPREMACY IN RAJPUTANA (1818)

In the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries most of the principalities of Rajputana suffered terribly from the depredations of the Marathas, whom they were too weak to resist. A combined movement on the part of all Rajput Princes might have checked the Marathas, but bitter rivalry separated one Rajput ruler from another, and even the pressing necessity of self-defence did not teach them the lesson of unity. Moreover, almost every State was torn by internal factions ; the rivalry of the Chundawats and the Saktawats in Mewar had its counterpart in the neighbouring States.

A defensive alliance with the British might have rescued the Rajput Princes from ruin, but, although they were anxious for such an alliance, no response came from the British Government. Lord Wellesley refused to extend British protection to Mewar, but he concluded alliances with Jaipur and Jodhpur. The treaty with Jodhpur was subsequently left unratified by the ruler of that State ; the treaty with Jaipur was cancelled by Barlow. Lord Minto steadily pursued the policy of non-intervention with regard to Rajputana. A long war between Jaipur and Jodhpur devastated Rajputana, the ostensible object being the marriage of Krishnakumari, daughter of Rana Bhim Singh of Mewar. While Lord Minto remained a silent spectator, Daulat Rao Sindhia and Amir Khan squeezed blood out of the desert.

Soon after his arrival in India Lord Hastings initiated a new policy towards the Rajput Princes. He was not prepared to hand them over to Sindhia or Amir Khan. Metcalfe began negotiations with Jaipur in 1816. The Pindari War made it necessary to take all Rajput States under British protection, for without their political and military assistance it was very difficult to crush the predatory forces. By the treaty of November, 1817, Sindhia renounced his claims on the Rajput Princes, and Lord Hastings got a free hand in dealing with them. In January, 1818, Metcalfe concluded treaties with Udaipur and Jodhpur. A treaty with Jaipur was concluded in April, 1818. With the minor States of Rajputana treaties were concluded between November, 1817, and September, 1823. The Rajput States recognised the suzerainty of the Company,

agreed to pay tribute and to render military assistance whenever called upon to do so, and engaged not to enter into communication with any other Power except through the British Resident. The British Government guaranteed that the Princes would remain 'absolute rulers of their territory.'

PACIFICATION OF CENTRAL INDIA

The Pindari War extended and consolidated British influence in Central India. In February, 1818, the Nawab of Bhopal concluded a 'defensive and subordinate alliance' with the Company. The smaller states of Malwa, including Dhar and Dewas, acknowledged British supremacy. Malcolm concluded agreements with a large number of chieftains. After the Peshwa's defeats all the smaller states in Bundelkhand came under British protection. Writing in 1825, Prinsep observed, "The struggle which has thus ended in the universal establishment of the British influence is particularly important and worthy of attention, as it promises to be the last we shall have to maintain with the native powers of India."

FALL OF BHARATPUR (1826)

A reference may be made here to the revolt of Bharatpur (1825-26) during the Governor-Generalship of Lord Amherst. Durjan Sal, cousin of the minor Raja of Bharatpur, tried to seize the throne ; the British Government had to take up arms to protect the minor prince. Lord Combermere reduced the fort of Bharatpur, and "the failures of Lord Lake twenty years earlier were amply avenged".

SECTION III

BRITISH EXPANSION IN THE NORTH-EAST (1814-52)

BRITISH RELATIONS WITH NEPAL

A Gurkha Chief named Prithvi Narayan conquered Nepal in 1768. In 1792 the British Government concluded a commercial treaty with the Gurkhas and sent Colonel Kirkpatrick

on a mission to Katmandu, but no tangible result was secured. Another commercial treaty was concluded some years later, and Captain Knox served as Resident at Katmandu for two years (1802-4). Lord Wellesley recalled him and cancelled the alliance with Nepal.

The Gurkhas controlled the entire belt of Himalayan territory from the Tista in the east to the Sutlej in the west. After the occupation of the Gorakhpur district by the British[1] in 1801, the northern frontier of the British Empire ran side by side with the southern frontier of the Gurkha Kingdom. The ill-defined condition of the frontier and the aggressive attitude of the Gurkhas made 'frontier incidents' inevitable. In 1814 a Gurkha attack on some British police stations led to war.

THE NEPAL WAR (1814-16)

Lord Hastings soon found that it was futile to expect an easy victory. The Gurkhas knew how to fight, and the difficult geography of the region of war was in their favour. After some reverses General Ochterlony compelled the Gurkha leader Amar Singh to surrender the strong fort of Malaon (May, 1815). The Gurkhas opened negotiations for peace; the treaty of Sagauli was concluded in November, 1815. But the treaty was not ratified by the Gurkhas. Ochterlony advanced into the interior of Nepal and secured a victory at Makwanpur (February, 1816). The treaty of Sagauli was then ratified by the Gurkhas. They ceded the districts of Garhwal and Kumaon and a large slice of the *terai*, renounced their claim on Sikim, and agreed to receive a British Resident at Katmandu. Some of the most important hill stations in India —Simla, Mussoorie, Almora, Landour, Naini Tal—are situated in the territory taken from the Gurkhas. Nepal has never broken the terms of the treaty of 1816.

By a treaty with Sikim (February, 1817) a portion of the *terai* taken from the Gurkhas was given to the ruler of that State.

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[1] See p. 531.

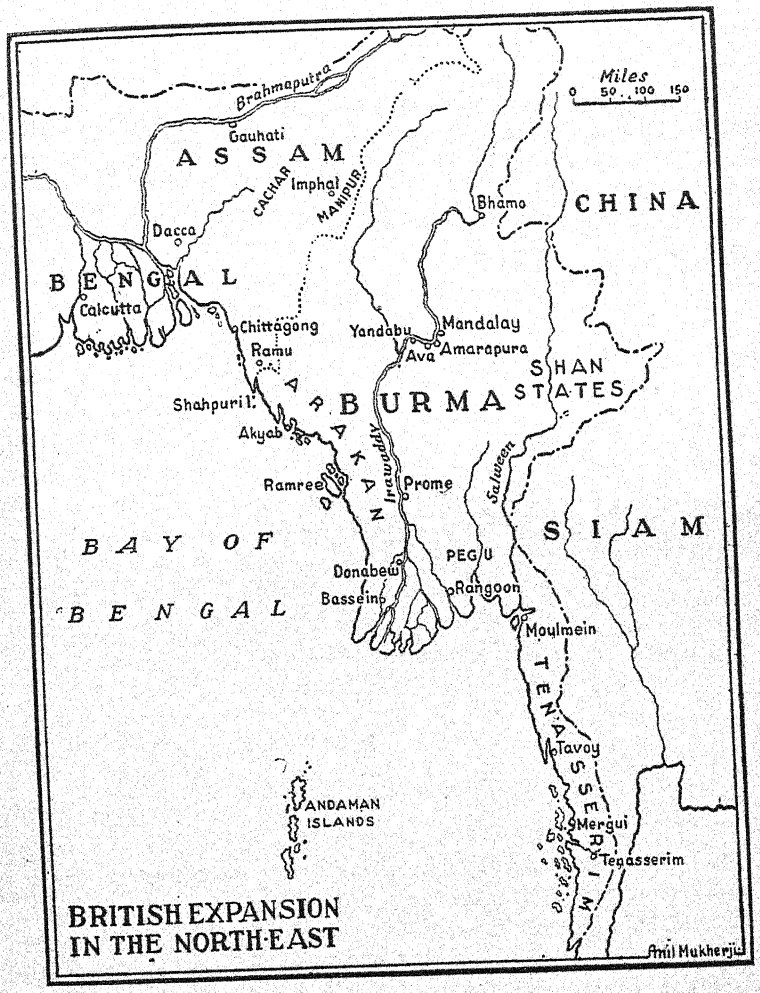
THE FIRST BURMESE WAR (1824-26)

Towards the middle of the eighteenth century a new era began in the history of Burma. A vigorous royal dynasty was established by an adventurous local chief named Alaungpaya, who unified Upper and Lower Burma under his authority, and even carried his depredations to Manipur in the west and Siam in the south-east. His relations with the British were not very friendly. One of his successors, Bodawpaya (1782-1819), conquered Arakan in 1784-85 ; this marked a new era in the history of Anglo-Burmese relations. For many centuries Arakan had been an independent Kingdom, and its political and cultural relations with Bengal had been very intimate. The people of Arakan, who were known in Bengal as *Mags*, now became victims of Burmese cruelty. Some of them crossed the river Naf, the boundary between Arakan and the British district of Chittagong, and took refuge in the Company's territory. The Burmese naturally resented the emigration of their subjects, and during the period 1786-1824 there were numerous occasions when they threatened to violate British territory in pursuit of the fugitives. The troubles on the Chittagong-Arakan frontier reached their climax in 1823, when some Burmese troops occupied the small island of Shahpuri, which lay on the British side of the main channel of the Naf. Lord Amherst (1823-28), the then Governor-General, tried to reach an amicable settlement with the Burmese Government, but his patience was exhausted when two British officers were treacherously seized by the Burmese.

Meanwhile hostilities had broken out in Assam.

Upper Assam had for many centuries been an independent State ruled by Ahom Kings. The internal condition of this principality towards the close of the eighteenth century revealed many symptoms of disintegration. Gaurinath Singh (1780-94), a weak but tyrannical King, sought for the intervention of the Company. In 1792 Lord Cornwallis sent a force under Captain Welsh to restore peace and order in the Ahom State. Captain Welsh restored the King's authority ; but as the British Government did not covet territorial expansion in those days, he left Assam in 1794. His departure was followed by the revival of anarchy, which gave the aggressive

Burmese a good opportunity for occupying Assam. During the years 1817-22 the Burmese expelled two rival Princes who claimed the Ahom throne and devastated the Brahmaputra



[This map shows the different theatres of the three British Wars against Burma.]

valley. Soon the north-eastern frontier of Bengal felt the shock; the Burmese plundered some British villages in 1821. Lord Amherst wrote, "There is nothing now to prevent them

from sacking Dacca and plundering all the adjoining districts . . . ."

The first clash between the British and the Burmese took place near Sylhet (in Assam) in January, 1824. War was formally declared in March, 1824, and came to an end in February, 1826. There were four theatres of war—Assam, Arakan, the lower valley of the Irrawaddy, and Tenasserim. In May, 1824, a British detachment suffered a serious defeat in the battle of Ramu (in the Chittagong district). Bandula, the leading Burmese general, was defeated and killed by Sir Archibald Campbell in the battle of Donabew (in Lower Burma). The British army advanced as far as Yandabo, a village within four days' march from Amarapura, the capital of Burma, where a treaty of peace was concluded on February 24, 1826. The Burmese King renounced all claims upon the Ahom Kingdom and the petty States of Cachar, Jaintia and Manipur (in Assam), ceded the provinces of Arakan and Tenasserim to the Company, promised to pay a *crore* of rupees as indemnity, and agreed to receive a British envoy in his court. A portion of the Brahmaputra valley was placed under the rule of an Ahom Prince, but it was annexed in 1838. Cachar was placed under the rule of its old Prince ; as he died without heir, Cachar was annexed by Lord William Bentinck in 1832. Jaintia, placed under the rule of a vassal Prince for some years, was annexed in 1835. Manipur was restored to the old ruling family.

COMMERCIAL RELATIONS WITH BURMA

For many years the Company had been carrying on a flourishing commerce with Burma, but its progress was occasionally hampered by the vagaries of the Burmese and the peculiarities of local customs. In 1795 Sir John Shore sent Captain Symes on a commercial mission to Burma, but the concessions secured by him proved to be illusory. He was followed in 1797 by Captain Cox, who suggested that the steady growth of French influence in Burma should be counteracted by the conclusion of 'a firm and solid alliance' with that country. Lord Wellesley sent Colonel Symes and Lieutenant Canning to Burma (1802-3) with instructions, if possible, to bring Burma

within the orbit of the Subsidiary Alliance ; but the Burmese rulers and their ministers were too shrewd for the British envoys. Canning visited Burma again in connection with the question of the Arakan refugees.

According to the terms of the treaty of Yandabo, John Crawfurd was deputed to Burma as envoy in September, 1826. He concluded a commercial treaty which gave some concessions to British subjects trading in Burma. The Burmese Government was, however, very reluctant to receive a permanent British envoy. No envoy was sent to Burma for three years after Crawfurd's departure (December, 1826). In 1830 Lord William Bentinck sent Major Henry Burney, who remained in Burma till 1837, and solved some of the outstanding political and financial questions arising out of the treaty of Yandabo. The experience of his successors was very unhappy, for King Tharrawaddy, who usurped the throne of Burma in 1837, adopted a decidedly unfriendly attitude to the British. The British Residency in Burma was finally withdrawn in 1840.

THE SECOND BURMESE WAR (1852)

During the administration of Lord Dalhousie commercial questions brought about the second war with Burma. In 1851 some British merchants in Burma complained against maltreatment by Burmese officials. Lord Dalhousie sent a haughty naval officer, Commodore Lambert, to demand redress from the Burmese Government. Some officers sent by the Commodore to negotiate with the Burmese Governor of Rangoon were insulted. War began. Probably a peaceful solution of the dispute might have been found if the Governor-General had entrusted the negotiations to a tactful political officer. Dalhousie himself observed, "These Commodores are too combustible for negotiations". But he accepted responsibility for the Commodore's act and decided that war was necessary for the preservation of British prestige in the East.

The war was brief (March—December, 1852) and decisive. The mistakes which had prolonged the First Burmese War were avoided, and with the cordial support of the Governor-General, General Godwin was able to capture the chief cities of the Delta within a few months. But though the war was at an end,

there was no treaty. Pagan Min, King of Burma, was overthrown by his brother Mindon, who ascended the throne in February, 1853. Although the new King was not inclined to continue the hostilities, he did not recognise the annexation of the province of Pegu (which Dalhousie had incorporated in the British Empire by a Proclamation), nor did he conclude any formal treaty. In 1854 some Burmese envoys came to Calcutta and requested the Governor-General to return Pegu. Dalhousie replied, "So long as the sun shines . . . . these territories will never be restored to the Kingdom of Ava".

SECTION IV

THE NORTH-WEST

DYNASTY OF AHMAD SHAH ABDALI

When Timur Shah[1], son and successor of Ahmad Shah Abdali, died (1793), the Kabul Monarchy included, in addition to the Afghan provinces of Kabul, Balkh, Qandahar and Herat, the Indian provinces of Peshawar, Lahore, Kashmir and Multan, and the Amirs of Sind as well as the Chiefs of Baluchistan were its vassals. He was succeeded by his fifth son, Zaman Shah[2] (1793-1800), whose threatened invasion of Hindustan 'kept the British Indian Empire in a chronic state of unrest' in the days of Sir John Shore and Lord Wellesley. Under the latter's instructions the British Agent at Bushire 'induced the Court of Persia to keep Shah Zaman in perpetual check'. Zaman Shah was, moreover, kept busy by frequent internal revolts. He was finally dethroned by his elder brother Mahmud, blinded, and compelled to pass the remaining years of his life as a British pensioner at Ludhiana in the Punjab. Mahmud (1800-1803) was deposed by his brother Shah Shuja (1803-1809), whose reign was hardly less tragic than that of his predecessors. Kaye explains the causes of his failure in the following words: "He wanted vigour; he wanted activity; he wanted judgment; and above all, he wanted money". It

[1] See p. 434.
[2] See p. 528.

is, however, doubtful whether his character contained so many elements of weakness. In 1809 he was deposed by the brother whom he had set aside—Mahmud. Shah Shuja remained Ranjit Singh's guest for some years ; then he repaired to Ludhiana and became a British pensioner. Mahmud reigned for some years (1809-18) as a puppet in the hands of the powerful Barakzai Chiefs, who deposed him in 1818. His son Kamran continued to rule in Herat.

During this period the British authorities in India were interested in Afghan affairs for two reasons. In the days of Zaman Shah they were apprehensive of the repetition of Ahmad Shah Abdali's exploits in India. Secondly, the dread of a Franco-Russian invasion through Persia naturally compelled them to seek friendly relations with the ruler of Afghanistan. The evaporation of the French menace and the creation of a Sikh Monarchy by Ranjit Singh, which made the trans-Sutlej portion of the Punjab a buffer State between Afghanistan and British India, altered the scene, and for the next few years the British rulers of India did not take much interest in Afghan affairs.

AMIR DOST MUHAMMAD KHAN (1826-63)

The Barakzai Chiefs who deposed Mahmud held independent authority in different districts of Afghanistan till 1826, when one of them, Dost Muhammad, made himself master of Kabul. He was recognised as Amir by all his rivals, and for more than twelve years his authority was unquestioned. "It is not to be questioned", says Kaye, "that there was, at this time, in the conduct of Dost Mahomed, as a ruler, much that may be regarded with admiration and respect even by Christian men." One of his brothers was expelled by Ranjit Singh from Peshawar in 1834 ; in the same year Dost Muhammad foiled an attempt of Shah Shuja to recover his throne.

THE RUSSIAN MENACE

Even before the downfall of Napoleon Russia and England had begun to compete for political influence in Persia. The treaty of Gulistan (1813) between Russia and Persia, which brought the Shah almost under the tutelage of the Czar, was counteracted by the treaty of Teheran (1814) between England

and Persia, by which "all European armies were to be prevented from entering Persia, if hostile to Great Britain". In the thirties Russia began to emphasize her Asiatic designs and British foreign policy, guided by Lord Palmerston, assumed a definitely anti-Russian colour. The climax was reached when Persia attacked Herat (1837-38) at the instigation of Russia. Herat was the gate to India, and the occupation of this strategic city by the Persians would amount to Russian control over the north-western passage to British India. But the heroic Afghans, aided substantially by the guidance of a young British officer named Pottinger, repulsed the Persians.

ORIGIN OF THE FIRST AFGHAN WAR

In 1836 Lord Auckland became Governor-General of India. He shared Palmerston's exaggerated dread of Russian designs in the East, and the Persian attack on Herat confirmed his suspicions. In June, 1836, the Court of Directors instructed him that decided interference in the affairs of Afghanistan 'would doubtless be requisite, either to prevent the extension of Persian dominion in that quarter, or to raise a timely barrier against the impending encroachments of Russian influence'. So Lord Auckland sent Alexander Burnes, an experienced diplomat, on a commercial mission to Kabul. But the real purpose of the mission was political: Burnes himself wrote that he wanted 'to see into affairs and judge of what was to be done hereafter'. Dost Muhammad was quite prepared to conclude an alliance with the British; the price he demanded was British help in re-occupying Peshawar. Lord Auckland swayed for sometime between Dost Muhammad and Ranjit Singh; then he decided that the Sikh ruler would be the better ally. So he refused to put pressure on Ranjit Singh for the restoration of Peshawar. Thus he lost the opportunity of bringing within the British sphere of influence a strong Government beyond the Khaibar.

Dost Muhammad was naturally disappointed. He now began to show more favour to the Russian agent at his court, Viktevitch, whom he had so long neglected. Burnes left Kabul in April, 1838. Lord Auckland was alarmed by the Amir's changed relations with the Russians. He made the fatal

decision of overthrowing Dost Muhammad: Shah Shuja, the unfortunate exile at Ludhiana, was to be restored to the throne of Kabul with the help of Ranjit Singh. Macnaghten, Secretary to the Government, who played a decisive part in formulating Lord Auckland's Afghan policy, was sent to Lahore. A tripartite treaty was concluded between Shah Shuja, Ranjit Singh and the British Government in June, 1838. In October, 1838, Lord Auckland issued a manifesto from Simla justifying the impending Afghan War. According to Sir Herbert Edwardes, in this manifesto "the views and conduct of Dost Muhammad were misrepresented with a hardihood which a Russian statesman might have envied". The withdrawal of the Persians from Herat in September, 1838, removed the most important excuse for war, but in November, 1838, the Governor-General declared that hostilities would be commenced 'with a view to the substitution of a friendly for a hostile power in . . . . Afghanistan, and to the establishment of a permanent barrier against schemes of aggression upon our north-west frontier'.

Lord Auckland's policy was supported by his Council but opposed by the Commander-in-Chief; in England he was supported by the Cabinet but opposed by the Court of Directors. He had no moral right to claim that Dost Muhammad, an independent ruler, should not choose the Russians as his ally, specially after the unceremonious rejection of the Amir's offer of alliance with the British. Afghanistan was then the scene of a bitter dynastic struggle between the Durranis and the Barakzais; the Barakzais had got the upper hand. Under the circumstances the attempt to replace a strong and popular Barakzai ruler like Dost Muhammad by a Durrani exile like Shah Shuja was, as subsequent events abundantly proved, a serious political mistake. Nor was there any real necessity for war; Herat had saved itself, and under pressure from London the Russian Government had recalled its agents. Innes has rightly described the First Afghan War as 'the most unqualified blunder committed in the whole history of the British in India'.

THE FIRST AFGHAN WAR (1838-1842)

The supreme command of the expedition was entrusted to Sir John Keane; its political management was in the hands of

Macnaghten, who was advised by Burnes. The main portion of the army marched from Ferozepur by way of Bahawalpur, Sind, and Baluchistan, and entered Afghanistan through the Bolan and Khojak passes. This long and circuitous route, which 'violated all the conditions of sound strategy', was forced upon the British authorities by Ranjit Singh's refusal to allow the passage of British troops through his territory. The Sikh army advanced by way of Peshawar and the Khaibar pass. Qandahar was occupied in April, 1839. Shah Shuja entered Kabul in August, 1839. He was, however, looked upon by the Afghans as a puppet in the hands of the foreign invaders. His entry into Kabul was, says Kaye, 'more like a funeral procession than the entry of a King into the capital of his restored dominions'. Dost Muhammad surrendered to Macnaghten in November, 1839, and was sent down as a prisoner to Calcutta.

It is doubtful whether Shah Shuja could have secured the confidence of the Afghans and maintained himself on the throne without the support of British bayonets. But his British allies gave him no chance to rule in Afghanistan as an independent Afghan King ; they openly made him a tool in their hands and thereby deprived him of Afghan sympathy. Lord Auckland decided to keep 10,000 troops in Afghanistan under the command of an old and incompetent officer, General Elphinstone. The presence of the British troops in Afghanistan was repugnant to the Afghans and imposed a heavy drain upon the financial resources of India. Towards the close of 1840 the Court of Directors suggested that the British army should either retreat from Afghanistan or be strengthened by reinforcements. Advised by Macnaghten, Lord Auckland refused to confess the failure of his policy by withdrawing the troops from Afghanistan.

Towards the close of 1841 the grievances of the Afghans burst out in a serious rebellion. The crisis was precipitated by the misconduct of the army of occupation, and among the officers who made themselves obnoxious to the Afghans was Burnes. Burnes and some other British officers were murdered. Akbar Khan, a son of Dost Muhammad, assumed the leadership of the Afghans. The British troops were defeated. Macnaghten promised to evacuate the country at once, but he was treacherously murdered. The humiliations suffered by the British officers and troops were largely due to the incompetence of their

leaders. Kabul was evacuated in January, 1842 ; while on their way the British troops were destroyed by snow, storm and Afghan bullets. Only one man—Dr. Brydon—survived the catastrophe and conveyed his terrible story to Jalalabad. Qandahar and Jalalabad were, however, successfully defended by Nott and Sale.

Lord Auckland was succeeded by Lord Ellenborough in February, 1842. The new Governor-General decided in favour of the evacuation of Kabul and Qandahar. Shah Shuja was murdered at Kabul by a Barakzai Chief. In September, 1842, Pollock defeated Akbar Khan and hoisted the British flag at Kabul. Nott occupied Ghazni, where he seized some alleged gates of the famous temple of Somnath carried away by Sultan Mahmud many centuries ago. The triumphant British army blew up the great bazar at Kabul and evacuated the city in October, 1842. The Governor-General declared that 'to force a sovereign on a reluctant people would be . . . . inconsistent with the policy . . . . of the British Government.' Dost Muhammad was released. He returned to Kabul and re-established his authority.

LATER CAREER OF DOST MUHAMMAD

The main object of Lord Auckland's Afghan policy was to have a friendly ruler on the throne of Afghanistan. That object was not accomplished by the war. For some years after his restoration most Muhammad maintained an attitude of sullen resentment against the British. The renewal of the Persian threat to Herat led him to conclude treaties with the Company in 1855 and in 1857. The friendly relations thus established kept the Amir loyal to the British during the Sepoy Mutiny. Dost Muhammad died in 1863.

ANNEXATION OF SIND (1843)

During the latter part of the eighteenth century and the first half of the nineteenth century Sind was ruled by the Talpur Amirs of Hyderabad, Khairpur and Mirpur. The suzerainty of the Kings of Afghanistan was nominal. In 1809 the Amirs concluded a treaty with the British, promising not to allow 'the establishment of the tribe of the French' in Sind. This treaty

was renewed in 1820 with an additional clause stipulating the suppression of 'the predatory hordes who were continually disturbing the peace of the frontier'.

The opening of Sind was the result of the journey of Alexander Burnes up the Indus *en route* to Lahore in 1831. The political and commercial importance of the Lower Indus valley was then brought to the notice of the British Government for the first time. "Alas", said a shrewd Sindhi, "Sind is now gone since the English have seen the river".

Ranjit Singh had his eyes on Sind. On the east the treaty of Amritsar (1809) had reduced the Sutlej to an insurmountable barrier ; on the west the growing power of Dost Muhammad created difficulties. Sind provided a natural field for Sikh expansion. But the British were not prepared to tolerate any further increase in Ranjit Singh's power. It seemed that the most effective way to keep the Sikhs at a distance was to bring Sind within the sphere of British influence. In 1832 Lord William Bentinck concluded a treaty with the Amir of Hyderabad, which opened up the Indus to commercial navigation by British subjects. In 1838 Lord Auckland concluded a treaty with the Amirs, who now agreed to receive a British Resident at Hyderabad. By the tripartite treaty of 1838 Shah Shuja renounced his shadowy claim of suzerainty over Sind ; Lord Auckland compelled the Amirs to pay a large sum in return for this concession of doubtful value. In 1839 the Amirs were compelled to accept a treaty by which they were virtually placed under British protection. Although the treaty of 1832 prohibited the use of the Indus for the convevance of military force, the British army marched through Sind on its way to Afghanistan in 1839-40.

Although the Amirs did not create any trouble even when the British army suffered annihiliation in Afghanistan, they were accused of disloyalty, and Sir Charles Napier, a blunt soldier, was sent by Lord Ellenborough to deal with them. Napier 'conducted his operations on the theory that the annexation of Sind would be a very beneficient piece of rascality for which it was his business to find an excuse'. He exasperated the Amirs by interfering in a succession dispute at Khairpur and also by trying to impose upon them a new treaty which compelled them to cede territories and deprived them of their

right of coining money. He destroyed the strong fort of Imamgarh with a view to create terror. An attack of the wild Baluchis was the signal for war. Napier secured a victory at Miani (near Hyderabad) in February, 1843 ; some of the Amirs at once submitted, and Hyderabad was occupied. The Amir of Mirpur was defeated at Dabo (near Hyderabad) in March. The war came to an end in June. In August Sind was annexed and the Amirs were exiled. For four years Napier governed Sind with autocratic authority.

The Court of Directors disapproved the proceedings of Ellenborough and Napier, but the accomplished fact had to be accepted. All British writers on Indian history are agreed that there was no moral justification or political necessity behind the high-handed policy which vanquished the Amirs. Napier himself observed, "We have no right to seize Sind, yet we shall do so . . . ."

SECTION V

RISE AND FALL OF THE SIKH MONARCHY

THE MISLS

Ahmad Shah Abdali invaded India for the last time in 1767. After that date the Sikh *Misls* governed the Punjab. Their organisation has been described as 'theocratic confederate feudalism'.[1] The Central Government was very weak and after some time it ceased to function. The link of a common enemy was gone and this became the signal for disorders within. The Bhangi *Misl* and the Kanheya *Misl* strove in succession to establish some sort of ascendancy over the rest, but it was reserved for Ranjit Singh, head of the Sukerchukia *Misl*, to 'display from the ruins of their commonwealth the standard of monarchy.'

EARLY CAREER OF RANJIT SINGH

Ranjit Singh was born in November, 1780. His father Maha Singh died in 1790. In his seventeeth year Ranjit asserted

[1] See p. 448.

himself and began his career of petty warfare and systematic aggression. He joined Zaman Shah, grandson of Ahmad Shah Abdali, when the Kabul monarch invaded the Punjab in 1798. The Durrani project failed but Ranjit Singh seized Lahore from its Sikh rulers in 1799. His next important acquisition was Amritsar which he occupied in 1805. In alliance with his mother-in-law Sada Kaur, leader of the Kanheya *Misl*, and his friend Fateh Singh, chief of the Ahluwalia *Misl*, Ranjit pursued with almost constant success this policy of absorption of the territory of the princes and princelings of the Punjab, and the process was completed by the year 1823. As all the trans-Sutlej *Misls* were one after another absorbed. Fateh Singh gradually sank into the position of a dependent ally but Sada Kaur with her masterful personality soon came to grief; she was put under restraint in 1821, her territory being annexed to the Lahore State. Local dynasticism thus disappeared, giving place to a consolidated Monarchy.

RANJIT SINGH'S TREATY WITH THE BRITISH (1809)

But Ranjit Singh failed in his attempts to absorb the Cis-Sutlej *Misls* and could not extend his sway over the country between the Sutlej and the Jumna. He led three expeditions into the Cis-Sutlej region. Success was within his grasp but the British Government intervened. Lord Minto through his ambassador Metcalfe demanded that Ranjit Singh should confine himself to the territory on the other side of the Sutlej. The serious attitude of the British Government, his own inability to meet the British power at this moment, his fear that the Sikh chiefs on his side of the Sutlej would try to take advantage of the impasse, led him finally to agree with the British demand, and the treaty of Amritsar was concluded in April, 1809. The Sutlej was recognised as the boundary, Ranjit Singh retaining the territories he had possessed on the left side of the Sutlej before the coming of the British ambassador.

EXPANSION OF RANJIT SINGH'S KINGDOM

After the treaty of Amritsar Ranjit Singh conquered the hill states of the Punjab, annexed Multan, seized Kashmir from the Afghans, and also conquered Kohat, Tank, Bannu, Dera

Ghazi Khan, Dera Ismail Khan and Peshawar. There is no doubt that he would have annexed Sind as well but for British intervention. The British Government would not let his sway extend to the sea. Ranjit Singh's Kingdom extended from the Sutlej to the defiles of the Khyber and from Little Tibet in the north to the confines of Sind in the south.

Ranjit Singh had to fight with the Afghans on several occasions. In 1813 a pitched battle was fought on the plain of Chuch not far from Attock. The Durrani monarch's *Wazir*, Fateh Khan, wanted to seize from him the fort of Attock which Ranjit had recently taken. The Afghans were completely defeated. In 1823 a second pitched battle was fought at Nowshera, the Afghans attempting to prevent Ranjit Singh's sway being consolidated on the left bank of the Sutlej. The Afghans were defeated also on this occasion. In 1837 Dost Muhammad of Kabul strove to seize Jamrud and Shub Qudur, two important Sikh forts commanding the passes. The Afghans failed to seize the forts but in a skirmish succeeded in killing Hari Singh Nalwa, governor of Peshawar. Ranjit was more than able to hold his own on the north-western frontier and he was also successful in his management of the border tribes.

RANJIT SINGH'S ADMINISTRATION

Ranjit Singh set up a strong and efficient system of civil administration and his greatest merit was that he made an unprejudiced use of talented men of all religions. He disciplined his army on the western model and took Allard, Ventura and some other Frenchmen into his service to train his soldiers. He had a standing army of nearly 40,000, largely infantry, equipped and paid by the State. His park of artillery was efficient. "The rank and file of the Sikh army became, under the training of the skilled officers, the finest rank and file in world. They wanted but officers to be invincible."

ESTIMATE OF RANJIT SINGH

Ranjit Singh has been described as the very embodiment of practical sagacity despite unlettered ignorance. His memory was prodigious. In his military expeditions he was accustomed

to issue instructions to his officers in such details that little or no initiative was left to them. The personal devotion and loyalty that he inspired in his commanders and soldiers smoothed their path of duty. Among his principal achievements we must count his very successful defence of his new-born Kingdom against the Afghans. An Indian chieftain who could secure the support of all sections of his people—Sikhs, Hindus and Muslims,—who could defend the north-western frontier against a powerful Afghanistan and unruly border tribes and administer it successfully, who could train an army whose fighting qualities came as a revelation to their British opponents, who could to a certain extent furnish Indian nationalism with what it greatly needs—a tradition of strength—must always stand in the forefront of great men of Indian history.

LAST DAYS OF THE SIKH MONARCHY (1839-49)

During the last years of Ranjit, in view of his declining health and the weak character of the heir-apparent Kharak Singh, the crafty courtiers around him formed factions. Immediately after his death mutual dissensions, distrust and lawlessness began and precipitated the downfall of the Sikh Monarchy.

Ranjit Singh died on the 27th June, 1839. His eldest son Kharak Singh, who succeeded him, died in November, 1840, and Nao Nihal Singh, his son, who had inherited much of the ability of his grandfather, was killed by accident or design on the following day. Sher Singh, another son of Ranjit Singh, succeeded. He was assassinated in September, 1843. The army was now the master of the State. It looked upon itself as the representative body of the people, as the *Khalsa* itself. Dalip Singh, youngest son of Ranjit Singh, who was only six years old, was proclaimed as the new ruler. Events moved very fast. The factions that had come into existence during the last days of Ranjit Singh were now non-existent and the army dictated and made and unmade the *Wazirs*. The strength of the standing army of Lahore was almost doubled by the year 1845. It became self-dependent. Early in November, 1845, Raja Lal Singh was nominated as the *Wazir* and Sardar Tej Singh was confirmed as Commander-in-Chief.

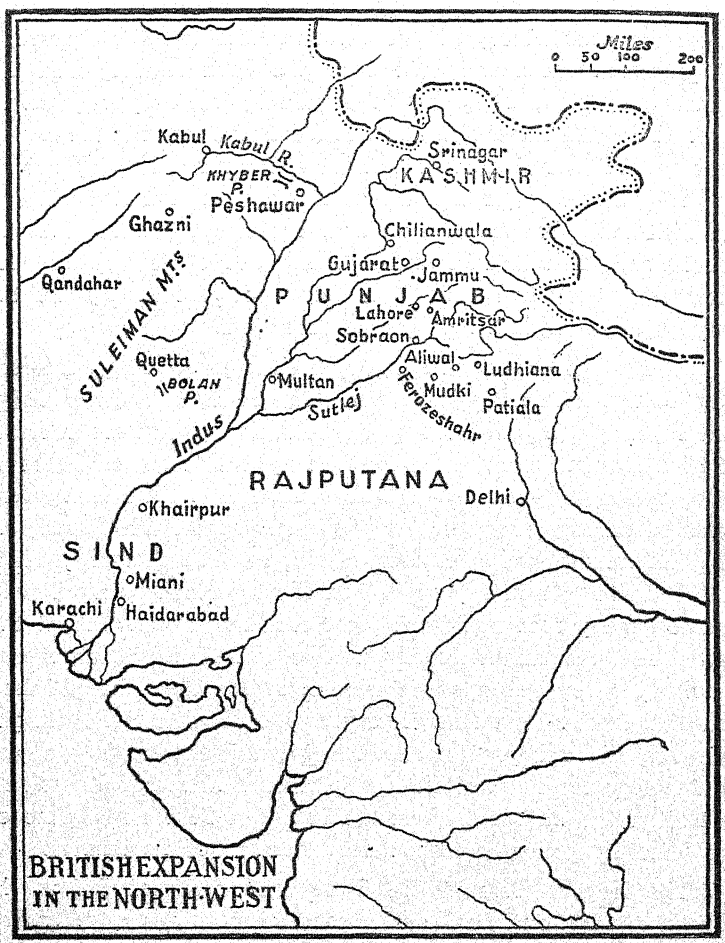
LORD HARDINGE AND THE FIRST ANGLO-SIKH WAR (1845-46)

The English authorities, convinced that the machinery of government would break up in the Punjab, adopted measures for strengthening the frontier forts. The Sikh soldiers had their apprehensions of their growing neighbour and could not understand why 'inefficiency of rule should be construed into hostility of purpose'. It seems that both the Sikh soldiery and the British Government regarded the ensuing war as purely defensive. The English advanced bodies of troops towards the Sutlej. Moreover, Major Broadfoot, British agent for Cis-Sutlej affairs, was responsible for proceedings that ultimately denoted war and the Sikh army became convinced that war with the English was inevitable. The Lahore Chiefs made use of this feeling for their own ends and urged the army to proceed against the English in order that it might be destroyed.

The Sikhs crossed the Sutlej in December, 1845, and the English hastened to oppose them. The Sikh leaders, Lal Singh and Tej Singh, kept up an appearance of devotion to the interests of the State but were 'anxious to be upheld as the ministers of a dependent Kingdom by grateful conquerors'. The Sikhs were defeated in four successive engagements at Mudki (December, 1845), Ferozeshahr (December, 1845), Aliwal (January, 1846) and Sobraon (February, 1846), but it was treachery more than bad leadersrip that was responsible for this failure. About the battle of Ferozeshahr Malleson says, "The brave untutored warriors, led by generals who were betraying them, had, if they had only known it, won a victory." Lal Singh and Tej Singh, however, did not press forward but withdrew, making a gift of a victory to the English. In spite of their steadfastness and resolution the Sikh army lost the battle of Sobraon because of the 'discreet policy and shameless treason' of its leaders.

The English crossed the Sutlej and occupied Lahore in February, 1846, and finally after some negotiations a treaty was concluded in March, 1846. The Jalandhar Doab was to be ceded to the British and the Sikh treasury was to pay 1½ million sterling for the expenses of the war. The strength of the Sikh army was to be reduced. As the Sikh *Durbar* was not in a position to pay ⅔ of the indemnity, they surrendered the province of Kashmir, which was sold for one million to Gulab

Singh, the Dogra Chief of Jammu. The Lahore State was thus reduced in size and Lal Singh, who retained his office of *Wazir*, was rewarded for his treachery by getting such a dreaded rival as Gulab Singh out of the way. A supplementary arrange-



[This map is meant to illustrate the British Wars against the Afghans, the Sikhs and the Amirs of Sind.]

ment was made in December, 1846, placing Dalip Singh under British tutelage. The administration of the Kingdom was virtually handed over to the British Resident, Sir Henry

Lawrence, who was supported by a British force stationed at Lahore. Thus the British Government assumed 'full authority to direct and control all matters in every department of the (Lahore) State'.

LORD DALHOUSIE AND THE SECOND ANGLO-SIKH WAR (1848-49)

This was the arrangement of Lord Hardinge. But his successor, Lord Dalhousie, found the system of his predecessor unworkable. There was a local rebellion at Multan headed by its governor, Mulraj, and two British officers were murdered in April, 1848. A British expedition was not sent out at once to Multan because of the hot weather. In the meantime Rani Jindan, mother of the boy Maharaja, was exiled to the fort of Chunar in view of her hostile attitude. Events moved very fast. Chatar Singh, governor of Hazara, revolted. His son, Sher Singh, who was at the head of the *Durbar* troops, gave his adhesion to the movement, which became general. Thus a crisis was precipitated, and Lord Dalhousie decided that as the Sikh people wished war, "they should have it with a vengeance."

Sher Singh commanded the Sikh army. Two battles were fought at Chilianwala (January, 1849) and at Gujarat (February, 1849). From the British point of view Chilianwala was 'a dangerous and difficult affair.' It was only technically a British victory. But at Gujarat Lord Gough, the British Commander-in-Chief, won a complete victory. It is only proper to note that "no troops could have fought better than the Sikhs, no army could have been worse led." Multan was stormed in January, 1849. Chatar Singh and Sher Singh surrendered in March, 1849.

By the treaty of December, 1846, the British Government had full authority to direct and control all matters in the Punjab, and the Lahore State was paying 22 *lakhs* a year in respect of the expenses of the British force stationed at Lahore. So the British Government was naturally in the position of a guardian and protector of the young Maharaja. Against this British protection the Sikh army rose. The rising was suppressed, but there was no valid reason for depriving the guiltless minor Maharaja of his inheritance. The aggressive imperialism of

Lord Dalhousie, however, surmounted every moral and legal obstacle and the Punjab was annexed by proclamation on 3rd March, 1849, the boy Maharaja being pensioned off.

SECTION VI

ANNEXATIONS OF LORD DALHOUSIE

DOCTRINE OF LAPSE

The period of Lord Dalhousie's administration (1848-56) is one of the most memorable epochs in British Indian history. He came to India when he was only 35 years of age ; he worked so hard that he ruined his health and did not long survive his retirement. He was a very industrious administrator, and, on the whole, he was a ruler of benevolent intentions. But he is remembered to this day mainly as an annexationist. By war he annexed the Punjab and Pegu.[1] Some of his annexations were, however, effected without taking up arms, by the application of the so-called 'Doctrine of Lapse' and on the flexible ground of misgovernment.

The 'Doctrine of Lapse' meant that, in the absence of natural heirs, dependent States, or States created by the British, were to lapse to the paramount power (*i.e.*, the Company) ; they were not to pass like mere private property to an adopted son. It was recognised that the succession of an adopted son was dependent upon the special permission of the British Government. In 1834 the Court of Directors laid down that the grant of such permission 'should be the exception, not the rule, and should never be granted but as a special mark of favour and approbation'. In 1841 it was decided that 'no just and honourable accession of territory or revenue' was to be abandoned. Thus Lord Dalhousie was not the originator of this ill-fated 'Doctrine'. It was an accident that in his days some important cases arose in which the 'Doctrine' might be applied. But it is not unfair criticism to say that he showed too much zeal in enforcing a policy which had been theoretically enunciated some years before. "There was fully adequate precedent for every

[1] See pp. 555-556, 569-570.

one of his annexations. But his predecessors had acted on the general principle of avoiding annexation if it could be avoided; Dalhousie acted on the general principle of annexing if he could do so legitimately". He did not examine the expediency of rigorously applying a 'Doctrine' which ran counter to the religious sentiments of the Hindus and the traditions of India.

The principality of Satara was the first victim of the 'Doctrine of Lapse'. The Raja of Satara died without any male issue in 1848; just before his death he adopted a son without the knowledge and consent of the British Government. As the principality was created by the British[1] in 1818, the adoption was subject to their approval. It was disapproved. The Court of Directors observed, ". . . we are fully satisfied that, by the general law and custom of India, a dependent principality, like that of Satara, cannot pass to an adopted heir without the consent of the Paramount Power".

The Bhonsle State of Nagpur suffered a similar fate in 1853. The Raja died without leaving any male heir, nor did he leave any adopted son. But it is doubtful whether Nagpur could be regarded as a State created by the British, even if the circumstances connected with the settlement of 1818[1] are taken into consideration. Lee-Warner points out that in the cases of Satara and Nagpur 'imperial considerations' weighed with Lord Dalhousie: ". . . . they were placed right across the main lines of communication between Bombay and Madras, and Bombay and Calcutta. Consolidation was therefore to be secured by their annexation".

The ruler of Jhansi died childless in 1853; his adopted son was set aside and the state was annexed. The annexation of Baghat and Udaipur under similar circumstances was reversed later on by Lord Canning. Sambalpur in Orissa was annexed in 1850, when the ruler died without heir. The annexation of Karauli was reversed by the Court of Directors.

The confiscation of the titles and pensions of some Indian Princes was a logical corollary to the 'Doctrine of Lapse'. On the death of the ex-Peshwa Baji Rao II his pension was not continued to his adopted son, Nana Saheb, who later on played a leading part in the Revolt of 1857. On the death of the titular

[1] See p. 548.

Nawab of the Carnatic in 1853 no successor was recognised. On the death of the Maratha Raja of Tanjore in 1855 without any male issue the Rajaship was abolished.

OTHER ANNEXATIONS

A part of Sikim was annexed in 1850 because the ruler of that State had seized a British agent and ill-treated two British subjects. As the Nizam was unable to discharge his financial obligations to the Company, the fertile province of Berar was placed under British administration (1853).

MISGOVERNMENT

Lord Dalhousie annexed Oudh (1856) on the ground that its rulers had continuously misgoverned the State. Without examining the specific charges brought against the Nawabs, it may be observed that maladministration in Indian States was the inevitable result of Lord Wellesley's system of Subsidiary Alliance.[1] The evil did not escape the notice of responsible British administrators. Sir Thomas Munro observed, "Wherever the Subsidiary System is introduced, the country will soon bear the marks of it, in decaying villages and decreasing population." Sir Henry Lawrence wrote in 1848, "If ever there was a device for insuring malgovernment, it is that of Native Ruler and Minister both relying on foreign bayonets and directed by a British Resident." The people of Hyderabad suffered terribly for many years after the introduction of the Subsidiary Alliance. In 1831 Lord William Bentinck pensioned off the Raja of Mysore for incompetence and the State remained under British administration for half a century.

ANNEXATION OF OUDH (1856)

Since the treaty of 1801 the internal condition of Oudh had been getting worse, due partly to the incompetence of the Nawabs, but mainly to the operation of the Subsidiary Alliance. The Nawab had no real power to control the administration, for no important decision could be taken without the concurrence of the British Resident. He knew that as long as he

[1] See pp. 532-533.

obeyed the Resident's orders he was safe: British troops would protect him against internal rebellions. The sense of moral responsibility became dim; even the exhortations and threats of the Governors-General were of no avail. In 1831 Lord William Bentinck threatened to take over the administration of Oudh if there was no improvement. In 1837 Lord Auckland imposed upon the King of Oudh[1] a new treaty, by which it was provided that either he should improve the administration or hand it over to the British Government, sinking to the position of a pension-holder like the ruler of Mysore. Although this treaty was disallowed by the Court of Directors, Lord Auckland and his successors acted as if it was valid. In 1847 Lord Hardinge repeated the warning.

In 1855 it became clear from the reports of Colonels Sleeman and Outram, Residents in Oudh, that the condition of Oudh was deplorable, and there was no chance of any improvement. Lord Dalhousie wanted to reduce Oudh to the position of Mysore: the ruler would retain his formal sovereignty, but the administration would be carried out by the British Government. But the Court of Directors decided in favour of annexation. So Oudh was annexed in February, 1856. Wazid Ali Shah was kept under surveillance in Calcutta and allowed a persion of 12 *lakhs* per year. Sleeman, a shrewd and experienced officer, considered the annexation of Oudh as a political blunder.

GOVERNORS-GENERAL UNDER THE COMPANY[2]

Warren Hastings (October, 1774—February, 1785)[3].
Sir John Macpherson (February, 1785—September, 1786).
Lord Cornwallis (September, 1786—October, 1793).
Sir John Shore (October, 1793—March, 1798).
Sir A. Clarke (March—May, 1798).
Lord Wellesley (May, 1798—July, 1805).

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[1] Lord Hastings induced the Nawab of Oudh to assume the Royal title in defiance of the nominal authority of the Mughal Emperor. The Nizam was asked to take a similar course, but he refused.

[2] The names of those who held the post temporarily are printed in italics.

[3] Hastings became Governor of Bengal in April, 1772. He became Governor-General of Bengal in October, 1774, according to the Regulating Act.

Lord Cornwallis (July—October, 1805).
Sir George Barlow (October, 1805—July, 1807).
Lord Minto I (July, 1807—October, 1813).
Lord Hastings (October, 1813—January, 1823).
John Adam (January—August, 1823).
Lord Amherst (August, 1823—March, 1828).
William B. Bayley (March—July, 1828).
Lord William Bentinck (July, 1828—March, 1835)[1].
Sir Charles Metcalfe (March, 1835—March, 1836).
Lord Auckland (March, 1836—February, 1842).
Lord Ellenborough (February, 1842—June, 1844).
William W. Bird (June—July, 1844).
Lord Hardinge (July, 1844—January, 1848).
Lord Dalhousie (January, 1848—February, 1856).
Lord Canning (February, 1856—November, 1858)[2].

FOR FURTHER STUDY

Cambridge History of India, Vol. V.
Mehta, *Lord Hastings and the Indian States.*
P. C. Gupta, *Baji Rao II and the East India Company.*
Cunningham, *History of the Sikhs.*
N. K. Sinha, *Ranjit Singh.*
Bell, *Annexation of the Punjab.*
Sykes, *History of Afghanistan*, Vol. II.
A. C. Banerjee, *The Eastern Frontier of British India.*
A. C. Banerjee, *Annexation of Burma.*

[1] Bentinck became the first Governor-General of India according to the Charter Act of 1833.
[2] Canning became Viceroy and Governor-General under the Crown after the transfer of India from the Company to the Crown in November, 1858.

CHAPTER XXVIII

ADMINISTRATION OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY

SECTION I

ADMINISTRATIVE AND SOCIAL CHANGES

THE CHARTER ACT OF 1813

During the period 1784-1813 no substantial change was introduced in the main structure of Indian government as defined by Pitt's India Act. The renewal of the Charter in 1813 was preceded by elaborate discussions about the justification of the commercial privileges enjoyed by the Company. The Continental System introduced by Napoleon had closed the European ports to British trade, and it was no longer found possible to continue the Company's monopoly of trade with India. So by the Charter Act of 1813 that trade was thrown open to all British merchants, but the Company was allowed to retain its monopoly of the trade in tea and also the trade with China. The Act continued to the Company for a further term of twenty years the possession of the territories and revenues of India, 'without prejudice to the undoubted sovereignty of the Crown . . . . in and over the same'. The constitutional position of the British territories in India was thus explicitly defined. Separate accounts were to be kept regarding commercial transactions and territorial revenues. The authority of the Board of Control was strengthened. As regards the Civil Service, the Company retained its patronage. An interesting feature of the Act was that it provided for the expenditure of a *lakh* of rupees per year for education.

THE CHARTER ACT OF 1833

The next Charter, which came twenty years later, was based on Whig principles which were then triumphant in England. Macaulay was then Secretary to the Board of Control, and James Mill, the famous historian, a disciple of Bentham, occupied a very high post at the India House. Their influence may be clearly traced in the Charter Act of 1833.

The Company now lost its commercial privileges. The territorial possessions of the Company were left in its control for a further period of twenty years 'in trust for His Majesty, his heirs and successors.' The Governor-General *of Bengal* now became the Governor-General *of India*. His Council was to consist of four members, one for legislation only; the Commander-in-Chief might be made an additional member. As regards the administration of Bengal, the Governor-General remained the Governor of Bengal, a position relieved in practice by his appointing under the Act a Deputy Governor. The Council of the Governors of Bombay and Madras was to consist of two members.

The Act introduced vital changes in the system of law-making in India. The Governments of Bombay and Madras lost their legislative authority; the Govenor-General and Council received the power of legislating for the whole of British India. The fourth member of the Council was expected to give professional advice regarding law-making. He was entitled, in theory, to sit and vote at meetings of the Council for the purpose of making laws. But at the suggestion of the Directors Macaulay, who was the first holder of this post, was in practice admitted to all the meetings. A Law Commission was constituted with the purpose of consolidating, codifying and improving Indian laws.

The system of excluding Indians from all high offices, introduced by Lord Cornwallis, and sanctioned by the Charter Act of 1793, had been disapproved by experienced administrators like Munro[1], Malcolm and Elphinstone. The Act of 1833 provided that no Indian or natural-born subject of the Crown resident in India should be, by reason only of his religion, place of birth, descent, colour, or any of them, be disqualified for any place in the Company's service. In practice, however, very little was done to give effect to this pious provision.

THE CHARTER ACT OF 1853

The next Act was a compromise between two conflicting views. Those who favoured the retention of the Company's territorial authority were satisfied by the provision that the

[1] See pp. 518-519.

Company should continue to govern India in trust for the Crown until Parliament should otherwise direct. Those who wanted the substitution of Crown control for that of the Company found to their satisfaction that the number of Directors was reduced from 24 to 18, of whom 6 were to be nominees of the Crown, and that the quorum was so reduced that the Crown Directors could occasionally constitute the majority. The Directors lost their patronage ; officers of the Company were henceforth to be recruited by competitive examination. The position of the President of the Board of Control was improved ; it was placed on equality with that of a Secretary of State.

Provision was made for the appointment of a Governor or a Lieutenant-Governor for the administration of Bengal. A Lieutenant-Governor was appointed in 1854. The fourth member of the Governor-General's Council was given full rank and voting power in all business. Certain special arrangements were made for law-making. The Council was increased in size ; it was to be constituted of the following members—the Governor-General, the Commander-in-Chief, the four members of the Council, a representative of each province selected by the head of the local Government, the Chief Justice of Bengal and another Supreme Court Judge. Two other members might be added, but in practice this option was not exercised. The proposal to add Indian members was rejected. This expanded Council may be called the Legislative Council, as distinguished from the smaller Council which dealt with executive business. Its sittings were made public and its proceedings were published.

ADMINISTRATIVE REFORMS OF LORD HASTINGS

In spite of his pre-occupation with wars, Lord Hastings found time to devote his attention to administrative reforms. The recovery of the Company's financial position, begun by Barlow, was continued, in spite of the heavy expenditure necessitated by the wars, and the Government bonds rose to a high premium at the close of his administration.

In England the controversy connected with the renewal of the Charter of 1813 had aroused considerable interest in the

problem of Indian administration. In 1812 was published the famous *Fifth Report*, which remains our best source of information about early British administration in India. The Board of Control suggested that the old system of *panchayats* should be revived for the settlement of petty cases, with a view to relieve the heavy pressure on regular courts presided over by British Judges. The proposal was accepted by the Governments of Bombay and Madras. In Bengal Lord Hastings tried to solve the problem by improving the pay and position of petty Indian judicial officers and by adding to their number. The Cornwallis system of separation between the Judicial and Revenue services had already been found to be inconvenient. So the offices of Collector and District Magistrate were gradually combined in all the Presidencies. An improved set of Police regulations was introduced.

In Madras Sir Thomas Munro revived the old *Ryotwari* system, but the actual basis of the existing arrangements dates from as late as 1855. According to this system the cultivators of the soil became the direct payees of revenue without the intervention of a zamindar. Under Zamindari tenure land is held as independent property ; under *Roytwari* tenure it is held in a right of occupancy which is both heritable and transferable.

The Bombay system, associated with the name of Mountstuart Elphinstone, has a general resemblance to that of Madras. It is technically described as 'survey tenure'.

In 1822 an elaborate Regulation provided for survey and assessment in the province of Agra. Started in 1822, it was first put on a working basis by R. M. Bird in 1833 and consolidated between 1843 and 1853.

The so-called 'Non-Regulation' system for the administration of backward or newly acquired territory was introduced in the time of Lord Hastings, although it was developed under Lord Amherst.

ADMINISTRATIVE REFORMS OF LORD WILLIAM BENTINCK

Bentinck served as Governor of Madras in 1803-1807. He was censured and recalled by the Court of Directors for his failure to deal satisfactorily with the Vellore Mutiny. He came back to India in 1828. His Governor-Generalship was not signalised by any triumph in war or diplomacy. This is

probably why Thornton says that he did 'less for the interest of India and for his own reputation than any who had occupied his place since the commencement of the nineteenth century, with the single exception of Sir George Barlow'. On the other hand, Macaulay, who was his colleague in the Council, describes him as a benevolent ruler "who infused into Oriental despotism the spirit of British freedom ; who never forgot that the end of government is the welfare of the governed ; who abolished cruel rites, who effaced humiliating distinctions ; who allowed liberty to the expression of public opinion ; whose constant study it was to elevate the moral and intellectual character of the Government committed to his charge". Some justification for this magniloquent eulogy may be found in the reforms associated with his name.

The costly Burmese War had placed a severe strain on the financial resources of India, and Bentinck's first task was to reduce expenditure. On this point he had received strict instructions from the Court of Directors. He abolished the 'half-batta' or field allowances enjoyed by the officers of the army in time of peace and made himself very unpopular. Reductions in the cost of civil administration followed. At the same time steps were taken to increase the receipts. The settlement of the land revenue in the North-Western Provinces by Robert Bird proved 'equally conducive to the improving resources of the state and the growing prosperity and happiness of the people'. The settlement was made with the village community and fixed for periods of thirty years. It was not collective ownership. A group of persons more or less closely connected were made responsible jointly and severally for the payment of revenue. A new arrangement about Malwa opium increased the revenue. On the whole, Bentinck's financial administration was efficient, and he succeeded in transforming the deficit into a surplus.

Bentinck also introduced important judicial reforms. The Provincial Courts of Appeal and Circuit established by Cornwallis, which had merely provided 'resting places for those members of the service who were deemed unfit for higher responsibilities,' were abolished. This step provided for justice and economy at the same time. The system of employing Indians in judicial offices was extended ; their salary and

responsibility were increased. Magistrates and Collectors were placed under the supervision of Commissioners of Revenue and Circuit, who were to be in constant touch with the people through frequent tours. Vernacular replaced Persian as the language of the courts. Smith rightly gives Bentinck 'credit for the clear vision which enabled him to construct for the first time a really workable, efficient framework of administration.'

SOCIAL REFORMS OF BENTINCK

The average Indian of to-day remembers Bentinck as a benevolent champion of social reforms. He broke up the Thags as an organisation hostile to the community, although preliminary measures had been taken by Lord Hastings and Lord Amherst. The task was well done by F. C. Smith, Agent to the Governor-General in the Narbada Territories, and his more well-known co-adjutor, Major Sleeman.

Sati or widow-burning was abolished in 1829. As early as the time of Lord Cornwallis, British officers were specially ordered to discourage the rite, although they were not empowered to prevent it. Lord Wellesley referred the matter to the Judges of the *Sadr Nizamat Adalat*, who, instead of supporting total prohibition, suggested some restrictive measures. These suggestions were not given effect to till 1813, when Lord Minto incorporated them in a circular to all judicial authorities. No widow was to be immolated without the permission of a Magistrate or Police Officer and except at the presence of the police. These precautionary measures served very little useful purpose; in 1818, 800 widows sacrificed themselves in the Presidency of Bengal. Lord Amherst, anxious not to wound the religious sentiments of the Hindus, thought that abolition would lead to 'evils infinitely greater than those arising from the existence of the practice'. But Bentinck was determined to take the final step. He was strengthened by the support of the Judges of the *Sadr Nizamat Adalat* and also the co-operation of enlightened Hindus like Raja Ram Mohan Roy and 'Prince' Dwarka Nath Tagore.

ABOLITION OF SLAVERY

The Charter Act of 1833 required the Governor-General-in-Council to take steps for the amelioration of the condition of

slaves and the ultimate extinction of slavery. In 1843 Lord Ellenborough passed an act prohibiting the legal recognition of slavery in India. Lord Hardinge took strong measures for the extinction of the horrible practice of human sacrifice prevalent in the hill tracts of Orissa.

EDUCATION

Although Warren Hastings took measures for the promotion of Oriental learning, the responsibility of the State for the education of the people was not recognised till the passing of the Charter Act of 1813. The gradual extension of British rule over territories ruled by Indian Princes had an adverse effect on education and culture. Lord Minto observed, "The principal cause of the present neglected state of literature in India is to be traced to the want of that encouragement which was formerly afforded to it by princes, chieftains, and opulent individuals under the native governments".

The Charter Act of 1813 laid down that ". . . . . a sum of not less than one lac of rupees in each year shall be set apart and applied to the revival and improvement of literature and the encouragement of the learned natives of India, and for the introduction and promotion of a knowledge of the sciences among the inhabitants of the British territories in India". As an enunciation of the principle of State responsibility for education this famous clause deserves to be remembered as one of the most significant British pronouncements relating to India. But the policy of keeping the Indians in ignorance had still powerful supporters, and Lord Hastings had to raise a voice of protest: "This Government never will be influenced by the erroneous position that to spread information among men is to render them less tractable and less submissive to authority".

The enlightened Hindus of Calcutta, supported by that large-hearted Scotch watch-maker, David Hare, appreciated the value of Western learning before it came into prominence in official eyes, and founded the Hindu College in 1816. This was a step of decisive importance in the history of education in India. About two decades later William Adam, a friend

of Raja Ram Mohan Roy, was appointed by Bentinck to enquire about the condition of education in Bengal. His Reports were described by Macaulay as 'the best sketches on the state of education that had been submitted before the public.' But although these Reports remained a mine of valuable historical information, they could not influence the policy of the Government. Before the preparation of Adam's Reports Bentinck had passed that famous Resolution dated March 7, 1835: "His Lordship in Council is of opinion that the great object of the British Government ought to be the promotion of European literature and science among the natives of India; and that all the funds appropriated for the purpose of education would be best employed on English education alone." It is well-known that this decision was mainly the result of Macaulay's influence—and his idea about Oriental learning was expressed in the ludicrous statement that "a single shelf of a good European library was worth the whole native literature of India and Arabia." The party of officers in favour of Oriental learning was led by H. T. Prinsep, Secretary to the Government, and consisted of the old members of the Company's service. After Bentinck's decision this party lost its influence. In 1844 Lord Hardinge declared that preference would be given in Governmental service to candidates who knew English. This artificial stimulus probably did more for the spread of Western education than the exhortations of its British and Indian champions.

In 1854 Sir Charles Wood, President of the Board of Control, sent a comprehensive Educational Despatch which laid down the principles of a graded educational system. A Department of Public Instruction was to be set up in each of the three Presidencies and also in the North-Western Provinces and the Punjab. A net-work of graded schools was to be spread all over British India. Provision was to be made for the sanction of grant-in-aid to some of these schools. Universities were to be established in Calcutta, Bombay and Madras on the model of the University of London which was then a purely examining body. Lord Dalhousie wholeheartedly supported these principles. The Universities of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras were established in 1857.

THE PRESS IN INDIA

The question of the Press is intimately connected with that of education. The first journal in India, *The Bengal Gazette* edited by J. A. Hicky, was published on January 29, 1780. Until 1818, when the *Samāchār Darpan,* the first journal in the Bengali language, appeared in Calcutta, all journals published in India were conducted in English and managed by British editors and owners. Those early British journalists, unlike their modern followers, were sturdy critics of the Government. So stringent restrictions were put upon their liberty. In 1818 Lord Hastings abolished the press censorship, but fresh restrictions were imposed in 1823. In 1823 a Judge of the Supreme Court declared that "this Government and a free press are incompatible, and cannot be consistent." Bentinck, acting under Metcalfe's influence, pursued a liberal policy, although the existing laws were not abrogated. When Metcalfe succeeded Bentinck as temporary Governor-General, he granted statutory freedom to the Press (1835). During the following years the Calcutta press grew in number and solidarity and Indians began to take an increasing share in its management.

WORKS OF PUBLIC UTILITY

During the early part of the nineteenth century the attention of the British rulers of India was usually confined to the construction and repair of buildings and roads of military importance. Lord Hastings secured good water supply for Delhi by repairing an old canal. Lord William Bentinck appreciated the importance of a new trunk road connecting Calcutta with the North-Western Provinces. The project was given effect to by Thomason, Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces, and by Lord Dalhousie. Lord Hardinge took the preliminary steps towards planning a Railway system for India. He also planned the Ganges Canal.

Lord Dalhousie's enthusiasm for works of public utility was hardly less strong than his zeal for annexation. In 1854 he constituted a special Department of Public Works in the Government of India ; subordinate departments on similar lines were constituted in Bombay and Madras. The Ganges Canal

and the Bari Doab Canal testify to his interest in irrigation. The first Railway line was opened in 1853 between Bombay and Thana ; in 1854 Calcutta was connected with the Raniganj coal fields. Lord Dalhousie also founded the electric telegraph system.

LORD DALHOUSIE AS AN ADMINISTRATOR

Lord Dalhousie's success as an annexationist has eclipsed his reputation as an administrator ; but it must be recognised that, while his annexations require elaborate justification, his administrative work was a splendid achievement. He was a masterful man of abundant energy, and the amount of work done by him personally in initiating policy and supervising administration excites our wonder. He had two defects. His autocratic temperament made it difficult for him to tolerate criticism and to work smoothly with others. Secondly, Smith rightly points out that "he worshipped efficiency a little too zealously, and sometimes forgot that even inefficient people have sentiments which need consideration. An unmethodical sentimental person like Sir Henry Lawrence irritated his practical mind intensely."

No account of Dalhousie's administrative work can be complete without reference to the arrangements made by him for the administration of the newly conquered provinces of the Punjab and Pegu. The administration of the Punjab was entrusted to a Board composed of the two famous Lawrence brothers—Henry and John—and a civilian from Bengal. Sometime later Dalhousie removed Henry Lawrence to Rajputana, abolished the Board, and made John Lawrence Chief Commissioner. "The Lawrences, Herbert Edwardes, John Nicholson, Richard Temple, and many other officers whose names are more or less familiar, contributed to the organization of the model province ; but they always worked under the eye of their indefatigable master, who, perhaps, deserves, even more than his brilliant subordinates, the credit for the results obtained". Pegu was administered by a Commissioner under the Government of India. This important office was held by Sir Arthur Phayre, who became Chief Commissioner of British Burma in 1862. He is one of the makers of modern Burma.

SECTION II

ECONOMIC CHANGES

India was the great workshop of cotton manufacture for the world since immemorial times. Dacca was the Manchester of India, Dacca *muslin* being renowned all over the world for its beauty and firm texture. Cotton and silk piece goods, raw silk, salt petre and opium formed India's chief articles of export. There was a happy blending of agriculture and handicrafts, particularly in Bengal. According to Verelst who succeeded Clive as Governor of Bengal, the customs office books at Murshidabad even in Alivardi Khan's time showed an entry of seventy *lakhs* in raw silk. This was exclusive of European investment which was not registered at Murshidabad and which was either duty free or paid duty at Hughli. "The farmer was easy, the artisan encouraged, the merchant enriched and the prince satisfied."

The aspect of affairs changed after the battle of Plassey. The drain of Indian wealth which began after 1757 helped the Industrial Revolution in England because it supplied capital to her new industries. Moreover, in Bengal the British merchants became unfairly supreme in inland as also in export trade. The manufacture of silk and cotton goods began to decline. As early as 1769 the Directors wanted the manufacture of raw silk to be encouraged in Bengal and that of silk fabrics discouraged. Over cotton goods and raw silk the Company established a quasi-monopolistic control. The story of oppression is supported by official records. The winders of raw silk cut off their own thumbs in order to escape compulsory winding of silk. Oppression proved destructive of the industry.

By the Parliamentary enactments of 1700 and 1720 cotton and silk goods imported from India 'could not be worn or otherwise used in England'. They were exported to other countries of Europe. The French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars closed this market. The importation of printed cotton goods from India to England, which had continued upto this time, was also stopped. In the meantime the Industrial Revolution placed England in a position of great advantage. The first sample of English *muslin* was sent to Bengal in 1783. No

attempt was made to improve the quality of cotton piece goods. The Company could not afford to antagonise British manufacturing interest by restricting the import of British cotton goods to India. Invidious duties further discouraged and repressed Indian industries. The two Indian industries which became practically extinct were the textile industry and ship-building. Even in 1795-96 six ships were built in Calcutta. In 1797-98 several ships were launched from her dockyards. But ship-building was entirely given up in Calcutta. About 1788 the adoption of a new policy is easily discernible. The export of raw materials was encouraged because such a policy would be popular in England. The production of raw materials for British industries, particularly raw silk and indigo, was encouraged.

The course of trade was very unfair. In 1840 before a Select Committee of the House of Commons evidence was given about Indo-British trade relations that is revealing. British cotton and silk goods conveyed in British ships to India paid a duty of 3½ per cent. and British woollen goods a duty of 2 per cent. only. But Indian cotton goods imported into England paid a duty of 10 per cent., Indian silk goods of 20 per cent. and Indian woollen goods of 30 per cent. It is no wonder that in 1837 the export of British cotton fabrics to India was more than 64,000,000 yards, whereas in 1824 it was hardly 1,000,000 yards. The population of Dacca declined from 150,000 to about 30,000. The entire economic basis of Indian life was blown up and India became the agricultural farm of England.

SECTION III

THE REVOLT OF 1857

EARLIER CASES OF MUTINY

Mutiny of troops was not a rare occurrence in the history of the British in India. In 1806 the sepoys at Vellore in the Carnatic revolted as a protest against certain new rules issued by the Commander-in-Chief of Madras with the concurrence of the Governor of the Presidency, Lord William Bentinck. These

rules required the sepoys 'to wear a novel pattern of turban, to train their beards in a particular way, and to abstain from putting sectarian marks on their foreheads.' This order created an impression that the sepoys were to be forcibly converted to Christianity. The sepoys occupied the fort of Vellore and massacred some European troops and officers. The mutiny was easily suppressed ; the Governor and the Commander-in-Chief of Madras were recalled. In 1808-9 there was a mutiny among the officers of the Madras army, 'occasioned immediately by the stoppage of certain perquisites on tent contracts enforced by Sir George Barlow in compliance with peremptory orders of the Directors'. This mutiny discredited Barlow, who was then Governor of Madras. In 1824 the sepoys at Barrackpore (near Calcutta) mutinied as a protest against the order to go to Burma by sea. They believed that they would lose their caste if they should be sent by sea to take part in the First Burmese War. The ruthless punishment meted out to the mutineers might have been avoided by tactful handling of the sepoys at the beginning of the trouble.

CAUSES OF THE REVOLT OF 1857

The Revolt of 1857 was not a local rising, nor was it caused by the greased cartridges. Its causes were very complex ; military, political, religious and social factors played their part in bringing about this catastrophe. Lord William Bentinck had clearly pointed out the defects of the sepoy army ; it was expensive but inefficient. Campaigns in strange lands outside the boundaries of India—Burma, Afghanistan, Persia, China—were very unpopular with the sepoys, for these inflicted on them unnecessary hardship and put a strain on their social usages and religious feelings. Four mutinies occurred during the 13 years preceding 1857—in 1844, in 1849, in 1850, in 1852. Soon after his assumption of office Lord Canning ordered that all recruits to the Bengal Army, like those of the Madras Army, should be placed under an obligation to serve wherever required. This order did not affect the old recruits, but it created suspicions.

The discipline of the Bengal Army was hopelessly bad. This was due to three reasons. Many able military officers

were transferred to political duty ; the leadership of the army was thus weakened. Secondly, promotion being regulated strictly by seniority, many incompetent officers rose to high places. Thirdly, there was no strict age limit, and men who had obviously outlived their capacity were allowed to remain in active service.

It was not easy to enforce discipline after laxity had got the upper hand. The Bengal Army was united by something like a close family tie, for most of its recruits came from the same area—the modern United Provinces—and from the same social class. Caste prejudices were too strong to be levelled down by Western ideas about discipline. Sir Charles Napier observed, "High caste, that is to say, Mutiny, is encouraged".

The discontent and lack of discipline in the Bengal Army might not have proved so dangerous if the European element in the military force had been strong. But in 1857 less than 19 per cent. of the Company's officers and men in India were Europeans. Most of the Europeans were concentrated in the newly conquered Punjab ; their proportion in the modern United Provinces was very small. Moreover, many points of strategic importance and most of the guns were under the control of the sepoys. Lord Dalhousie had pointed out the necessity of maintaining an adequate proportion of British troops in India, but no attention was paid to his warning.

While the military importance of the sepoys was thus increasing along with their professional discontent, Lord Dalhousie's policy of annexation disturbed the political equilibrium in the country. The annexation of Oudh and the proposal to remove the Mughal Emperor Bahadur Shah from his ancestral palace in Delhi came as a shock to the Muslims. The annexation of Hindu States in accordance with the 'Doctrine of Lapse' and the forfeiture of the ex-Peshwa's pension created alarm among the Hindus. Hindu and Muslim Princes who remained unaffected began to entertain a feeling of vague restlessness, lest they should suffer a similar fate in the future. Nor was the annexation of Indian States a blow to the Princes alone. Families dependent upon the favour of the Princes, officers who earned their bread by service in the Indian States, men who composed the inefficient militia of the local Rajas—all these were rudely disturbed and filled with a feeling of

sullen resentment against the British intruders. The administration of Coverly Jackson, whom Lord Canning appointed as Chief Commissioner of Oudh in 1856, proved so exasperating to the dependents of the ex-Nawab that he had to be replaced by Sir Henry Lawrence. Smith rightly observes that "the minds of the civil population of all classes and ranks, Hindus and Muhammadans, princes and people, were agitated and disturbed by feelings of uneasiness and vague apprehension".

The uneasiness created by the disturbance of material interests was accentuated by vague apprehensions about the loss of caste and the forcible introduction of Christianity. The abolition of religious practices like *Sati* and infanticide, the legalisation of widow remarriage, the legal recognition of the right of inheritance of persons forsaking their ancestral religion, the aggressive spirit of missionaries like Alexander Duff, the spread of Western education, the introduction of female education, the construction of Railways and electric telegraph—these were looked upon by many sepoys and civilians as indirect attempts to destroy the Hindu and Muslim religions and to make this country a Christian land. Century-old religious prejudices and dearly valued social customs were thought to be unsafe. The introduction of the Enfield rifle confirmed these suspicions. The assurances of the Government were of no avail. Mysterious *chupatties* began to pass from village to village about the middle of 1856. On March 29, 1857, a sepoy named Mangal Pande murdered a European officer at Barrackpore. The Revolt began.

PROGRESS AND SUPPRESSION OF THE REVOLT

The military operations connected with the outbreak may be grouped round five principal areas: (1) Delhi, (2) Lucknow, (3) Cawnpore, (4) Rohilkhand, (5) Central India and Bundelkhand.

On May 10, 1857, the sepoys at Meerut openly revolted, marched to Delhi, and occupied that city on the following day. They proclaimed the revival of the Mughal Empire and placed Bahadur Shah II on the imperial throne. The revolt spread to the province of Agra, although the city of Agra was retained by the British. Delhi was re-occupied in September, 1857;

John Nicholson died there. The recovery of Delhi was made possible by the energetic steps taken by John Lawrence, Chief Commissioner of the Punjab, and by the loyalty of the Sikhs. Bahadur Shah did not take any active part in originating or directing the outbreak in Delhi. He was arrested after the fall of Delhi and condemned to exile after trial. He died at Rangoon in 1862. His two sons and a grandson were treacherously murdered by a British officer named Hodson.

At Lucknow Sir Henry Lawrence lost his life in the siege of the Residency by the sepoys. In September, 1857, Outram and Havelock brought relief to the besieged Residency. Two months later Lucknow was evacuated by the British, but it was re-occupied by the new Commander-in-Chief, Sir Colin Campbell, in March, 1858. The rebellion in Oudh was now brought under control, and towards the end of 1858 most of the rebels were driven across the frontier into Nepal.

At Cawnpore the sufferings of the British were largely due to the folly and weakness of General Sir Hugh Wheeler, an old man seventy-five years of age. Here the leader of the sepoys was Nana Sahib, adopted son of ex-Peshwa Baji Rao II. He murdered many British military men and civilians, including women and children. He declared himself as Peshwa. Sir Colin Campbell occupied Cawnpore in December, 1857.

The mutiny at Bareilly in Rohilkhand began in May, 1857. A grandson of Hafiz Rahamat Khan, the famous Rohilla chief of the time of Warren Hastings, was proclaimed Nawab Nazim ; but the Rohilla Nawab of Rampur remained loyal to the British Government. Bareilly was occupied by Campbell in May, 1858.

The operations in Central India and Bundelkhand were conducted by Sir Hugh Rose. At Jhansi the leader of the sepoys was Rani Lakshmi Bai, widow of the childless ruler of the State upon whose death Lord Dalhousie had annexed it. Sir Hugh Rose described her as the 'best and bravest' of the rebels. She was assisted by Tantia Topi, Nana Sahib's general. After the occupation of Jhansi and Kalpi by Sir Hugh Rose in April-May, 1858, the Rani and Tantia Topi occupied Gwalior and compelled Sindhia, who was loyal to the British, to take refuge at Agra. But Gwalior was captured in June, 1858 ; the Rani died on the field, fighting bravely in male attire. Tantia

Topi was caught and executed a year later. Nana Sahib fled to Nepal, where he ended his days in oblivion.

In Bihar there was a local rebellion at Arrah, led by a Rajput Zamindar named Kumar Singh. There were some disturbances in Rajputana and the Maratha country. No serious trouble occurred in the Madras Presidency. The Punjab kept quiet. The rulers of most of the Indian States rendered active services to the British Government. The services of the ministers of Gwalior, Hyderabad and Nepal proved specially valuable. The reckless cruelty which generally characterised the reprisals taken by the British authorities was to some extent minimised by the politic leniency of Lord Canning, whom many Europeans in their bitterness called 'Clemency Canning'.

CAUSES OF THE FAILURE OF THE REVOLT

From the very beginning the Revolt was doomed to failure, for it did not receive wide support from the civil population, and it was actively opposed by the Indian Princes who possessed wealth, influence and military force. There was no co-ordinated plan behind the Revolt. Every locality had its own leaders, its own problems, and its own aspirations. The principal leaders, Nana Sahib, Tantia Topi and Lakshmi Bai, were far inferior to their rivals in military and political qualities. The sepoys were inferior to the British soldiers in equipment as well as in discipline. The Government was immensely strengthened by its control over the telegraph and the means of communication. Finally, the reckless vandalism of the sepoys speedily alienated the civil population and deprived them of that popular sympathy which they had commanded in some measure at the beginning.

EFFECTS OF THE REVOLT

Sir Lepel Griffin, a scholarly and experienced Anglo-Indian administrator of the nineteenth century, observed that the Revolt of 1857 "swept the Indian sky clear of many clouds. It disbanded a lazy, pampered army, which, though in its hundred years of life it had done splendid service, had become impossible ; it replaced an unprogressive, selfish, and commercial system of administration by one liberal and enlightened. . . ."

It will probably be admitted that the spirit of British administration in India showed no such revolutionary change after 1857, though the Revolt emphasized the undesirability of governing India through the Company and strengthened the hands of those who wanted to bring this vast dependency under the direct control of the Crown-in-Parliament. In vain did the Company protest against the loss of its authority in a petition drawn up by John Stuart Mill. The Government of India Act, passed on August 2, 1858, directed that "India shall be governed by and in the name of the sovereign through one of the principal Secretaries of State, assisted by a Council of 15 members." The Secretary of State received the powers so long enjoyed by the Court of Directors and the Board of Control. Thus the system of 'Double Government' introduced by Pitt's India Act was finally abolished. Of the 15 members of the Council of the Secretary of State, 8 were to be appointed by the Crown and 7 by the Directors. The Council was to be merely advisory; in most cases the initiative and the final decision remained with the Secretary of State. The Governor-General received the title of Viceroy. He became the direct representative of the Crown. His prestige, if not his statutory authority, was increased.

It has been rightly said that the assumption of the government of India by the Crown was 'rather a formal than a substantial change'. The Charter Acts of 1813 and 1833 had explicitly declared the sovereignty of the Crown over the territories acquired by the Company. The President of the Board of Control had for a long time been the *de facto* supreme authority in Indian administration. John Stuart Mill's petition pointed out that in Indian affairs the British Government had long possessed the decisive voice and was thus 'in the fullest sense accountable for all that has been done, and for all that has been forborne or omitted to be done'.

The famous Queen's Proclamation of November 1, 1858, assured the Indian Princes that all treaties and engagements made with them by the Company would be 'scrupulously maintained'. The principle of religious toleration was to be followed and no distinction was to be made on grounds of race or creed in the public service. The Government of India openly

repudiated the 'Doctrine of Lapse', and permission to adopt heirs was granted as a matter of course.

The inevitable reorganisation of the army followed. The British element was strengthened ; in 1864, out of 205,000 men in the Indian army 65,000 were British. A Royal Commission suggested that 'native regiments should be formed by a general mixture of all classes and castes' ; but this suggestion was not given effect to. Artillery was placed under the charge of Europeans.

FOR FURTHER STUDY

Cambridge History of India, Vol. V.
Keith, *A Constitutional History of India.*
A. C. Banerjee, *Indian Constitutional Documents*, Vol. I.
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CHAPTER XXIX

INDIA UNDER THE BRITISH CROWN

SECTION I

FOREIGN POLICY

LORD ELGIN (1862-63)

Internal reconstruction[1] occupied Lord Canning's attention after the Mutiny. He was succeeded in March, 1862, by Lord Elgin, his friend and contemporary and an experienced colonial administrator. Lord Elgin died in India in November, 1863. He conducted the 'Umbeyla campaign' on the North-Western frontier for the chastisement of some Pathan tribes.

SIR JOHN LAWRENCE AND THE BHUTAN WAR

Sir John Lawrence came to India as Lord Elgin's successor in January, 1864, and remained in office till January, 1869. He was raised to the peerage after his departure from India. His appointment was a breach of the tradition that a member of the Civil Service should not be raised to the highest post in India. But Lawrence was well-known for the energetic part he had played during the Mutiny, and his command over the frontier problem was regarded as a peculiarly valuable qualification for the Governor-Generalship.

Soon after his arrival Lawrence was involved in a war with Bhutan. British relations with Bhutan began in the time of Warren Hastings, who sent two commercial missions (1774, 1783) to open up this unknown country. Frontier problems arose after the annexation of Assam (1826). Lord Elgin sent Ashley Eden as an envoy to Bhutan to make a satisfactory settlement about frontier raids ; Eden was compelled to sign a humiliating treaty. Lawrence repudiated this treaty and war began. A British force was defeated by the Bhutanese in the battle of Dewangiri (January, 1865). Peace was concluded in

[1] See pp. 607-609.

November, 1865. The Bhutanese ceded a large slice of *Duar* territory in return for an annual subsidy.

LAWRENCE'S FRONTIER POLICY

Lawrence held definite views about North-Western frontier policy, and his views were openly opposed by the so-called 'Forward School'. With regard to those border tribes who nominally owed allegiance to the Amir of Afghanistan but in practice managed their own affairs in their own turbulent way, his policy was 'to leave the tribes their independence and endeavour to win their esteem' ; the 'Forward School' wanted the complete subjugation of these wild tribes and the establishment of a well-defined frontier. With regard to Afghanistan, Lawrence's policy was 'friendship towards the actual rulers combined with rigid abstention from interference in domestic feuds'; the 'Forward School' favoured the policy of conquering Afghanistan, or partitioning it among different rulers, 'for the purpose of guarding against an enemy who is still separated from us by six hundred miles of desert and mountain.'

A war of succession broke out in Afghanistan after Dost Muhammad's death in 1863. Sher Ali, his favourite son and heir-designate, ascended the throne, but his authority was disputed by his brothers Azim Khan and Afzal Khan and his nephew Abdur Rahman Khan (son of Afzal Khan). Sher Ali was driven from Kabul in 1866 and from Qandahar in 1867. Afzal Khan became Amir ; he died in October, 1867, and was succeeded by Azim Khan. But Sher Ali re-occupied Qandahar in April, 1868, and Kabul in September following. Azim Khan fled to Persia, where he died soon afterwards. Abdur Rahman Khan fled to Tashkend, where he became a Russian pensionary. Sher Ali consolidated his authority and remained undisturbed till the agrressive policy of Lord Lytton created trouble.

During this long war of succession Lawrence strictly followed his policy of 'friendship towards the actual rulers combined with rigid abstention from interference in domestic feuds'. No contestant received any help, political or military or financial, from him. In 1864 Sher Ali was recognised as Amir of Afghanistan ; in 1866 he was recognised as ruler of

Qandahar and Herat, while Afzal Khan was recognized as ruler of Kabul ; in 1867 Afzal Khan was recognized as ruler of Kabul and Qandahar, while Sher Ali was recognised as ruler of Herat. This 'friendship towards the actual rulers' involved two dangers. In the first place, it indirectly encouraged rebellion against established authority in Afghanistan, for every successful rebel expected that he would receive British recognition. Secondly, 'rigid absention from interference in domestic feuds' left the rivals dissatisfied, for every one expected British help. Sher Ali spoke bitterly about British indifference towards his interests and Lawrence could hardly pacify him after the final recovery of his power by sending him money and arms. Yet, on the whole, the policy pursued by Lawrence was sensible, and it was the only policy which could avoid the difficulties suffered by Auckland and Lytton.

During Lawrence's term of office Russia was steadily increasing her power in Central Asia. Tashkend was annexed in 1865, Samarqand and Bokhara in 1868. A Russian ambassador in England declared that the occupation of Central Asia would enable Russia to keep England in check by threat of intervention in India. Lawrence appreciated the gravity of the Russian menace ; he found the solution, not in the clash of arms, but in the conclusion of a definite Anglo-Russian agreement as to a line of demarcation between the spheres of influence of the two Empires. Such an agreement solved the problem in 1907 ; it is difficult to say, however, whether it was possible in 1868. Dodwell points out that "unless England could entrench herself so strongly in Central Asia as to convince Russia of the futility of movements in that direction, an agreement in Europe could only be reached by subordinating English to Russian interests on the Continent."

LORD MAYO'S AFGHAN POLICY

Lawrence's Afghan policy was continued by his successor, Lord Mayo, who held office for three years (January, 1869—January, 1872) before he fell a victim to an assassin's dagger. Lawrence had arranged to meet Sher Ali at a conference, but the Amir could not manage to come before his departure from India. In March, 1869, Lord Mayo met the Amir at Ambala,

We are told that the Viceroy's diplomatic geniality induced in Sher Ali's breast a feeling of 'romantic friendship' for him, and that the splendour and military strength of British India made a deep impression on his mind. But the Amir received no substantial concession on any point in which he was interested. He wanted a definite treaty, a fixed annual subsidy, military assistance on requisition, definite British guarantee in support of his throne and dynasty, and British recognition of his favourite younger son, Abdulla Jan, as his successor, to the exclusion of his elder son Yaqub Khan. These terms 'would dangerously have linked up British power and prestige in India with the fortunes of a notoriously unstable Oriental dynasty.' Lord Mayo gave the Amir some vague assurances and Sher Ali returned to Kabul with apparent satisfaction.

A settlement with Russia was an integral part of the Lawrence-Mayo policy regarding Afghanistan. Negotiations were entered into between the British Foreign Secretary, Lord Clarendon, and the famous Russian Minister, Prince Gortschakoff, and the views of the Government of India were represented in St. Petersburg by a Bengal civilian named Douglas Forsyth. Russia acknowledged Sher Ali's authority in Afghanistan (including Badakhshan). Thus Russia admitted that she regarded Afghanistan as beyond her sphere of interest. But this admission did not put a stop to her ambitious intrigues. General Kaufmann, Governor of Russian Turkestan, began to correspond with the Amir. This correspondence Sher Ali sent to the Government of India, and no serious notice was taken of it.

LORD NORTHBROOK'S AFGHAN POLICY

The Russian menace assumed a more definite shape in the time of the next Governor-General, Lord Northbrook (May, 1872—April, 1876), a cold diplomat and a cautious administrator. Khiva was occupied by the Russians in June, 1873. Sher Ali, alarmed by Russian advance, sent an envoy to secure from the Viceroy 'an unequivocal guarantee against Russian attack.' Northbrook was in favour of giving a formal guarantee, but he was directed by the Secretary of State, Duke of Argyll, to declare merely that the British Government would maintain its

settled policy towards Afghanistan. This vague declaration naturally disappointed Sher Ali, who was some time later offended by Northbrook's 'dignified rebuke' for arresting Yaqub Khan and proclaiming Abdulla Jan as heir. The arbitration of the Government of India in the boundary dispute between Afghanistan and Persia in Seistan also displeased the Amir. Sher Ali now inclined towards the Russians ; correspondence with General Kaufmann became more frequent from 1875, and Russian agents began to appear in Kabul.

In March, 1874, Disraeli became Prime Minister in England with Lord Salisbury as Secretary of State for India. The Liberal policy of caution was now replaced by the Conservative policy of aggression. The new policy was inspired by a deep distrust of Russia. Salisbury proposed that Sher Ali should be asked to receive a British Resident within his territory. Northbrook, with the unanimous support of his Council, protested. Soon after this he resigned, and Lord Lytton came to India to give effect to Disraeli's 'spirited foreign policy.'

LORD LYTTON'S AFGHAN POLICY : BEGINNING OF THE SECOND AFGHAN WAR

Lord Lytton was an experienced diplomat and a brilliant man of letters, but his Indian administration was not successful. His foreign policy resulted in the Second Afghan War ; his internal administration was very unpopular.[1] In its earlier stages his Afghan policy was regulated by the instructions of the British Cabinet ; but before the final crisis came he adopted a peculiarly aggressive attitude on his own initiative. Although Disraeli and Salisbury loyally supported him in public utterances, they became uneasy at the development of his policy. The responsibility for the disaster must fall very largely, if not solely, on Lord Lytton alone.

Lord Lytton came to India with instructions to conclude 'a more definite equilateral and practical alliance' with Sher Ali, but he was not bound down by rigid instructions about the time and manner in which the new policy was to be put in practice. So the impatient hurry with which he began negotiations with Kabul cannot be laid at the door of the

[1] See pp. 613-614.

British Cabinet. Sher Ali was informed that all the terms which he had wanted from Lord Northbrook in 1873 might be granted if he consented to receive a British Resident at Herat. The reply was that a British Agent could not be received without granting a similar right to Russia. Lord Lytton thought that his reply showed the Amir's 'contemptuous disregard' of British interests. Sher Ali was warned that 'he was isolating Afghanistan from the alliance and support of the British Government.' Three members of the Viceroy's Council justified Sher Ali's attitude and disagreed with Lord Lytton. The Viceroy told the British Muslim agent in Kabul, whom he met at Simla, that if Sher Ali became an enemy of England, British military power 'could break him as a reed.' This offensive statement was intended to be communicated to the Amir. Towards the close of 1876 a treaty concluded with the Khan of Kalat gave the British right to occupy Quetta, a strategical position commanding the Bolan Pass, one of the gates of Afghanistan. The Amir probably looked upon the British occupation of Quetta as a preliminary step to an advance upon Qandahar. In January, 1877, a conference between British and Afghan representatives at Peshawar proved abortive ; no agreement was found possible on the question of placing a British Resident at Herat. Lord Lytton now began to work, in his own words, for the 'gradual disintegration and weakening of the Afghan power.' By an arrangement with the Maharaja of Kashmir a British agency was established at Gilgit. This measure was deprecated by many experienced frontier officials, and it was likely to add to the Amir's apprehension and resentment.

The outbreak of the Russo-Turkish War in Europe (April, 1877), the treaty of San Stefano (March, 1878), Disraeli's warlike preparations (which included the summoning of Indian troops to Europe) and the Berlin Congress (June-July, 1878) profoundly influenced Russian policy in Central Asia. Foiled by England in Europe, Russia decided to seek for compensations in Asia. In June, 1878, General Stoletoff, a Russian officer, started from Tashkend to Kabul with a letter from General Kaufmann. Sher Ali opposed his advance, whether firmly or half-heartedly we cannot determine ; but he reached Kabul in July and concluded a treaty of perpetual friendship

with the Amir. With the approval of the British Cabinet Lord Lytton now asked the Amir to receive a British envoy. There was no urgent need to press the matter, for the treaty of Berlin had restored peace in Europe, and Stoletoff left Kabul when he heard that the British intended to send a mission. But with undue haste Lord Lytton sent Sir Neville Chamberlain on a mission to Kabul. Both Disraeli and Salisbury deprecated this haste, but they had no time to prevent the mischief. The Afghans did not allow the envoy to enter the Khyber Pass. Lord Lytton declared that the mission had been 'forcibly repulsed.' War began in November, 1878.

SECOND AFGHAN WAR (1878-81)

Nothing reveals the unwisdom of Lord Lytton's haste more than Kaufmann's unsympathetic reply to Sher Ali's appeal for assistance on the eve of the war. The Russian General advised the Amir to make peace with the British.

Three British armies advanced into Afghanistan through different routes: Sir Samuel Browne through the Khyber Pass, General Roberts through the Kurram valley, and General Stewart through the Bolan Pass. Qandahar was easily occupied. Sher Ali fled to Russian Turkestan and died in February, 1879. His son Yaqub Khan concluded the treaty of Gandamak in May, 1879. He was recognised as Amir on the following conditions: the foreign relations of Afghanistan were to be regulated according to British advice ; the districts of Kurram, Pishin and Sibi were to be ceded to the British ; a permanent British Resident would be received at Kabul and British agents would be stationed at Herat and other places on the frontier ; the Amir would receive an annual subsidy of six *lakhs* and military assistance in case of foreign attack.

But Yaqub Khan soon became as unpopular with the freedom-loving Afghans as Shah Shuja had been, and Cavagnari, the British Resident in his court, was murdered in September, 1879, by the Afghans, like Macnaghten. Yakub Khan was suspected of complicity in this treachery. He was deported to India, where he lived till 1923. Qandahar and Kabul were re-occupied by British troops. Lord Lytton thought of separating Kabul from Qandahar. At this stage

Abdur Rahman Khan took leave of the Russians, came to Afghanistan, and proclaimed his claim to the throne of Kabul. Lord Lytton decided to recognise him as Amir, but before he could take that step the change of the Ministry in England led to his resignation (June, 1880).

In the summer of 1880 Disraeli was defeated in a General Election. The Liberals came back to power, with Gladstone as Prime Minister. The Liberals were bitterly opposed to the Afghan policy of Disraeli and Lytton. They sent Lord Ripon to inaugurate a new policy in India. After his arrival in India (June, 1880) Lord Ripon brought the negotiations with Abdur Rahman to a satisfactory conclusion and recognised him as Amir on three conditions: the Amir would have no political relations with any foreign Power except the British; the districts of Pishin and Sibi were to remain under British control; the Amir would receive an annual subsidy. The demand for maintaining a British Resident at Kabul was given up.

New complications were, however, created by Ayub Khan, a son of Sher Ali, who held Herat under his control. He defeated a British force at Maiwand in July, 1880, and compelled the survivors to take shelter within the walls of Qandahar. General Roberts marched from Kabul to Qandahar —a distance of more than 200 miles in a hilly country—in 20 days, relieved the besieged garrison, and routed Ayub Khan's army. Ayub Khan was finally vanquished by Abdur Rahman. Lytton's plan of partitioning Afghanistan was abandoned. The whole of the country passed under Abdur Rahman's rule, and all British troops were withdrawn.

Unjustifiable alarm and injudicious haste might have been the root causes of the Second Afghan War, but it was not as fruitless as the First Afghan War from the political and military points of view. A definite check to Russian ambition in Central Asia, the establishment of British control over the foreign relations of Afghanistan, the establishment of British suzerainty over the strategic principality of Kalat, the occupation of Quetta and Gilgit, the creation of the province of British Baluchistan (in which were incorporated the districts of Sibi and Pishin taken from the Amir)—these were solid and substantial gains.

ANGLO-RUSSIAN RIVALRY IN CENTRAL ASIA (1881-1907)

While the Second Afghan War kept the British and the Afghans busy, the Russians steadily advanced in Central Asia. The incorporation of Khokand in the Russian Empire (1876) was followed by the subjugation of the Tekke Turkomans (1881) and the fall of Merv (1884). As Merv lay within 150 miles from the Afghan frontier, a sinister significance was attached to its occupation by the Russians. Lord Ripon accepted a Russian proposal for a joint Russo-British commission to demarcate the northern boundary of Afghanistan. His successor, Lord Dufferin, had to deal with a crisis. In March, 1885, when the discussions of the joint commission had reached a deadlock, the Russians occupied Panjdeh, a village situated a hundred miles due south of Merv. War seemed imminent, but it was avoided by the good sense of the Viceroy and the Amir, both of whom refused to make a *casus belli* of Panjdeh. The disputed line of demarcation was settled by an agreement in July, 1887. The progress of Russia towards Herat was definitely checked. A meeting between the Amir and the Viceroy at Rawalpindi in 1885 established a good understanding between the two Governments.

The relations between Abdur Rahman and the British became less cordial when Lord Lansdowne succeeded Lord Dufferin (December, 1888). Lansdowne was not a tactful diplomat like his predecessor ; the Amir resented his 'dictatorial' advice regarding the internal administration of his country. The activities of the 'Forward School' also disturbed the Amir. A strategic Railway was completed up to the Bolan Pass ; general activity was evident on the Kashmir frontier—at Gilgit and Chitral. In 1892 Sir Mortimer Durand led a mission to Kabul and concluded an agreement by which the Amir engaged in future not to interfere with the Afridis, Waziris, and other frontier tribes.

In 1895 a new boundary convention was concluded with Russia. The southern boundary of the Russian Empire was fixed at the Oxus. "The boundary lines now set up by British and Russian officers on the Hindukush and by the Oxus record the first deliberate and practical attempts made by the two

European powers to stave off the contact of their incessantly expanding Asiatic empires."

Lord Elgin, the Viceroy who dealt with this matter, had to suppress a widespread frontier rising in 1897-98. British interference in the affairs of Chitral was the immediate cause of this rising, but it was really the culmination of the aggressive activities of the 'Forward School'. Peace was finally restored in this disturbed area by Lord Curzon, who gradually withdrew British troops from the tribal territory and left its defence to tribal levies. The formation of a new province—the present North-West Frontier Province—was also intended to provide for better regulation of tribal affairs.[1]

Amir Abdur Rahman died in 1901 ; he was succeeded by his son Habibullah—and no civil war broke out. The question of renewing the British treaty with the old Amir in favour of the new Amir created trouble for some time ; but a mission sent to Kabul by Lord Ampthill, the acting Viceroy, during Lord Curzon's absence on leave, renewed the treaty (March, 1905) and re-established cordial relations with Habibullah.

A new agreement with Russia was now found necessary for the reconciliation of British and Russian interests in Central Asia and Persia[2]. The growing tension between England and Germany in Europe, and the conclusion of the Franco-Russian agreement and the Anglo-French *entente* (1904), removed the political and diplomatic difficulties in the way of such an agreement. The famous Anglo-Russian Convention of 1907 was signed on August 31 ; although Lord Minto suggested that a previous discussion with the Amir was necessary and desirable, the Secretary of State, John Morley, insisted that 'the terms should only be communicated to the Amir as a settled thing'. Russia recognised that Afghanistan lay outside the sphere of her influence and engaged to conduct her relations with the Amir through the British Government. British and Russian subjects were to enjoy equal commercial privileges in Afghanistan. The Amir refused formal assent to this convention concluded behind his back, and Lord Minto himself was doubtful about its utility.

[1] See p. 618.
[2] See pp. 605-606.

ANNEXATION OF UPPER BURMA (1885-86)

If Russia threatened Britain on the north-west of India, France threatened her on the north-east. The activities of France in Indo-China led to the incorporation of Upper Burma in the British Empire.

King Mindon, who usurped the throne of Burma after the Second Burmese War, was very anxious for the recovery of Pegu ; after Lord Dalhousie's positive refusal[1] to accept his request he sent missions to Napoleon III, Emperor of France, in the vain hope that he would prevail upon the Queen and the Ministers of England to reverse the policy of the Government of India. A treaty was concluded with France after the downfall of the Second Empire. Another treaty was concluded wth Italy. The Czar of Russia refused to accept a Burmese mission, but the Shah of Persia welcomed a Burmese envoy in 1874. Mindon's persistent attempts to open diplomatic relations with foreign Powers were primarily intended to free Upper Burma from British political influence.

Mindon's internal policy was very cautious ; he wisely refrained from giving any offence to the Government of India. By two commercial treaties (1862, 1867) he offered valuable commercial privileges to British subjects trading in Burma. Towards the close of his reign, however, he refused to continue official intercourse with the British Agent at Mandalay.

Mindon was succeeded in 1878 by his son Thibaw, a youngman of 20, without any political training or administrative experience. He was not likely to be able to proceed successfully through the tangled web of British diplomacy. Lord Lytton's attempt to tighten British control on Upper Burma was overruled by the British Cabinet. Lord Ripon tried to settle the outstanding political and commercial questions by concluding a new treaty, but no agreement was found possible.

Thibaw sealed his doom by renewing political intercourse with France. In the eighties of the last century the relations between England and France were strained. England could not tolerate the extension of French influence to Upper Burma which lay very close to and within striking distance of two

[1] See p. 556.

British provinces—British Burma and Assam. In 1883 Thibaw's envoys visited Paris ; in 1884 the previous treaty with Mindon was renewed. In 1885 a new Franco-Burmese treaty was concluded. Although these treaties were nothing more than commercial agreements, the British Government scented danger. The alarm was increased when Thibaw granted the concession of some ruby mines in Upper Burma to a French Company. A dispute between a British Company (Bombay-Burma Trading Corporation) and the Burmese Government, relating to some royalties due by the former to the latter, became the *casus belli*. A British force sent by Lord Dufferin occupied Mandalay (November, 1885) almost unopposed. Thibaw surrendered. A proclamation annexing Upper Burma was issued by Lord Dufferin on January 1, 1886.

FOREIGN POLICY OF LORD CURZON

Lord Curzon (1899-1905) was undoubtedly one of the greatest pro-consuls sent by England to govern her Eastern dominions. He was the youngest of the Governors-General, excepting Lord Dalhousie ; and he resembled Lord Dalhousie as an administrator of superabundant energy. He had travelled widely and acquired first hand experience about Asiatic countries before his assumption of the Viceregal office. He was gifted with literary brilliance, eloquence, and imagination. His autocratic temperament and the impatient haste which characterised his work made him unpopular in India and minimised the value of his reforms. He was a typical benevolent despot, looking forward to the welfare of the millions entrusted by Providence to his care, but unable to reconcile himself with their new-born political aspirations. After his departure from India he played a distinguished part in the political life of England, and he missed the Premiership—the *summum bonum* of his political ambition—mainly because he was a Peer.

We have already referred to Lord Curzon's policy towards the frontier tribes and the Amir of Afghanistan. Persia next claimed his attention. After the failure of the siege of Herat (1838) the Persians continued their efforts to capture that strategic city. Their encroachments in this direction resulted in a short Anglo-Persian War in 1856-57.

The next chapter in the history of British relations with Persia opened with the question of the Persian Gulf. To Britain control over this Gulf was a vital necessity ; the safety of the Indian Empire required that this narrow sea, or any part of its coast, should not fall under the influence of any other European power. But Britain's right to control this important region was contested by France, Russia, Germany and Turkey. Lord Curzon adopted a strong attitude and defeated several attempts made by these Powers to establish themselves on the coast of the Persian Gulf. The Anglo-Russian Convention of 1907 divided Persia into two spheres of influence: northern Persia under Russia and south-eastern Persia under England. Formally, however, both England and Russia engaged to respect the integrity and political independence of Persia.

From Persia we turn to Tibet. This nominal dependency of China was really an independent theocracy, the supreme ruler being a priest known as the *Dalai Lama*. The history of British relations with this secluded country begins in the days of Warren Hastings, who sent Bogle to Tibet. In 1887 the Tibetans invaded Sikim ; they were repulsed by a British force. Boundary conventions and commercial agreements concluded in 1890 and 1893 were quietly ignored by the Tibetans. On the eve of Lord Curzon's assumption of office the *Dalai Lama* fell under the influence of a Russian named Dorjieff and it was rumoured that Russia had secured some special rights in Tibet by a secret treaty with China. Lord Curzon secured the consent of the British Cabinet to send a mission to Tibet. Colonel Younghusband reached Lhasa in August, 1904, and concluded a treaty which provided for the opening of commercial marts and also for the payment of an indemnity by the Tibetans. Although Younghusband unveiled Lhasa, the political value of the agreement concluded by him hardly justified the spectacular publicity accorded to his journey. By the Anglo-Russian Convention of 1907 both England and Russia engaged to conduct their political relations with Tibet through China and to refrain from interfering in the internal administration of Tibet and also from acquiring any part of Tibetan territory.

THIRD AFGHAN WAR (1919)

Amir Habibullah was murdered in February, 1910, and was succeeded by his son Amanullah. The new Amir made a departure from the wise policy laid down by his grandfather; he invaded British territory. The Third Afghan War was short and swift. Peace was restored by the treaty of Rawalpindi (August, 1919) which was confirmed by another treaty concluded in November, 1921. Afghanistan now secured her freedom from British control in external affairs and became a fully sovereign state. The British Government agreed to receive an Afghan envoy in London and to appoint a British minister in Kabul. A commercial agreement was concluded in 1923.

Amanullah's hasty attempt to modernise Afghanistan resulted in his abdication in 1929. The throne was seized by an adventurer named Bachai Saqao, who was soon overthrown by Nadir, an ex-officer of the late Amir. The British Government remained strictly neutral during the revolution; after the restoration of order Nadir Shah was recognised as Amir.

SECTION II

ADMINISTRATION AND CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT

LORD CANNING (1856-62)

After the suppression of the Revolt of 1857 Lord Canning's attention was naturally devoted to the restoration of order and peace through sympathetic ameliorative measures. In this respect, however, his work was obstructed by the bitter criticism of non-official Europeans, who attributed all evils to his 'blindness, weakness, and incapacity'. The aggressive spirit of the European merchants found expression in the notorious indigo disputes in Bengal.

The deficits caused by the Revolt of 1857 necessitated a reorganization of the financial system. The work was begun by James Wilson, a British Treasury expert sent to India in 1859. After his untimely death it was continued by Samuel Laing, who was sent from England to succeed him as the Finance Member of the Governor-General's Council. Wilson

introduced the Income Tax and established a uniform import tariff of ten per cent. His plan for a convertible paper currency and his schemes for retrenchment were given effect to by Laing.

It was widely recognised that the Permanent Settlement had adversely affected the interests of the tenants. In 1858 the Court of Directors declared that "the rights of the Bengal ryots had passed away *sub silentio*, and they had become, to all intents and purposes, tenants-at-will". The Rent Act of 1859, which was applicable to Bengal, Bihar, Agra and the Central Provinces, but not to Oudh or the Punjab, conferred on the ryot right of occupancy under certain conditions. Its good effects were largely nullified by litigation initiated by the Zamindars.

In Lord Canning's time the work of codification[1] begun by Macaulay about three decades ago came to a successful completion. The Indian Penal Code was enacted in 1860. The Criminal Procedure Code appeared in 1861. In the same year the old Supreme Courts and Company's *Adalats* were replaced by chartered High Courts in each Presidency.

THE INDIAN COUNCILS ACT, 1861

The Legislature[2] created by the Charter Act of 1853 had assumed a tone of independent criticism towards the Executive. The autocratic Dalhousie supported this assertion of legislative independence, but Sir Charles Wood, who was then President of the Board of Control, was not prepared to allow the transformation of the Legislative Council into 'an Anglo-Indian House of Commons'. Lord Canning, who resented criticism, agreed with him. So it was felt that steps should be taken to confine the Council specifically to legislation. At the same time there was a reaction against the centralisation of the legislative machinery. The Governments of Madras and Bombay were put into considerable inconvenience by the loss of legislative authority. Some decentralisation of the legislative system was urgently called for. Another reason for remodelling the system of legislation was the necessity of admitting some representative and influential Indians into the Legislative Council. Sir

[1] See p. 576.
[2] See p. 577.

Charles Wood pointed out that such a step 'will tend more to conciliate to our rule the minds of Natives of high rank'. After the Revolt of 1857 the conciliation of the 'Natives of high rank' was an urgent political necessity.

The Indian Councils Act of 1861 provided that the function of the Legislative Council should be confined strictly to legislation: it would have no control over administration or finance, no right of interpellation. The Governments of Madras and Bombay regained their legislative power. There was no demarcation between Central and Provincial subjects, but all Provincial laws were subject to the veto of the Governor-General. Legislative Councils were established in Bengal, the North-Western Provinces (now called the United Provinces) and the Punjab in 1862, 1886 and 1897. Thirdly, the Councils of the Governor-General and the Governors of Madras and Bombay were expanded for legislative purposes by the appointment by nomination of additional members, half of whom were to be non-officials. No statutory provision was made for the admission of Indians, but in practice some of the non-official seats were offered to 'Natives of high rank'. The Governor-General was empowered, in cases of emergency, to make, without the concurrence of the Legislative Council, ordinances which were not to remain in force for more than six months.

The Act of 1861 also introduced the portfolio system in the Government of India. Up to the time of Lord Canning the theory was that the Government of India was a Government by the entire body of the Executive Council; so all business and all official papers had to be brought to the notice of all members of the Council. This system was very inconvenient. In pursuance of the power conferred on the Governor-General by the Act of 1861 Lord Canning divided the departments of Government between the members of the Council. "Thereby were laid the foundations of Cabinet Government in India, . . . each branch of the Administration having its official head and spokesman in the Government, who was responsible for its administration and its defence."

SIR JOHN LAWRENCE (1864-69)

Lawrence came to the Viceregal office with a great reputation as an administrator. In this exalted office he revealed two

defects. In the first place, he paid so much attention to details that he could not do his duty as a supervisor of general administration. Secondly, he was 'never able to shake off the habits of the Punjab officials of old days, and admittedly was too indifferent to the ordinary daily maintenance of the dignity of his great office'. He paid great attention to Railways, irrigation, and roads, and continued Dalhousie's policy in this respect. By two Tenancy Acts he extended to the tenants of Oudh and the Punjab rights similar to those enjoyed by the tenants of Bengal under Canning's Act of 1859.

LORD MAYO (1869-72)

Lawrence left to his successor a large deficit. Lord Mayo was, therefore, compelled to start his career as a financial reformer. Supported by experienced officers like Sir Richard Temple and Sir John Strachey, he increased the Income Tax as well as the salt duties and introduced a new distribution of income between the Central and the Local Governments. So long all grants by the Central Government to the Local Governments were definitely ear-marked for special purposes, so that any amount saved by the latter had to be returned to the former. This severe restriction on the discretion of the Local Governments was now removed. They were now to receive a fixed yearly grant (subject to revision every five years) which they could spend according to their discretion within certain carefully defined limits. One of the criticisms levelled against the new system is that it compelled Provincial Governments to impose new taxes—mostly cesses on land—and thereby increased the general burden of taxation.

Lord Mayo organised the first general census of India (1871) and created a department of agriculture and commerce in the Government of India.

RELATIONS WITH INDIAN STATES

We have already referred to the Queen's assurance to the Indian Princes and also to the withdrawal of the 'Doctrine of Lapse'[1].

[1] See pp. 592-593.

In the time of Lord Northbrook Malhar Rao Gaikwar of Baroda was arrested (1875) and tried by a Commission on the charge of trying to poison the Resident at his Court. The Commissioners being equally divided on the question of his guilt, the Government of India did not formally convict him, but he was deposed for 'his notorious misconduct, his gross misgovernment of the State, and his evident incapacity to carry into effect necessary reforms'.

In 1876 the Royal Titles Act, passed by the British Parliament at the instance of Disraeli, authorised the Queen to alter her title in India. On January 1, 1877, she was proclaimed as Queen Empress[1] in 'a durbar of unsurpassed magnificence' presided over by Lord Lytton. The assumption of this new title by the Queen brought the Indian States within the boundary of the British Empire. The Princes ceased to be allies; they became vassals.

In 1881 Lord Ripon restored the Maharaja of Mysore to power and withdrew British administration from that State. This was done in accordance with a decision reached in 1867. After half a century of direct British rule this premier State was restored to its old position.

In 1886 Lord Dufferin conciliated Sindhia by restoring to him the fort of Gwalior.

Lord Lansdowne had to suppress a revolt in Manipur. A disputed succession in this petty State led to the decision that Tikendrajit, the local commander-in-chief, should be exiled. A British officer who went to Manipur to control the situation was publicly beheaded (1891). Within a short time Tikendrajit was hanged and the administration was placed in charge of the Resident.

Lord Lansdowne also compelled the Khan of Kalat to abdicate in favour of his son.

Lord Curzon gave the finishing touch to Lord Dalhousie's policy[2] of incorporating Berar within British India. The Nizam was persuaded to hand over this province to the Government of India 'under the fiction of a perpetual lease, so as to preserve

[1] The Indian Independence Act of 1947 led to the renunciation of the Imperial title by the ruler of England, who became King of the Dominions of India and Pakistan. See p. 648.

[2] See p. 572.

the nominal sovereignty of Hyderabad.' In 1926 Lord Reading reminded the Nizam that 'the right of the British Government to intervene in the internal affairs of Indian States is another instance of the consequences necessarily involved in the supremacy of the British Crown'.

The plan for uniting the Indian Princes in a Council was first formed by Lord Curzon and later developed by Lord Minto, Lord Hardinge and Lord Chelmsford. The Montagu-Chelmsford Report made a definite recommendation for the creation of 'a permanent consultative body'. The Chamber of Princes was inaugurated by a Royal Proclamation on February 8, 1921. The lapse of British Paramountcy[1] has now resulted in the abolition of the Chamber of Princes.

The tightening of British control over the Princes since the transfer of India to the British Crown had an important consequence. They became, as Lord Curzon pointed out, 'the colleagues and partners' of the British rulers of India. In other words, to quote Mahatma Gandhi, the Princes became 'British officers in Indian dress'. As a result of their transformation into 'an integral factor in the Imperial organisation of India' they gradually lost their contact with their people ; they were found more 'on the polo-ground, or on the race-course, or in the European hotel' than by the side of their suffering subjects. Some wise British administrators foresaw the inevitable effects of this growing estrangement between the Princes and the people. One Viceroy after another—from Lord Lansdowne to Lord Linlithgow—warned the Princes that their States should be well-governed. The spirit underlying these warnings was quite in harmony with the system of patriarchal government which prevailed in British India till the early years of the present century ; but as a result of the gradual introduction of political reforms in British India that oft-repeated insistence on good government in the States became an anachronism. Although the people of the States began to demand political reforms on the model of British India, the British Government deliberately left the Princes free to continue the medieval system of autocracy as long as they remained submissive to their British masters.

[1] See p. 644.

In 1928 a Committee presided over by Sir Harcourt Butler enquired into the relationship between the Paramount Power and the Indian States. The Simon Commission suggested that in framing a federal constitution for India the States should not be ignored. The Princes joined the Round Table Conferences, and the Government of India Act, 1935, made the establishment of Federation conditional upon their accession.[1]

FAMINES

A succession of famines constitutes one of the darkest features of the history of the post-Mutiny period. A terrible famine desolated Agra, the Punjab, Rajputana and Cutch in 1861. In 1866 the victim was Orissa. Sir John Lawrence miserably failed to deal with the situation. In 1873-74 a less serious famine visited Bihar and parts of Bengal; Sir Richard Temple conducted the relief operations with credit. Large areas in Mysore, in the Madras and Bombay Presidencies, in the Central and United Provinces, and also some parts of the Punjab suffered terribly in the famine of 1876-78. The Government of Madras committed many mistakes, and Lord Lytton was not very successful in relieving distress. The famine of 1896-97, 'believed to have been the most severe ever known', desolated the United Provinces, the Central Provinces, Bihar and some parts of the Punjab. In 1900 Gujarat suffered from a serious famine. Lord Curzon set up a Famine Commission which reported in 1901 and suggested measures for the prevention of famine.

LORD LYTTON (1876-1880)

Lord Lytton's internal administration was hardly less unpopular than his Afghan policy. The Vernacular Press Act of 1878 put stringent restrictions on the liberty of the Press; but these restrictions were not applicable to journals conducted in English. This reactionary legislation was the product of Lord Lytton's irritation at the bitter criticism of his foreign policy in the Indian Press. His failure to deal with the famine of 1876-78, and his absorption in a magnificent *Durbar* at a time

[1] See p. 627.

when millions were dying of hunger and disease, made him deservedly unpopular with the Indian people. The financial reforms of Sir John Strachey were important steps towards the introduction of Free Trade in India. The creation of the Statutory Civil Service (1879) was intended to give Indians a chance to occupy important posts in the higher administrative service, but the measure proved a failure. It was abolished eight years later.

LORD RIPON (1880-1884)

Lord Ripon's period of office, like that of Lord William Bentinck, deserves to be remembered as an era when victories in peace were deliberately preferred to victories in war. Lord Ripon was every inch a typical mid-Victorian Liberal. A loyal political disciple of Gladstone, he was far more interested in dull administrative reforms than in a spirited foreign policy. In him the benevolent despotism characteristic of British rule in India in the nineteenth century reached its climax.

In finance, the result of the policy pursued by Sir John Strachey in the time of Lord Lytton became evident in the time of Lord Ripon. In spite of the Second Afghan War, there was no deficit. Advantage was taken of the increasing revenue to carry to its logical conclusion the Free Trade policy pursued by Northbrook and Lytton. Evelyn Baring (afterwards Lord Cromer) ably managed the department of finance. Lord Ripon tried to secure the immunity of the tenant from enhancement of rent except on the sole ground of a rise in prices, but he was overruled by the Secretary of State.

Lord Ripon abolished the Vernacular Press Act, took a general census of India, excluding Nepal and Kashmir, in 1881, appointed a commission under the presidency of Sir William Hunter to inquire into the condition of education, and introduced legislation to regulate and improve the conditions of labour in Indian factories. All these measures made him very popular with the Indian people ; but his popularity reached its climax in connection with the agitation over the Ilbert Bill. Mr. C. P. Ilbert, Law Member of Lord Ripon's Council, prepared a Bill which sought to remove from the Code of Criminal Procedure 'every judicial disqualification based merely on race

distinctions' by bringing European British subjects under the jurisdiction of Indian magistrates and judges. This simple administrative measure excited the racial feelings of the Europeans who violently protested against any alteration in the existing law. This produced a reaction among the Indians, who discovered in the Bill a charter of racial equality. Lord Ripon became very unpopular with the Europeans ; he had to bow before the storm. The principle of the Bill was abandoned ; although Indian magistrates and judges were given the right of exercising jurisdiction over European British subjects, the privileged position of the latter found expression in their right to claim trial by European jurors.

BEGINNINGS OF LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT

The first attempt to establish a municipal organisation outside the Presidency towns was made in 1842. Before the Revolt of 1857 municipal institutions were established in many British Indian towns. In most cases, however, the municipal commissioners were nominated by the Government ; there was yet no question of making them dependent on popular suffrage.

In 1870 Lord Mayo took a decisive step towards the establishment of local self-governing institutions. A Resolution of the Government of India declared : ". . . local interest, supervision, and care are necessary to success in the management of funds devoted to education, sanitation, medical charity and local public works. The operation of this Resolution . . . . will afford opportunities for the development of self-government, for strengthening municipal institutions, and for the association of Natives and Europeans to a greater extent than heretofore in the administration of affairs." This Resolution led to the passing of new Municipal Acts and the establishment of new municipalities in different provinces.

In 1882 Lord Ripon extended and liberalised Lord Mayo's policy. His aim was 'to advance and promote the political and popular education of the people and to induce the best and most intelligent men in the community to come forward and take a share in the management of their own local affairs and to guide and train them in the attainment of that important object." Acts were passed in 1883-84, which extended the elective

principle and brought the municipalities under partial popular control. Lord Ripon's system remained in force till 1915, when Lord Hardinge introduced some important changes.

In the rural areas Lord Ripon established Local Boards and District Boards. Emphasis was laid on the elective principle, and it was felt that 'the necessary Government control . . . . should be exercised rather from without than from within'. Acts were passed in 1883-85 in different provinces creating rural Boards, which were based on the same general principle.

THE INDIAN COUNCILS ACT, 1892

The Indian Councils Act of 1861 had provided some scope for some eminent Indians to participate in the important work of legislation. But as the work of the Legislatures was confined to legislation alone, they had very little scope to improve the condition of the country. Demands for the extension of the functions of the Legislatures and also for the expansion of the elective principle were made by the Indian National Congress founded in 1885. A Committee was appointed to deal with this matter in the time of Lord Dufferin. Upon the deliberations of this Committee was based the Indian Councils Act of 1892, which was passed by the British Government at the instance of Lord Cross, Secretary of State for India. It was provided that the number of the additional members of the Governor-General's Council must not be less than ten or more than sixteen. The number of the additional members in the Provincial Legislative Councils was also raised. All the additional members were to be nominated by the Government, as before ; but the rules framed under the Act conferred on local bodies like the municipalities and the District Boards the right to nominate members for vacant seats in the Provincial Legislative Councils. This indirect recognition of the principle of election was a measure of great constitutional significance. In two respects the rights of the members of the Legislatures were increased. They were entitled to express their views upon financial statements which were henceforth to be made on the floor of the Legislatures, although they were not empowered to move resolutions or divide the House in respect of any financial question. Secondly, they were empowered to put

questions within certain limits to the Government on matters of public interest.

The Act of 1892 failed to satisfy the Nationalists. It was very ably criticised at successive sessions of the Congress. But the Legislatures functioning under this Act were joined by eminent Indian leaders like Gopal Krishna Gokhale, Asutosh Mookherjee, Rash Behari Ghosh and Surendra Nath Banerjee. Their eloquence and political wisdom amply demonstrated the Parliamentary capacity and patriotism of the educated Indians.

LORD CURZON (1899-1905)

Lord Curzon's zeal for adminstrative reforms found vent through many channels. He appointed commissions to inquire into the defects of existing systems and methods and promptly gave effect to their recommendations. Some improvements were introduced into the Police system. The miserable condition of the tenants did not escape Lord Curzon's attention. The Punjab Land Alienation Act (1900) sought to protect the cultivators of that province from eviction by crafty money-lenders. The revenue Resolutions of 1902 and 1905 regulated the enhancement of rent by the Government. Co-operative Credit Societies were founded to provide cultivators with capital at a nominal rate of interest. An Inspector-General of Agriculture was appointed and an Imperial Agricultural Department was founded with a view to put primitive Indian agriculture on a scientific basis. The whole irrigation system was put on an improved basis. A new impetus was given to the Railway programme ; about 6,000 miles of new lines were constructed. A new Department of Commerce and Industry was created ; it was put under the charge of a sixth member of the Executive Council.

Students of Indian History and Archæology must remain grateful to Lord Curzon for the measures he adopted for preserving ancient buildings and monuments. But his attempt to solve the problem of education made him very unpopular among Indians. The Indian Universities Act of 1904 was intended by him 'to raise the standard of education all round, and particularly of higher education' ; but Indian public opinion suspected that its purpose was to bring the universities and the colleges under official control.

Lord Curzon created two new Provinces for the convenience of administration. The trans-Indus districts of the Punjab were joined with the tribal territories under British control to form the North-West Frontier Province, which was placed under a Chief Commissioner directly responsible to the Government of India. It was a wise measure[1], but the Partition of Bengal (1905) was different. Lord Curzon divided Bengal into two parts: the eastern and northern districts were joined with Assam to form the new Province of Eastern Bengal and Assam, and the western districts were joined with Bihar and Orissa to constitute the Province of Bengal. The people of Bengal bitterly resented this attempt to create an artificial political boundary between them; the revocation of the Partition became the battle cry of the Nationalists. Bengal was re-united in 1911.

Military reforms interested Lord Curzon as much as administrative reforms. The transport system of the army was re-organized. New arms and guns were provided. In 1901 the Imperial Cadet Corps was founded; it consisted of youngmen of aristocratic descent. A disagreement with Lord Kitchener, the then Commander-in-Chief, on the question of military administration led to Lord Curzon's resignation in 1905, for the Secretary of State supported Lord Kitchener.

THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

The spread of western education lies at the bottom of India's political awakening. Intimate acquaintance with progressive writers like Burke, Macaulay, Bentham, Mill, Herbert Spencer and Comte changed the outlook of the new generations which arose after the establishment of British supremacy. Leaders of Indian religious and social thought, like Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Keshab Chandra Sen, Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar, Dayananda Saraswti and Swami Vivekananda created in the Indian mind a desire for emancipation. Economic troubles—the indigo disputes in Bengal and the frequent outbreak of famine in many parts of India—and administrative abuses gradually convinced intelligent Indians that self-government was not a luxury but a necessity. The rise of Japan filled the East with new hopes and aspirations.

[1] See p. 603.

The Revolt of 1857 undoubtedly estranged Europeans from Indians in this country; this estrangement found a new lease of life as a result of the bitter agitation over the Ilbert Bill. "The passionate claim of the European to predominance", says Dodwell, "was to be answered by the passionate claim of the Indian to equality." The Indian National Congress, which owes its origin to the initiative of a benevolent British civilian named Allan Octavian Hume, met for the first time in Bombay on December 27, 1885, under the presidency of a great Bengali lawyer, Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee. In the early stage of its development the Congress received the support of some prominent officials, but within a short time the Government of India began to look upon it with suspicion. Sir Sayyid Ahmad, the founder of the 'Aligarh Movement', at first kept aloof from, then became definitely opposed to, the Congress. The aim of the Congress was to secure constitutional and representative government for India through constitutional means. This mild programme failed to satisfy the ardent patriots, and the Indian Councils Act of 1892 showed that the British Government was yet unprepared to adopt the principle of election in the constitution of the legislatures. An extremist party developed within the Congress under the leadership of Bal Gangadhar Tilak, a great son of Maharashtra, who found able assistants in Lala Lajpat Rai and Bipin Chandra Pal. The Partition of Bengal strengthened the hands of this party, and in the Surat Congress of 1907 there was an open breach between the moderate and extremist sections. Simultaneously a terrorist movement was organised in Bengal. Lord Minto took repressive measures; some prominent leaders were deported without trial. But repression was not enough, and Lord Minto knew it. With the concurrence of the Liberal Secretary of State, Lord Morley, he adopted a policy of kicks and kisses.

THE COMMUNAL PROBLEM

While the Congress was growing stronger as the exponent of national freedom, the Muslims generally kept themselves aloof from it. According to Coupland, 'the indifference, if not antagonism', of the Muslims towards the nationalist movement was due to their 'relative backwardness in education, coupled with the knowledge that they were only about one-quarter of

the Indian population as a whole'. Their 'indifference', at its initial stage, was largely due to the policy advocated by Sir Syed Ahmad. It gradually became something like 'antagonism' when the British Bureaucracy, alarmed at the growing influence of the Congress as 'a mighty nationaliser', deliberately adopted the policy of *divide et impera*. The first official expression of this policy may be noticed in Lord Minto's reply to a deputation of Muslim leaders led by the Aga Khan in 1906. He promised them what is known as 'Separate Electorate' and assured them that "their political rights and interests as a *community* will be safeguarded." The importance of this attempt to drive a wedge between the Hindus and the Muslims was clearly realised by the British Bureaucracy. A British official wrote to Lady Minto: "A work of statesmanship that will affect India and Indian history for many a long year. It is nothing less than the pulling back of sixty-two millions of people from joining the ranks of the seditious opposition". Lord Morley emphasized the deep-rooted differences between Hinduism and Islam. He said, "It is a difference in life, in tradition, in history, in all the social things as well as articles of belief that constitute a community. . . ."

THE MORLEY-MINTO REFORMS (1907-1909)

The 'seditious opposition' was, however, too strong to be broken up by the 'antagonism' of a microscopic minority of politically conscious Muslims. So Lord Morley and Lord Minto decided to introduce a further instalment of reforms. In 1907 two Indians (Sir K. G. Gupta and Syed Hussain Bilgrami) were admitted to the Council of India. In 1909 Sir S. P. (later Lord) Sinha was appointed to the Governor-General's Executive Council as Law Member. Then followed the Indian Councils Act, 1909, which introduced important constitutional changes. The size of the Legislatures was increased. The number of additional members of the Governor-General's Council was now raised, at the maximum, to 60. The maximum number of additional members for the Legislative Councils of the Punjab and Burma was fixed at 30 and for the other Provinces at 50. The principle of election was at last frankly accepted. In the Imperial Legislative Council a standing official majority was maintained; in the Provincial Councils the non-officials (elected

and nominated) constituted the majority. Only Bengal secured elected majority in her Legislative Council. The good effects of these provisions were largely nullified by the introduction of 'Separate Electorate' which widened the political gulf between the Hindus and the Muslims.

The introduction of 'Separate Electorate' and some anomalies connected with the franchise provoked the criticism of the Congress, which for the time being overlooked the more fundamental defects in the Morley-Minto scheme. Lord Minto made it clear that representative government of the Western type was not suitable for India. Lord Morley was not prepared to see India 'on the footing of a self-governing colony'. Thus the fundamental principle behind the Morley-Minto Reforms made no concession to the Congress demand for self-government within the British Empire.

The Montagu-Chelmsford Report points out the illogical and ineffective character of the Morley-Minto Reforms and suggests several causes for their failure. "There was no general advance in local bodies ; no real setting free of provincial finance ; and in spite of some progress no widespread admission of Indians in greater number into the public service". The Government of India did not relax their control over the Provincial Governments ; so the sphere in which the Provincial Legislative Councils could affect the Governments' actions was closely circumscribed. The steady growth of national consciousness increased the demand for effective political power.

THE FIRST WORLD WAR (1914-18)

Although the outbreak of war in Europe in August, 1914, had no immediate connection with the defence of India, yet as a part of the British Empire India automatically became involved in it, and she made splendid contributions to victory. Not only did she send troops and munitions ; she took up responsibility for one hundred millions of the war debt. Lord Birkenhead declared, "Without India the war would have been immensely prolonged, if indeed without her help it could have been brought to a victorious conclusion."

The War gave a new impetus to Indian political aspirations. Mrs. Annie Besant established the Home Rule League

in September, 1916. The Lucknow session of the Congress, held in December, 1916, healed the breach between the moderate and the extremist sections. In the same year the Congress and the Muslim League formulated a joint scheme of reforms. The League had already renounced its reactionary policy by declaring that its aim was 'the attainment of self-government for India along with the other communities' (March, 1913). In 1916 the Congress placated the Muslim League by accepting the system of 'Separate Electorate'. The concessions made by the Congress were, says Coupland, 'far more substantial concessions than the Moslems had been given by Morley and Minto to secure their acquiescence in the Reforms of 1909'. The Lucknow Pact, which thus brought the Congress and the Muslim League together in the same camp, was 'the most striking expression of Indian nationalism so far achieved'.

Towards the close of the War the anti-British feeling in India reached its climax. The Report of the Rowlatt Committee on Sedition revealed the existence of a net-work of terrorist organisations. The special legislation introduced to crush these organisations evoked strong protests from all sections of Indian opinion and outbreak of local disturbances led to the notorious Jallianwalla Bagh Massacre. The Khalifat question, *i.e.*, the fate of Turkey, created grave discontent in the Muslim community, and under the leadership of the Ali brothers the Muslims joined the Congress and the Non-co-operation movement started by Mahatma Gandhi. A British writer observes, "The wave of unrest which swept through the country after the War was totally unlike any of the earlier periods of agitation . . . . The new phase of nationalism was broad enough to include the Moslems and sufficiently popular to attract the masses."

THE MONTAGU-CHELMSFORD REFORMS (1917-19)

The growing strength of the nationalist movement made it necessary for the British Government to listen to the demands of the Congress. There was, as yet, no question of struggle, violent or non-violent, for the achievement of Swaraj ; self-government was expected to come through 'progressive improvement in our mental, moral and material condition'. But the united front presented by the Indian leaders and the part

played by India in the War led the British Government to survey the Indian problem, in Asquith's words, 'from a new angle of vision'. The conclusion formed by the British Government was thus put in the Montagu-Chelmsford Report: "Indians must be enabled in so far as they attain responsibility to determine for themselves what they want done."

On Auguust 20, 1917, Mr. E. S. Montagu, Secretary of State for India, declared in the House of Commons: "The policy of His Majesty's Government, with which the Government of India are in full accord, is that of the increasing association of Indians in every branch of the administration and the gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realisation of responsible Government in India as an integral part of the British Empire." This Declaration was 'revolutionary' in the sense that it promised responsible government; it was a repudiation of the Morley-Minto policy. It was 'a declaration of belief in the philosophy of liberalism'. It was based on the idea that liberty alone fits men for liberty. But the machinery devised in accordance with this 'belief in the philosophy of liberalism' was hardly calculated to pave the way for liberty.

The Secretary of State came to India in November, 1917, and discussed his scheme of reforms with the Viceroy, Lord Chelmsford, and some eminent British civil servants and Indian politicians. The results of these discussions were embodied in the Montagu-Chelmsford Report, which was published in July, 1918. The Government of India Act of 1919 was based on that Report.

This Act set up for British India a Legislature consisting of the Governor-General and two chambers—the Council of State and the Legislative Assembly. The Council of State consisted of 60 members, 26 being nominated by the Governor-General, 34 elected. The Legislative Assembly consisted of 145 members, of whom 105 were elected and the rest nominated. Although the Montagu-Chelmsford Report declared that communal 'Separate Electorate' was 'a very serious hindrance to the development of the self-governing principle', yet the Morley-Minto system was not abandoned. Thus 'Separate Electorate' came to be a permanent feature of Indian political life. The Governor-General retained his power of legislating

through ordinances. The Executive remained outside the control of the Legislature, which, however, secured some control over the purse.

As regards the Provincial Legislatures, the Act provided that at least 70 per cent. of the members must be elected, and that not more than 20 per cent. of the total membership should be officials. The principle of 'Separate Electorate' was, of course, retained. The Provincial Executive was to consist of two halves—the Reserved Departments under the control of the Governor and the Executive Councillors, who were not to be responsible to the Legislature, and the Transferred Departments under the control of the Governor and the Ministers, who were to be responsible to the Legislature. This was known as 'Dyarchy'.

Of all the defects of the Act of 1919 from the nationalist point of view particular attention may be directed to 'Dyarchy', absence of even partial responsible government at the Centre, and consolidation of 'Separate Electorate'. 'Dyarchy' was too complicated to be smoothly worked. The Central Legislature harassed the Executive because it could not control or influence it. The perpetuation of 'Separate Electorate' made it difficult for Hindus and Muslims to work together in the political field and steadily destroyed the communal harmony arising out of the Khilafat Movement.

The Act of 1919 was accepted by the 'Moderates' to whom the mere recognition of India's 'eventual' right to self-government was a great step forward, but it was rejected by the Congress. A wing of the Congress, called the Swarajist Party, entered the Legislatures under the leadership of *Desabandhu* C. R. Das and Pandit Motilal Nehru with the purpose of wrecking the constitution from within.

THE NON-CO-OPERATION MOVEMENT

The Mont-Ford Reforms synchronised with a decisive stage in the evolution of the Congress from a constitutional body to a revolutionary organisation. The impact of the War, the tragedy of Amritsar, the Khilafat Movement which temporarily bridged the gulf between the Hindus and the Muslims—all these created a new situation and demanded a complete reorientation of policy and methods. *Mahatma* Gandhi brought from

South Africa a spirit of direct struggle and a technique (*Satyāgraha*) which, he claimed, never failed. The Congress was infected, and the fundamental change in its character was reflected in the first article of the constitution adopted in 1921: "The object of the Indian National Congress is the attainment of Swarajya by the people of India by all legitimate and peaceful means." Self-government *within* the British Empire was no longer the goal, 'though it was not expressly ruled out', and the goal was no longer to be attained solely through 'progressive improvement in our mental, moral and material condition' or through 'constitutional' means.

This great change in the outlook of the Congress was reflected in the Non-co-operation Movement of 1921 led by Mahatma Gandhi. Although it failed to serve any immediate purpose, it succeeded in drawing the masses within the fold of the Congress.

GENESIS OF THE ACT OF 1935

The opposition to the Act of 1919 became gradually stronger and more effective. In 1924 the Central Legislative Assembly demanded a Round Table Conference for framing a constitution for India. Owing to the policy of obstruction pursued by the Swarajist Party no stable Ministry could be formed in some Provinces. The widespread discontent in India could not be neglected by the British Government. In 1927 the British Cabinet appointed a Commission of seven members under the presidency of Sir John Simon to inquire into the problem of constitutional reform in India. The appointment of an all-white Commission raised strong protests from all quarters in India, and the Congress refused to co-operate with it. An All-Parties Conference under the presidency of Pandit Motilal Nehru drafted a constitution for India which, however, proved unacceptable to the Muslim League. Although this Conference recommended Dominion Status for India in order to secure the greatest common measure of agreement between the participating political groups, yet the Congress changed its ideal to complete independence.

In spite of the boycott organised by the Congress the Simon Commission carried on its investigations which were

summarised in its Report. The Commission suggested that the constitutional problem of India should be discussed at a Round Table Conference. This suggestion was accepted by the British Premier, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, in October, 1929. In the same month the Viceroy, Lord Irwin, declared that he was "authorised by His Majesty's Government to state clearly that, in their judgment, it is implicit in the Declaration of 1917 that the natural issue of India's constitutional progress, as there contemplated, is the attainment of Dominion Status".

The first session of the Round Table Conference met in London in November, 1930. Instead of joining it the Congress launched a Civil Disobedience Movement under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi. The second session of the Round Table Conference (autumn of 1931) was attended by Mahatma Gandhi as the sole representative of the Congress, for he had concluded a pact with Lord Irwin in the mean time. The third session of the Round Table Conference met in 1932. The Conference was attended by the representatives of all important political groups in India, of the rulers of the Indian States, and of the three political parties of England. Its deliberations might be more useful and practical had it been a smaller and homogeneous body. The emergence of the Federal idea—the idea of creating an Indian Federation consisting of the British Indian Provinces and the Indian States—was the only tangible achievement. Mahatma Gandhi's appeal to trust the Congress found no response from the British Government, and his failure to solve the communal problem owing, it is said, to the intransigence of some Muslim leaders secretly supported by the Europeans led to Ramsay MacDonald's Communal Award. Thus the system invented by Lord Minto in 1906 was consolidated and extended in 1932. The Communal Award was later on partially modified by the Poona Pact, which was accepted by the Hindu leaders as a result of Mahatma Gandhi's fast to prevent a political breach between the so-called 'Caste Hindus' and 'Scheduled Caste Hindus'.

THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA ACT, 1935

On the basis of the discussions in the Round Table Conference the British Government prepared a White Paper (1933),

which later on formed the nucleus of the Government of India Act, 1935. This Act was piloted in the House of Commons by the Secretary of State for India, Sir Samuel Hoare.

The complicated provisions of this Act cannot be discussed here, but its most prominent features may be noticed. It provided for the establishment of an Indian Federation made up of British Indian Provinces and Indian States. In the case of the States accession to the Federation was voluntary, and the Federation could not be established until the accession of States entitled to fill not less than half the 104 seats of the Council of State and having a population of not less than 39,490,956 persons. The terms on which a State joined the Federation were to be laid down in an *Instrument of Accession*.

The Federal Executive was to be composed of the Governor-General and a Council of Ministers. The Ministers were to be chosen by him and would hold office at his pleasure. He had 'special responsibility' regarding certain specified subjects (*e.g.*, the prevention of any grave menace to the peace and tranquillity of India or any part thereof) ; in respect of these subjects he had full freedom to accept or to reject the advice of the Ministers. In certain other subjects—defence, ecclesiastical affairs, external affairs, administration of tribal areas—he was empowered to act in his 'discretion'. These subjects were to be managed by three Counsellors appointed by him. Thus Dyarchy, rejected by the Simon Commission, was deliberately installed in the Federation by the Act of 1935. In the British Indian Provinces the executive power of the Governor-General extended to all matters in respect of which the Federal Legislature could make laws, but in the Federated States it extended only to matters over which the Instrument of Accession conceded Federal control. Moreover, while some Departments of the Federation were to be managed by the Ministers, others were left under the management of the Counsellors.

Apart from the control given to the Federation by the Instrument of Accession, the rights and obligations of the Crown in respect of the Indian States remained unaffected. These rights and obligations were left in charge of the Crown Representative. The combination of the offices of Governor-General and Crown Representative was allowed.

The Federal Legislature consisted of the King (represented by the Governor-General), the Council of State, and the House of Assembly or Federal Assembly. The Council of State was to be a permanent body, one-third of the members retiring every three years. It was to consist of 156 members for British India and up to 104 for the States. The British Indian members were to be directly elected, the system of 'Separate Electorate' being in force ; but 6 members were to be nominated by the Governor-General. The members from the States were to be nominated by the Rulers. The Assembly was to consist of 250 representatives of British India and up to 125 members from the States. The British Indian members were to be elected, not directly by the people, but indirectly by the members of the Provincial Legislative Assemblies on the system of proportional representation with the single transferable vote. The members from the States were to be nominated by the Rulers.

As in the case of the Federation, the executive government of the Provinces was vested in the Governor, whose position was largely modelled on that of the Governor-General. He had 'special responsibility' regarding certain specified subjects (*i.e.*, the prevention of menace to the peace or tranquillity of the Province or any part thereof), and in regard to certain matters he could act in his 'discretion'. He was to be aided and advised by a Council of Ministers appointed and dismissed by him in his 'discretion'.

The composition of the Provincial Legislature naturally varied from Province to Province ; but the system of 'Separate Electorate' was everywhere in force. In all Provincial Legislative Assemblies all members were directly elected by the people. But in six Provinces (Madras, Bombay, Bengal, the United Provinces, Bihar and Assam) there was a bicameral Legislature consisting of a Legislative Council and a Legislative Assembly, and in each of these Legislative Councils a few seats were filled by the Governor through nomination.

The Chief Commissioners' Provinces remained directly under the administration of the Governor-General, and the Federal Legislature had full legislative authority over them. Burma was separated from India and given a separate constitution.

The division of legislative power is inevitable in a Federation. The Act of 1935 contained three lists—the Federal Legislative List, the Provincial Legislative List, and the Concurrent Legislative List. A Federal Court was established and given exclusive original jurisdiction in any dispute between the Federation, the Provinces, and the Federated States.

In India the Act of 1935 proved unsatisfactory to all important parties. In his Presidential Address at the Bombay session of the Congress in 1934 Babu Rajendra Prasad reviewed the Act thoroughly and concentrated criticism on the system of putting the nominees of the Princes in the Federal Legislature, 'special responsibilities' and discretionary powers of the Governor-General and the Governors, addition of Second Chambers to Provincial Legislatures, and absence of any provision for 'automatic growth or development of self-government'. He said, "It will be a kind of Federation in which unabashed autocracy will sit entrenched in one-third of India and peep in every now and then to strangle popular will in the remaining two-thirds." The Muslim League condemned the Federal Scheme as 'calculated to thwart and delay indefinitely the realisation of India's most cherished goal of complete responsible government', but the Provincial Scheme was to be 'utilised for what it is worth'. The Princes became reluctant to commit themselves to a system which implied loss of autocratic privileges. So the Federal Scheme was shelved and the Provincial Scheme was put in operation in April, 1937.

GOVERNORS-GENERAL AND VICEROYS UNDER THE BRITISH CROWN

Lord Canning (November, 1858—March, 1862).[1]
Lord Elgin I (March, 1862—November, 1863).
Sir Robert Napier.[2]
Sir William Denison.
Sir John Lawrence (January, 1864—January, 1869).
Lord Mayo (January, 1869—January, 1872).

[1] Canning came to India as Governor-General under the Company in February, 1856. He became the first Viceroy of India on the transfer of India from the Company to the Crown in November, 1858.

[2] The names of those who held the post temporarily are printed in italics.

Sir John Strachey.
Lord Napier.
Lord Northbrook (May, 1872—April, 1876).
Lord Lytton (April, 1876—June, 1880).
Lord Ripon (June, 1880—December, 1884).
Lord Dufferin (December, 1884—December, 1888).
Lord Lansdowne (December, 1888—January, 1894).
Lord Elgin II (January, 1894—January, 1899).
Lord Curzon (January, 1899—November, 1905).
Lord Ampthill (April—December, 1904)[1].
Lord Minto II (November, 1905—November, 1910).
Lord Hardinge II (November, 1910—April, 1916).
Lord Chelmsford (April, 1916—April, 1921).
Lord Reading (April, 1921—April, 1926).
Lord Lytton II.[2]
Lord Irwin[3] (April, 1926—April, 1931).
Lord Goschen.[4]
Lord Willingdon (April, 1931—April, 1936).
Sir George Stanley.[5]
Lord Linlithgow (April, 1936—October, 1943).
Lord Wavell (October, 1943—March, 1947).
Lord Louis Mountbatten (March—August, 14, 1947).[6]
Sir John Colville.[7]

FOR FURTHER STUDY

Cambridge History of India, Vol. VI.
Keith, *Constitutional History of India.*
A. C. Banerjee, *Indian Constitutional Documents,* Vol. II.
Coupland, *The Constitutional Problem in India.*
P. Sitaramyya, *History of the Indian National Congress,* Vols. I-II.

[1] Officiated during Lord Curzon's absence on leave.
[2] Officiated during Lord Reading's absence on leave in 1925.
[3] Now Lord Halifax.
[4] Officiated during Lord Irwin's absence on leave in 1929.
[5] Officiated during Lord Willingdon's absence on leave in 1934.
[6] Ceased to be Viceroy according to the India Independence Act of 1947 and became Governor-General of the Dominion of India on August 15, 1947. See pp. 648-649.
[7] Officiated in December, 1946, and May, 1947, when Lord Wavell and Lord Louis Mountbatten, respectively, went to England for consultation with His Majesty's Government.

CHAPTER XXX

INDIA DIVIDED

PROVINCIAL AUTONOMY

In April, 1937, the Government India Act, 1935, was imposed on unwilling and protesting India, and Provincial Autonomy, subject to many 'safeguards' and cramped by Governor's 'special responsibilities', was introduced in 11 Provinces.[1] After the elections the Congress found itself in absolute majority in the Legislative Assemblies of five Provinces (Madras, C. P., U. P., Bihar, Orissa); in four Provinces (Bombay, N. W. F. P., Bengal, Assam) it emerged as the largest single party. The Muslim League could not secure majority in any Province. At first the Congress refused to accept office, for it was afraid that the Ministers would have no real freedom to run the administration in their own way. In June, 1937, Lord Linlithgow assured the Congress in a public statement that the Governors would not interfere in the day-to-day administration of the Provinces. The Congress then formed Ministries in seven Provinces (Bombay, Madras, U. P., Bihar, C. P., Orissa, N. W. F. P.). In 1938 the Congress joined a Coalition Ministry in Sind and a Congress Premier formed a Coalition Ministry in Assam. Thus, except Bengal and the Punjab all the Provinces practically came under Congress rule.

CONGRESS IN OPPOSITION

In September, 1939, war broke out in Europe, and India was dragged into it without any reference to public opinion. This at once revealed the width of the gulf which separated the Congress from the British Government. The Congress declared that "the issue of war and peace for India must be decided by the Indian people", declined to 'offer any co-operation in a war which was conducted on imperialistic lines and

[1] Burma was separated from India on April 1, 1937.

which was meant to consolidate Imperialism in India and elsewhere', and asked the British Government 'to declare in unequivocal terms what their war aims were in regard to Democracy and Imperialism and the new order that was envisaged'. It was also demanded that "India must be declared an independent nation, and present application must be given to this status to the largest possible extent." As the British Government made no satisfactory response, the Congress Ministries tendered their resignations. Five Provinces (Bombay, Madras, U. P., Bihar, C. P.) remained under the autocratic rule of the Governors under Section 93 of the Act of 1935 till the restoration of the Congress Ministries in 1946. In N.W.F.P. a League Ministry was formed, but it was replaced by a Congress Ministry in 1945. In Orissa Coalition Ministries were formed, but the Congress came back to power in 1946. In Assam a League Ministry was formed ; it was replaced by a Congress Ministry in 1946. In Sind and Bengal the rule of the League was consolidated, in spite of occasional victories of non-League groups. The Punjab remained under the rule of the Unionist Party till the formation of a Congress-Sikh-Unionist Coalition Ministry in 1946.

Even after the resignation of the Ministries the Congress did nothing to embarrass the Government. Mahatma Gandhi wrote, "We do not seek our independence out of Britain's ruin." In 1940 the Congress offered co-operation on terms, the chief demands being an immediate declaration of 'the full independence of India' and the formation of a Provisional National Government at the Centre. On August 8, 1940, Lord Linlithgow issued a statement in which the minorities were assured that no constitution would be framed without their consent, there was conditional recognition of the right of the Indians to frame their own constitution, and it was made clear that the constitution-making body was to be set up after the war. Mahatma Gandhi wrote that this statement 'widened the gulf between India as represented by the Congress and England'. The Congress then launched *Satyāgraha* in support of the modest demand for freedom of speech under his guidance. He decided that the campaign must not be expanded into 'mass action', for that would 'embarrass' the Government ; it was simply a 'moral protest'.

BIRTH OF PAKISTAN

In 1937 the Muslim League and its leader, Mr. M. A. Jinnah, occupied an unimportant place in Indian public life. In the elections under the Act of 1935 the League captured only 110 out of a total of 482 Muslim seats in 11 Provinces. When the Congress accepted office Mr. Jinnah declared that the Muslims 'can expect neither justice nor fair play under Congress Government'. In 1939 the League issued three documents describing 'atrocities' alleged to have been committed by Hindus on Muslims and bringing serious charges against several Congress Ministries. Sir Reginald Coupland says, "An impartial investigator would come to the conclusion that many of those charges were exaggerated or of little serious moment, . . . and that the case against the Congress Governments as deliberately pursuing an anti-Moslem policy was certainly not proved. . . . However that may be, the indictment of Congress rule was all too easily credited by the Moslem rank and file. . . ." Naturally Mr. Jinnah's popularity increased in his own community. When the Congress Ministries resigned he declared that the end of Congress rule in the Provinces should be solemnly celebrated every year by the observance of a 'Deliverance Day'.

About the same time Mr. Jinnah began to preach the theory that the Indian Muslims were a 'nation', not a mere community. In an article published in an English journal in January, 1940, he observed, "There are in India two nations who both must share the governance of their common motherland". In his Presidential address at the Lahore session of the League held in March, 1940, he emphasized the differences between Hinduism and Islam: "They are not religions in the strict sense of the word, but are, in fact, different and distinct social orders, and it is a dream that Hindus and Muslims can ever evolve a common nationality. . . . The Hindus and Muslims belong to two different religious philosophies, social customs, literatures[1]. . . To yoke together two such nations under a single State, one as a numerical minority and the other as a majority, must lead to growing discontent and final destruction

[1] Compare Lord Morley's speech in 1909. See p. 620.

of any fabric that may be so built up for the government of such a State."

So the Muslims, argued Mr. Jinnah, must have a State of their own ; they would not 'accept any constitution which must necessarily result in a Hindu-majority Government'. That State was to include the Muslim 'homeland', *i.e.*, those areas in north-west and north-east India in which the Muslims were in a majority. This idea was not a discovery of Mr. Jinnah. In 1930 Sir Muhammad Iqbal, the poet-philosopher of the Punjab, made a proposal for the amalgamation of the Punjab, the N.W.F.P., Sind and Baluchistan in a single autonomous—but not independent—State which was to form a part of a loose Federal structure. In 1933 Chaudhuri Rahmat Ali, a Punjabi Muslim student, coined the word 'Pakistan' ('Land of the Pure'). Pakistan was to be a Muslim State consisting of the Punjab (indicated by 'P'), the N.W.F.P. or the Afghan territory (indicated by 'A'), Kashmir (indicated by 'K'), Sind (indicated by 'S') and Baluchistan (indicated by 'stan'). In 1940 Chaudhuri Rahmat Ali claimed Assam and Hyderabad as integral parts of Pakistan.

In March, 1940, the Lahore session of the League passed a resolution declaring that no constitutional scheme would be acceptable to the Muslims unless it was based on the following principle : "that geographically contiguous units are demarcated into regions which should be constituted with such territorial adjustments as may be necessary, that the areas in which the Muslims are numerically in a majority, as in the north-western and eastern zones of India, should be grouped to constitute independent States in which the constituent unit shall be autonomous and sovereign". This resolution does not clearly specify the extent of Pakistan. It speaks of 'units', 'regions', 'areas', 'zones' and 'territorial adjustments' ; there is no reference to existing political or administrative units. Early in 1942 Mr. Jinnah told Professor Coupland that Pakistan would be 'a Moslem State or States comprising the N.W.F.P., the Punjab, and Sind on the one side of India and Bengal on the other'. He did not claim Baluchistan and Assam, nor did he want Kashmir and Hyderabad. In the Memorandum submitted to the Cabinet Mission on May 12, 1946, the League claimed that "the six Muslim Provinces (Punjab, N.W.F.P., Baluchistan,

Sind, Bengal, and Assam) shall be grouped together as one Group." It was never explained why Assam was described as a 'Muslim Province'.

The separatism which culminated in Pakistan has a long history behind it. References have been made already to the British policy of *divide et impera* which created a gulf between the Hindus and the Muslims by granting special concessions to the latter.[1] Special mention should be made of the system of 'Separate Electorate'. The evil effects of communal representation were so patent that even the authors of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report could not justify it. They observed, "Division by creeds and classes means the creation of political camps organized against each other, and teaches men to think as partisans and not as citizens ; and it is difficult to see how the change from this system to national representation is ever to occur". But they concluded that the pledge given to the Muslims in 1909 could not be repudiated. Mr. Ramsay MacDonald's Communal Award[2] not only confirmed but extended the system of communal representation.

THE CRIPPS MISSION (1942)

The spectacular success of Japan during the early months of 1942 forced the British Government to make a serious attempt to end the deadlock in India. On March 11, 1942, Mr. Churchill, the British Prime Minister, announced that Sir Stafford Cripps, a member of the War Cabinet, would go to India to explain certain constitutional proposals accepted by the British Government and 'to satisfy himself upon the spot, by personal consultation' that those proposals would 'achieve their purpose'. Sir Stafford Cripps arrived at Delhi on March 22, 1942, and left Karachi for London on April 13, 1942.

The Draft Declaration of the British Government contained the following proposals:

(1) "Immediately upon the cessation of hostilities steps shall be taken to set up in India an elected body charged with the task of framing a new constitution for India."

(2) "Provision shall be made for the participation of the Indian States in the constitution-making body".

[1] See pp. 620-621, 624.
[2] See p. 626.

(3) The British Government undertook 'to accept and implement forthwith the constitution so framed', subject to the following conditions:—

(i) Any Province of British India might refuse to accept the new Constitution and choose to retain its existing constitutional position, provision being made for its subsequent accession if it so decided.

With such non-acceding Provinces, if they so desired, the British Government would be prepared to agree upon a new constitution, giving them the same full status as the Indian Union.

(ii) The constitution-making body would conclude a treaty with the British Government, covering 'all necessary matters arising out of the complete transfer of responsibility from British to Indian hands' and guaranteeing 'the protection of racial and religious minorities'; but this treaty would not 'impose any restriction on the power of the Indian Union to decide in the future its relationship to the other Member States of the British Commonwealth'.

(4) The constitution-making body would be elected by the members of the Lower Houses of the Provincial Legislatures by the system of proportional representation.

(5) Until the new Constitution could be framed the British Government would remain responsible for the defence of India, but it 'desired and invited the immediate and effective participation of the leaders of the principal sections of the Indian people in the counsels of their country, of the Commonwealth and of the United Nations'.

What this Declaration offered India was a promise—a promise that was not to be fulfilled at once, but only in the future. Mahatma Gandhi is said to have remarked that it was 'a post-dated cheque on a crashing bank'. Secondly, the provision about the non-accession of Provinces to the Indian Union was a direct encouragement to, if not a clear acceptance of, the demand for Pakistan. Thirdly, the proposed arrangement about Defence was unacceptable to the Congress. Fourthly, the Congress demanded, but did not receive, an informal assurance that the Governor-General would act as a constitutional ruler on the advice of the National Government consisting of Indian

leaders. According to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the Cripps Plan came to mean that "the existing structure of Government would continue exactly as before, the autocratic powers of the Viceroy would remain, and a few of us could become his liveried camp-followers and look after canteens and the like." So the Congress rejected this offer of the British Government. The League also rejected it and reiterated the demand for Pakistan.

'QUIT INDIA' AND THE AUGUST REVOLT (1942)

Sir Stafford Cripps left India in the grip of unprecedented excitement. The Congress could no longer postpone the adoption of a policy of effective opposition to the British Government, which refused to conciliate the Indian people even at a critical hour when the Japanese were knocking at the gates of India. Soon after the departure of Sir Stafford Cripps the 'Quit India' idea occurred to Mahatma Gandhi, who at once made it the battle cry of Nationalist India. On May 10, 1942, he wrote in the *Harijan*, "The presence of the British in India is an invitation to Japan to invade India. Their withdrawal removes that bait . . ." Some time later he wrote, "Leave India in God's hands, or in modern parlance, to anarchy. Then all parties will fight one another like dogs or will, when real responsibility faces them, come to a reasonable agreement. . ."

A resolution of the Congress Working Committee, dated July 14, 1942, laid down that, if the demand for British abdication was rejected, the Congress would be 'reluctantly compelled' to launch a 'widespread' non-violent struggle under Mahatma Gandhi's leadership. This resolution was confirmed by the All-India Congress Committee at Bombay on August 8, 1942, and it was declared that:

". . . the immediate ending of British rule in India is an urgent necessity, both for the sake of India and for the success of the cause of the United Nations. The continuation of that rule is degrading and enfeebling India and making her progressively less capable of defending herself and of contributing to the cause of world freedom".

Early next morning (August 9, 1942) Mahatma Gandhi, the members of the Congress Working Committee and some

other Congress leaders were arrested, and the All-India Congress Committee and the Provincial Congress Committees were banned. Lord Linlithgow deliberately pursued a policy of stern repression all over India. The sudden arrest of the Congress leaders left the people leaderless and the violence of the Government goaded them to extreme measures. The full story of the violent struggle of the leaderless masses against the tyranny of dying Imperialism has not yet been written. According to official statements, 250 Railway Stations and 500 Post Offices were damaged or destroyed, over 150 Police Stations were attacked, some officials and soldiers were killed and over 900 civilians lost their lives.

FAST AND FAMINE (1943)

For this violence Mahatma Gandhi disclaimed even the slightest measure of responsibility. He undertook a fast on February 10, 1943, and broke it at the end of the three weeks he had set himself. Lord Linlithgow's refusal to release him even when his life was in serious danger led to the resignation of two Hindu and one Parsi member of his Executive Council. This was followed by the terrible Bengal Famine of 1943, which cost millions of lives and revived the horrors of the Famine of 1770. Neither Lord Linlithgow nor the League Ministry of Bengal took adequate measures to prevent or control this catastrophe.

RAJAGOPALACHARI FORMULA (1944)

Meanwhile Mr. Jinnah was insisting on the division of India and the creation of a sovereign Muslim State. Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, the veteran Congress leader of Madras, evolved a formula for Congress-League co-operation on the basis of Pakistan. Mahatma Gandhi, released on May 6, 1944, put that formula before Mr. Jinnah: (1) The Muslim League would endorse the demand for independence and co-operate with the Congress in forming a Provisional Government for the transitional period. (2) At the end of the war a plebiscite of *all* the inhabitants in the Muslim-majority areas in north-west and north-east would decide whether or not they should form a separate State. (3) In the event of separation, agreements would

be made for defence, communications and other essential matters. (4) These terms were to be binding only in case of transfer by England of full power and responsibility for the government of India.

Mr. Jinnah rejected this offer. He refused to allow the non-Muslim inhabitants of the Muslim-majority areas to take part in the proposed plebiscite: the right of self-determination, which he claimed for the Muslims, was not to be conceded to the non-Muslims (38 per cent. in the north-west and 48 per cent. in the north-east). He also refused to provide for joint control over subjects of common concern, like defence.

WAVELL PLAN (1945)

Lord Wavell succeeded Lord Linlithgow in October, 1943. As Commander-in-Chief he had played a leading part in the negotiations connected with the Cripps Plan. In February, 1944, he affirmed the unity of India in the following words: "You cannot alter geography. From the point of view of defence, of many internal and external economic problems, India is a natural unit". A year later he made an attempt to solve the deadlock in India. In March, 1945, he went to London for consultation with the British Government. Soon after his return to India (June 4, 1945) the Secretary of State, Mr. Amery, made a statement in the House of Commons (June 14, 1945). "The offer of March 1942," he said, "stands in its entirety without change or qualification". He proposed the reconstruction of the Governor-General's Executive Council pending the preparation of a new Constitution. With the exception of the Governor-General and the Commander-in-Chief ('who would retain his position as War Member') all other members of the Executive Council would be nominated from amongst leaders of Indian political life. This Council would have 'a balanced representation of the main communities, including equal proportions of Moslems and Caste Hindus'. The portfolio of External Affairs (other than those tribal and frontier matters which fell to be dealt with as part of the defence of India) was to be transferred from the Governor-General to an Indian member of the Council. It was expected that co-operation at the Centre would be reflected in the Provinces and res-

ponsible government would be restored in the 'Section 93 Provinces' on the basis of coalition of the main parties.

The members of the Congress Working Committee were released (June 16, 1945) and a conference of leaders was held at Simla in June-July, 1945. No agreement was found possible regarding the composition of the Executive Council. The Congress insisted upon the inclusion of 2 Congress Muslims; as a national organisation it could not agree to confine its quota to Hindus alone. Mr. Jinnah demanded that all the Muslim members of the Council must be nominated by the League. Lord Wavell announced the breakdown of the Conference. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, President of the Congress, declared that the Viceroy allowed the League to hold up the progress of the country.

NETAJI AND THE INDIAN NATIONAL ARMY

Subhas Chandra Bose, a brilliant student of the University of Calcutta, gave up his career as a member of the Indian Civil Service and attached himself to the standard of *Desabandhu* C. R. Das. Although his allegiance to the national cause was never in doubt, he frequently disagreed with the official policy of the Congress High Command. In the Calcutta session of the Congress in 1928 he demanded complete independence, while the official Congress demand was for Dominion Status. At Lahore, in 1929, he staged a walk-out and formed a new party called the Congress Democratic Party. In 1934, when Mahatma Gandhi suspended the Civil Disobedience Movement, he described it as a confession of failure. In spite of his unorthodox views he became President of the Congress in 1938 and again in 1939. But his differences with the Congress High Command compelled him to form a new party known as the Forward Bloc. On January 26, 1941, he disappeared from his house in Calcutta and travelled secretly to Berlin through Afghanistan and Russia. In 1943 he came to Malaya and Burma, where Japanese Imperialism had already ousted British Imperialism, organised the Indian National Army and fought against the British in Assam. The Indian National Army was composed mainly of Indian soldiers of the British army who had been captured by the Japanese. Under the leadership of their beloved Netaji

these soldiers forgot all communal differences and dedicated themselves to the great cause of India's freedom. The full story of their reckless attempts to expel the British forces from Assam has not yet been written. But their unequal contest ended in inevitable defeat, and those who survived fell into the hands of the British when they re-occupied Burma. These heroes of the I.N.A. were tried by British Courts Martial in 1945-46, and many of them were sentenced. The Congress took up their cause and defended them in their trials through eminent lawyers. Netaji himself is said to have died in an air crash in Siam on August 23, 1945. Speaking of him the historian of the Congress observes: "A stormy life from boyhood onwards, a strange combination of mysticism and reality, of intense religious fervour and stern practical sense, of deep emotional susceptibility and cold, calculating pragmatism!"

THE ELECTIONS (1945-46)

After the failure of the first Simla Conference the rise of the Labour Party to power in England and the increasing international complications which followed the cessation of the war changed the course of British policy towards India. The trial of some officers of the I.N.A. captured the popular imagination. The Congress increased its own popularity by fully identifying itself with the ideals and interests of those valiant soldiers. It was decided that elections to the Central and Provincial Legislatures would be held in the cold weather of 1945-46. In September, 1945, Lord Wavell announced that after the elections a constitution-making body would be summoned and the Executive Council would be reconstituted with the support of the main Indian parties.

In the elections which followed the Congress captured almost all non-Muslim seats in all the Provinces, the majority of the Muslim seats in the N.W.F.P., and some Muslim seats in U.P., C.P., Bihar and Assam. The League captured the overwhelming majority of the Muslim seats in all Provinces except the N.W.F.P. The Congress assumed office in all Provinces except Bengal and Sind; everywhere pure Congress Ministries were formed, except in the Punjab where a Coalition Ministry composed of Congressmen, Akali Sikhs and Unionist Hindus and Muslims came to power.

THE CABINET MISSION (1946)

In the winter of 1945-46 a Parliamentary Delegation visited India with a view to collect first hand impressions about the political situation in this country. On February 19, 1946, the British Government made an important announcement in Parliament: a special Mission of Cabinet Ministers consisting of the Secretary of State for India (Lord Pethick-Lawrence), the President of the Board of Trade (Sir Stafford Cripps) and the First Lord of the Admiralty (Mr. A. V. Alexander) would be sent to India to hold discussions with Indian political leaders about the setting up of a constitution-making body and the bringing into being of an Executive Council having the support of the main political parties. The Cabinet Ministers would act in association with the Viceroy. On March 15, 1946, Mr. Attlee, the Prime Minister, declared in the House of Commons that a minority could not be allowed to put a veto on the advance of the majority. This statement was taken in India to indicate a reversal of the traditional British policy towards the Muslim League.

The three Ministers arrived at Karachi on March 23, 1946, and left for England on June 29, 1946. In April they interviewed many Indian political leaders of all parties and groups, and in May a conference was held at Simla with the representatives of the Congress and the League. As the Congress and the League failed to arrive at any compromise, the decision of the Mission was announced on May 16, 1946.

The salient features of the Cabinet Mission's Plan were as follows :—

Mr. Jinnah's demand for Pakistan was examined and rejected by the Mission. The establishment of Pakistan would not solve the communal minority problem, and there was no justification for including within Pakistan the predominantly non-Muslim districts of Bengal, Assam, and the Punjab. Secondly, it would be injurious to disintegrate the transportation and postal and telegraph systems of India. Thirdly, to divide the armed forces of India would 'entail the gravest dangers'. Finally, "there is the geographical fact that the two halves of the proposed Pakistan State are separated by some 700 miles and the communications between them both in war

and peace would be dependent on the good will of Hindustan". So the Mission suggested that there should be one Central Government controlling some specified subjects:

"There should be a Union of India, embracing both British India and the States, which should deal with the following subjects: Foreign Affairs, Defence, and Communications; and should have the powers necessary to raise the finances required for the above subjects."

The Provinces would enjoy full autonomy, for all subjects other than the Union subjects and all residuary powers should vest in the Provinces. Moreover, "Provinces should be free to form Groups with Executives and Legislatures, and each Group could determine the Provincial subjects to be taken in common". The six Hindu-majority Provinces (Madras, Bombay, C. P., U. P., Bihar, Orissa) would form Group A. The Muslim-majority Provinces in the north-west (the Punjab, the N.W.F.P., Sind) would form Group B. Bengal and Assam would form Group C. Of the Chief Commissioner's Provinces three (Delhi, Ajmer-Merwara, Coorg) would join Group A and one (Baluchistan) would join Group B. The 'full autonomy' of the Provinces and the provision for Grouping were meant to give the League 'the substance of Pakistan'. It was clear that Groups B and C would be under the absolute control of the Muslims.

A complicated procedure was laid down for the election of the constitution-making body. For this purpose three main communities were recognised: 'General' (all persons who were not Muslims or Sikhs), Muslim and Sikh. The members of each Provincial Legislative Assembly would be divided into three groups—'General', Muslim, and Sikh,—and each group would elect its own representatives to the constitution-making body by the method of proportional representation with the single transferable vote. The number of representatives allotted to each Province and community was to be proportional to its population, roughly in the ratio of one to a million. This procedure applied to the 11 Governor's Provinces. Different arrangements were made with regard to the 4 Chief Commissioner's Provinces. On the whole, the six Provinces in Group A would have 187 members ('General' 167, Muslim 20),

the three Provinces in Group B would have 35 members ('General' 9, Muslim 22, Sikh 4) and the two Provinces in Group C would have 70 members ('General' 34, Muslim 36). To these 292 members were to be added 4 members from the 4 Chief Commissioner's Provinces and not more than 93 members from the Indian States. The method of selection of the members from the States would be 'determined by consultation'.

The constitution-making body, thus composed, would be divided into three Sections (Section A corresponding to Group A, and so on). Each Section would settle the Constitutions for its own Provinces and also decide whether a Group Constitution should be set up. The three Sections and the representatives of the States would jointly settle the Union Constitution. There was to be an Advisory Committee on the rights of citizens, minorities and tribal and excluded areas.

The Constitutions of the Union and of the Groups would 'contain a provision whereby any Province could, by a majority vote of its Legislative Assembly, call for a reconsideration of the terms of the Constitution after an initial period of 10 years and at 10 yearly intervals thereafter'. Moreover, any Province could, after the first General Election under the new Constitution, come out of any Group in which it had been placed.

The constitution-making body would conclude a treaty with England 'to provide for certain matters arising out of the transfer of power'.

As regards the Indian States, the Cabinet Mission declared that when the new Constitution of India came into force, the British Government would cease to exercise the powers of Paramountcy. "This means", it was pointed out, "that the rights of the States which flow from their relationship to the Crown will no longer exist and that all the rights surrendered by the States to the paramount Power will return to the States". If the States decided to join the Indian Union they would retain all subjects and powers other than those ceded to the Union and their representatives would take part in the work of the constitution-making body.

The Cabinet Mission attached the greatest importance to the setting up of an Interim Government having the support of the major political parties.

INDIA IN 1946.

The Cabinet Mission's Plan was accepted by all parties and the elections to the Constituent Assembly took place in July, 1946. Out of 210 'General' seats the Congress captured 199; out of 78 Muslim seats the League captured 73. As several other seats were captured by nominees and allies of the Congress, it could count upon the allegiance of 211 members in an assembly of 296. This commanding position of the Congress alarmed Mr. Jinnah, and on July 29, 1946, the League decided to withdraw its acceptance of the Cabinet Mission's Plan as also 'to resort to direct action to achieve Pakistan'. On August 16, 1946,—the 'Direct Action Day' of the League—began the 'Great Killing' in Calcutta, and the premier city of India was reduced to 'bloody shambles'. In October, 1946, the Muslims of two Muslim-majority districts in East Bengal (Noakhali and Tipperah) fell upon their Hindu neighbours and committed horrible murders and other atrocities. Riots then broke out in Bihar and, on a smaller scale, in U.P. and Bombay. A movement for the partition of Bengal into two Provinces, one consisting of the Hindu-majority areas and the other consisting of the Muslim-majority areas, began to gain ground, for the Hindus of Bengal felt that their life, property and honour would not remain safe under League rule.

Meanwhile Pandit Nehru formed an Interim Government which assumed office on September 2, 1946. Mr. Jinnah's co-operation was asked for and refused. But Lord Wavell continued negotiations with him, as a result of which five League nominees joined the Interim Government on October 26, 1946. The Congress and League blocs within the Interim Government could not pull on together. Pandit Nehru openly declared that "the League pursued their aim to enlist British support and tried to establish themselves as the King's party".

STATEMENT OF DECEMBER 6, 1946

Taking advantage of Mr. Jinnah's unwillingness to join the Constituent Assembly which was summoned to meet in New Delhi on December 9, 1946, the British Government invited the Viceroy and representatives of the Congress, the League and the Sikhs to go to London to discuss the basis of a common

understanding between the Congress and the League. After discussions with them the British Government issued a statement (December 6, 1946) which supported the League interpretation of the Cabinet Mission's provisions about voting in Sections of the Constituent Assembly. This interpretation was now accepted by the Congress in the hope that the League would join the Constituent Assembly, but Mr. Jinnah refused to change his policy.

THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY

The first session of the Constituent Assembly began on December 9, 1946. Pandit Nehru moved the main resolution on the declaration of objectives, which was adopted in the second session held in January, 1947:

"This Constituent Assembly declares its firm and solemn resolve to proclaim India as an Independent Sovereign Republic and to draw up for her future governance a constitution;

. . . . wherein all power and authority of the Sovereign Independent India, its constituent parts and organs of government, are derived from the people; and

Wherein shall be guaranteed and secured to all the people of India justice, social, economic, and political: equality of status, of opportunity, and before the law; freedom of thought, expression, belief worship, vocation, association and action, subject to law and public morality; and

Wherein adequate safeguards shall be provided for minorities, backward and tribal areas, and depressed and other backward classes; and

Whereby shall be maintained the integrity of the territory of the Republic and its sovereign rights on land, sea and air according to justice and the law of civilised nations; and

This ancient land attain its rightful and honoured place in the world and make its full and willing contribution to the promotion of world peace and the welfare of mankind."

This is New India's Charter of Freedom.

The third session of the Assembly was held in April, 1947. It is expected that the fourth session, begun in July, 1947, will

be able to complete the great task of framing the constitution of liberated India.

STATEMENT OF FEBRUARY, 1947

On February 20, 1947, Mr. Attlee made a statement in the House of Commons. He declared that it was the 'definite intention' of the British Government 'to effect the transference of power to responsible Indian hands by a date not later than June, 1948'. If the League did not join the Constituent Assembly the British Government would have 'to consider to whom the powers of the Central Government in British India should be handed over, on due date, whether as a whole to some form of Central Government for British India, or in some areas to the existing Provincial Governments, or in such other way as may seem most reasonable and in the best interests of the Indian people'. Thus the decision of the Cabinet Mission to maintain the unity of India was reversed and the possibility of establishing Pakistan was clearly expressed. Mr. Attlee also announced that Lord Wavell would be immediately succeeded by Lord Louis Mountbatten.

'DIRECT ACTION'

The publication of Mr. Attlee's statement was followed by organised violence in Calcutta, Assam, the N.W.F.P. and the Punjab. The non-Muslims suffered a good deal everywhere, specially in the Western Punjab, where thousands were massacred. The League succeeded in dislodging the Coalition Ministry in the Punjab, where Section 93 of the Act of 1935 was introduced, but it failed to remove the Congress Ministries in Assam and the N.W.F.P. The Hindus of Bengal now became almost unanimous in favour of the partition of Bengal. The Hindus and Sikhs of the Punjab also concluded that their Province must be partitioned, leaving the Hindu-majority districts outside the pale of the League.

THE MOUNTBATTEN PLAN

The new Viceroy assumed charge in March, 1947, and spent about two months in studying the situation. The solution

proposed by him was explained in a statement issued on June 3, 1947. Declaring that the only alternative to coercion was partition, he provided for the partition of India and also for the partition of three disputed Provinces—Bengal, Assam, and the Punjab. A referendum was to be held in the N.W.F.P. to decide whether that Province would join Pakistan or Hindustan. A referendum was to be held in the district of Sylhet (in Assam) to decide whether that district would remain a part of Assam or join Eastern Bengal which would be a part of Pakistan. The Legislative Assemblies of Bengal and the Punjab would decide whether those Provinces were to be partitioned or not.

The Mountbatten Plan was accepted by the Congress, the League and the Sikhs, and it was put into effect immediately. The Legislative Assemblies of Bengal and the Punjab decided in favour of partition of those Provinces. Eastern Punjab and Western Bengal remained within the Indian Union ; Western Punjab and Eastern Bengal joined Pakistan. The boundaries of these Provinces have been demarcated by a judicial Commission. The referendum in Sylhet has resulted in the incorporation of that district in Eastern Bengal. The referendum in the N.W.F.P. has decided in favour of Pakistan ; but the Provincial Congress boycotted the referendum and demanded the creation of an independent Pathan State. The 'Pathanistan' movement is gaining ground. Baluchistan and Sind decided to join Pakistan.

THE INDIA INDEPENDENCE ACT, 1947

In July, 1947, the British Parliament passed the India Independence Act, which provided for the end of British rule in India on August 15, 1947. On that day two independent Dominions were set up in India, known respectively as 'India' and 'Pakistan'. Each Dominion has a Governor-General[1] appointed by the King.[2] The legislature of each Dominion has

[1] The Governor-General has ceased to be called Viceroy. He would be appointed by the King on the advice of the Cabinet of the Dominions concerned, not on the advice of the British Cabinet. He would be a constitutional ruler.

[2] The King would be called 'King of India' (or Pakistan), not Emperor of India.

full power to make laws for that Dominion, and no Act of the British Parliament extends to either of them. The authority of the British Government over British India and the suzerainty of the King over the Indian States lapsed. The powers of the Central Legislature will be exercised in each Dominion by the Constituent Assembly concerned.[1]

Mr. Jinnah was appointed the first Governor-General of Pakistan ; Lord Mountbatten remained Governor-General of 'India'. The provisions of the Act do not, of course, stand in the way of India's complete separation from the British Commonwealth. It will be for the Constituent Assembly concerned to decide whether 'India' (or Pakistan) will continue the connection with England.

The establishment of Pakistan has removed all restrictions upon the Constituent Assembly of 'India'. The Cabinet Mission Plan about the constitutional structure is no longer binding. As a matter of fact, the Assembly has already decided to confer larger powers upon the Centre and to reduce the autonomy of the Provinces.

THE INDIAN STATES

With the end of British Paramountcy the States became completely free. Most of them have, however, decided to join the Indian Union, surrendering to it their control over External Affairs, Defence, and Communications. In other respects their autonomy will remain in tact. Among important States only Hyderabad, Kashmir, Indore and Bhopal have not yet decided to join either 'India' or Pakistan.

CONCLUSION

India now finds herself liberated but divided. Since the dawn of recorded history her greatest intellects have thought of her as a geographical and cultural unit, and mighty political architects from Mahapadma Nanda to Lord Dalhousie created poltical unity through war and diplomacy. That vast mosaic

[1] The Constituent Assembly of Pakistan met at Karachi in August, 1947.

of Indian life is now broken into pieces, but, as Pandit Nehru reminds us in inspiring words, "The India of geography, of history and tradition, the India of mind and heart cannot change".

FOR FURTHER STUDY

Coupland, *The Constitutional Problem in India.*

Coupland, *India, A Re-statement.*

P. Sitaramyya, *History of the Indian National Congress,* Vol. II.

A. C. Banerjee, *Indian Constitutional Documents,* Vol. II.

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